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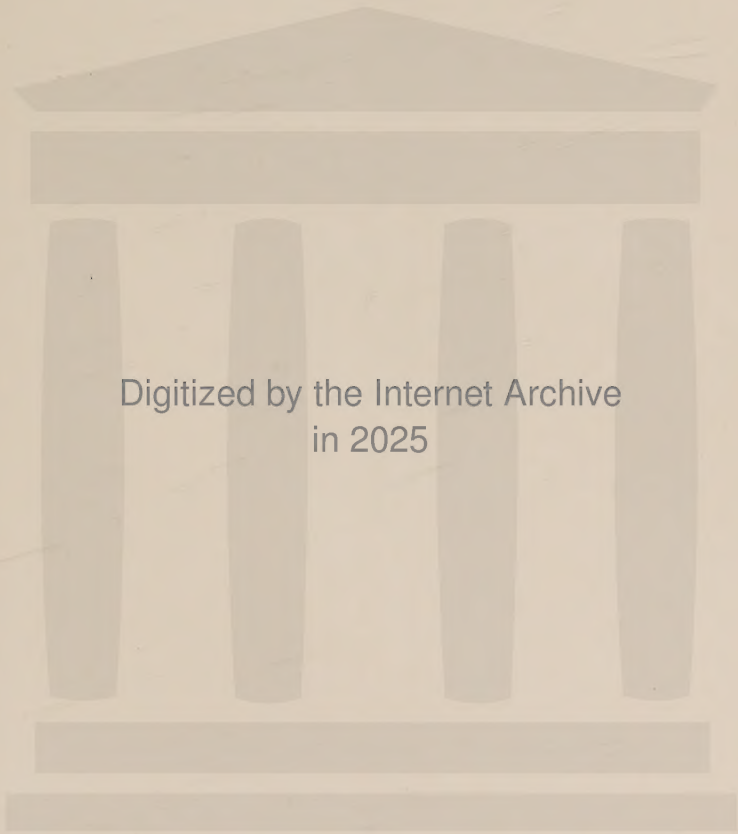
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SPECULUM
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THE PAPER THAT ROMANOS SWALLOWED

By MARJORIE CARPENTER

THOSE who through the centuries heard the double choir of Santa Sophia sing out at Christmas time the famous opening lines of Romanos' *kontakion* Ἡ Παρθένος σήμερον τὸν ὑπερούσιον τίκτει[1] were probably so charmed by the dramatic material, arranged with intricate melodic subtleties, that they either cared not at all where this highly different hymn form originated or else they were perfectly satisfied with the account of its composition which appears in the *Menaeon* for October 1,[2] upon which date the Greek church celebrates the birthday of the hymn writer who is now called *veterum melodorum princeps:*

'This Romanos who is among the saints came from Syria, from the city of Emesa, and became deacon of the holy church in Beirut. Arriving at Constantinople in the time of Anastasius the king, he remained in the temple of the Holy Virgin living in piety and spending his nights in the all-night watch of the Blachernae. There he received the gift of composition of *kontakia* when there appeared to him in a dream the likeness of the Holy Virgin who gave him a piece of paper and commanded him to eat it. He thought best to open his mouth and eat the paper. It was the holiday of Christmas eve; and straightway arousing from sleep he mounted the pulpit

[1] The best edition is that of Paul Maas, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXIV (1923), 1 ff.

[2] Translated from the *Menaeon* (Athens, 1904). For a discussion of the various texts of the biography see *Analecta Bollandiana*, XIII (1894), 440 ff. For a discussion of the date of Romanos, see the many articles of Paul Maas, especially his summary of the case in the review of Papadopulos-Kerameus' article, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XV (1906), 338. Also see the bibliography given by Emereau in his catalogue of hymn writers, *Echos d' Orient*, XX–XXV (1921–1926, *sub* Romanos). Cf. the summary in my article, 'Krumbacher's Metrical Theory Applied to the Christmas Hymn of Romanos,' *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LVIII (1927), 123. The reference to the time of Anastasius might refer to the reign of Anastasius I (491–518), or Anastasius II (713–716); but the conclusion of Maas that 'once for all the greatest Byzantine singer is to be placed in the period of the greatest Byzantine emperor' seems justified.

and began to sing 'Η Παρθένος. Then, too, he made *kontakia* of other feasts and also of the official holy days so that the number of his *kontakia* came to about one thousand. His days ended in peace.'

In these modern days, we regard all legends of the Middle Ages with a supercilious amusement; yet there is a possible poetic truth underlying the picturesque language of the writer of the saint's life in the *Synaxarion*. In fact, one wonders whether the literary critic of Byzantium was not trying to present to the public of his day in the story of the swallowing of a piece of paper some such theory of the subtle and pervasive influence of past experiences and reading on a writer's inspiration as Lowes has presented for us in the case of Coleridge in *The Road to Xanadu*. Did he perhaps have in mind that, although the tradition for those literary works which honored the Virgin was long and set, the form of the *kontakion* was yet so novel that Romanos must be said to extemporize — extemporize, however, only after eating a piece of paper which represents the literary background of ecclesiastical inspiration — an elusive but powerful influence on thought and language?

Certainly, the perfection of the peculiarly intricate form of the *kontakion* which appears so suddenly in the age of Romanos demands some explanation. Can the philologist do any better than the hagiographer? Can an investigation of what must have been buried in the mind and heart of Romanos give any clue to the origin of the Nativity hymn, or any explanation which will equal the spiritual narrative of the swallowing of the piece of paper at the Virgin's command? It is interesting, in any case, to see just what ideas and phrases had been and still were current at the time Romanos composed this poem which, today, we should never call a hymn, but rather a dramatic sermon in rhythmic form.

It is rhythmic in that it consists of a number of metrically responsive strophes; that is to say, the accents in any given line of one strophe fall in the same places in the corresponding line of any other strophe. Parallel structure and antithesis, as well as homoeoteleuton, tie the rhythmic units; and an acrostic marks the beginning of the strophes, as the refrain does the end.

It is dramatic to the extent that there is a pronounced use of dia-

logue. After the prooemion, which gives us the setting, and the first three strophes of theological prologue, we have the following arrangement of subject matter:

Strophe δ′: Questions and answers about the identity of Mary and the Magi.
Strophe ε′: The explanation of the Magi about the revelation of the star.
Strophes ϛ′ and ζ′: Mary's prayer to the Christ child to admit the Magi.
Strophes η′ and θ′: Christ bids Mary have the Magi enter.
Strophe ι′: The Magi question Mary about Joseph.
Strophes ια′ and ιβ′: Mary answers them and asks them about their journey.
Strophes ιγ′, ιδ′, and ιε′: The Magi tell of Babylon, and their search.
Strophe ιϛ′: Mary questions the Magi in surprise that they escaped Herod and they answer her.
Strophe ιζ′: Mary asks about Herod's questions, and the Magi begin to answer.
Strophes ιη′ and ιθ′: The Magi tell of their explanation to Herod.
Strophe κ′: Transition, no speech.
Strophe κα′: The Magi pray to Christ and offer their gifts.

There then follow three strophes of prayer.

This closing prayer is only one of the sermon elements, for there is a pronounced theological purpose in the emphasis on the human and divine Christ and on the virginity of Mary. Biblical quotations add to this effect, so that we are not surprised that the legend tells us that Romanos mounted the pulpit to sing this *kontakion*.

In the centuries that preceded Romanos there is no one source which will at the same time explain all these characteristics; but if we can find what there was of a similar nature in Greek and non-Greek literature which formed the heritage of this poet who came from Syria to Constantinople in the sixth century, we shall, perhaps, be able to trace the many influences which combined to help him compose the Christmas *kontakion*.

Before the day of the *kontakion* we find hymns written in non-quantitative verse,[1] and scholars differ as to their possible origin.

[1] The *Evening Hymn*, the *Ter Sanctus* (at the end of VII and VIII of the *Apostolic Constitutions*), and the *Lamp-Lighting Hymn* of Athenogenes are examples of early sacred song which we still possess; and undoubtedly similar primitive verse has been lost. Also, there were early rhythmic prayers, verses against heretics, and, in the late second century, a *Hymn to Christ* by

Those who push the claim of classical verse as the parent of the rhythmic hymns to the extent that Christ[1] does in his analysis of the *Psalm of the Naasenes* and Clement's *Hymn to Christ* can be refuted by the very number of exceptions and irregularities which they are forced to admit. Westphal and Stevenson put forward the theory of a popular verse which preceded the sacred poetry in the new manner; but there is too little known of popular verse to give us any basis for comparison. Consequently, we must either search for a foreign influence, or locate the principle of accent recurrence in Greek prose.

Certainly, classical prose had contained parallel structure and rhyme;[2] and fourth and fifth century homily is full of examples of strongly rhythmic prose. One of the most striking is the sermon in praise of Mary by Proclus, so analyzed by La Piana[3] that an examination of its characteristics is easy. The second strophe of the *Hymn to the Virgin* which comes just after the *prooemion* shows at a glance both the rhyme scheme and the parallel structure:

29. Αὕτη τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ἡ χώρα, λογικὸν καὶ ἄδολον γάλα,
30. καὶ ἄφθαρτον καὶ πνευματικὸν πηγάζουσα μέλι.
31. ταύτης (τοιγαροῦν) ὁ Ἰωάννης μεταλαμβάνων τῆς τροφῆς,
32. ἅψασθαι τῆς (ἀχράντου) Κυρίου κατηξιώθη κορυφῆς,
33. ταύτης ἀπολάύων τῆς βρώσεως,
34. ἀγγελικῆς γέγονε τάξεως,
35. τὸ ἀκρότατον—τῆς ἀμέμπτον πολιτείας.
36. καὶ τὸ καθαρώτατον—τῆς ἀσπίλου παρθενίας.

Clement of Alexandria, which is written in rhythmic verse not very unlike his prose. Methodius' *Hymn to Virginity* in the fourth century uses biblical parallelism, refrain, and acrostic, and sins against quantitative laws too frequently for us to conclude that it was intended to be written in strictly classical meter. Gregory of Nazianz has two rhythmic poems in the *Evening Hymn* and the *Hymn to Virginity* which never break the accent rules in the next to the last syllable, and which ignore quantity. Many fragments of early rhythmic verse are given by Leclerq, *Dict. d' Arch. Chrét.*, VI (2), 2826–2868.

[1] *Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum* (Leipzig, 1871), pp. xv, and 32. Certainly in the seemingly irregular *Psalm of the Naasenes* the strongest ties are marked parallelism and homoeoteleuton, which Christ ignores. Rhyme schemes guide to the rhythmic units; for example, νόος, χάος, χάος at the end of verses 1, 2, and 15, end lines whose rhythm varies in the middle of the line but corresponds at the end. Where the final word is repeated, as in verses 12 and 17, the rhythm is identical, etc.

[2] P. Norden, *Kunstprosa* (Leipzig, 1898), II, *passim*.

[3] G. La Piana, *Le Rappresentazioni Sacre nella Letteratura Bizantina* (Grottaferrata, 1912), pp. 233–275.

Although verses 29 and 30 do not show end rhyme, it is noteworthy that there is inner rhyme within verse 29, and a repetition of καὶ . . . ὸν within verse 30. The last couplet has end rhyme and also caesura rhyme; while its parallel structure is typical of that which pervades the homily. Anaphora occurs frequently, and often introduces obvious strophe to strophe echoes.[1] An alphabetical acrostic extends from verses 107 to 154; and then, after a dialogue arranged by strophes, the acrostic recurs in verses 195-253. A highly figurative prooemion introduces the homily; so that the reader of Proclus would feel sure that, if Romanos knew this type of writing, he had in it a fairly complete model for the form of the *kontakion*.[2]

Some of these elements which the church homily and *kontakion* share were present only in a slight degree in the earlier Greek prose; and one wonders if they have simply become exaggerated with the changing taste of the audience or whether an outside influence has been at work to produce the change in effect. It is not insignificant that the earlier pseudo-Chrysostom homily which Mercati has arranged was written, in his opinion, by a Palestine Syrian author who belonged to the poetic school from which came the Greek metrical versions of Ephrem. Such a fact supports the opinions of Meyer, Wehofer, and Grimme who hold that we must look to Syria for an explanation of the form of the *kontakion*.

In the *Memre* and *Madrascha*,[3] and also in the *Sougitha*[4] we do meet accentual verse with highly developed parallelism, rhyme, and acrostic. There is no doubt but that Ephrem's compositions were known in the Greek world[5] even by writers who did not come from Syria as Romanos did; so that it would seem foolish to deny any possible influence from the east on the *kontakion* form, although it must be remembered that the Byzantine production was certainly a com-

[1] For example, ὅσοι of lines 37, 39, and 41, which appears again in lines 45, 47 and 49. So, too, οὐκ in 71, 73, and 75 is echoed in 77, 79, and 81.

[2] The refrain is one important element which would be missing.

[3] The *Memre* has strophes and the *Madrascha* does not. The former are recited by individuals, and the latter are sung by a chorus. See Grimme, *Der Strophenbau in den Gedichten des Syrers* (Freiburg, 1893), for full explanations of the varieties of metrical forms.

[4] The *Sougitha* is developed from the *Madrascha* and has dramatic color.

[5] Leclerq, *Dict. d'Arch. Chrét.*, VI (2), 2898: 'Les hymnes de saint Ephrem furent de bonne heure connues en Occident dans une traduction grecque.'

bination of verse forms rather then a direct borrowing. The short line repetition whose basis was an equal number of syllables gave way to a more varied rhythm; the prooemion is added; and the refrain which tagged on as an independent sentence in Syrian became, in Greek hymns, bound up with the content of the strophe. The acrostics of Byzantine hymns in the best period are name and title acrostics, and the richness of the Greek language made possible an advance in the use of rhyme which, in the hands of a poet like Romanos, is used to set off parallelisms in thought and form.

Maas claims that the Syrian influence which produced the *kontakion* in about 500 was at work earlier still, and that the metrical homilies such as the one of Proclus were possible because of these influences. As far as the form of the *kontakion* is concerned, this conclusion seems satisfactory. Otherwise, it is difficult to account for the unusual nature of Proclus' homily. Early Greek prose may have been developing rhythmic verse, but it had no germ within it for dramatic dialogue. The *Sougitha* did. It is quite conceivable that Ephrem's *Sougitha* stamped their form on Greek homily; and then the sermons with their accentual clausulae became dramatic, and added unto themselves devices of Syrian origin which became the *kontakion* as we meet it in the hands of Romanos.

If this crossing of Greek and Syrian influences is true of the form, it would be worth while to examine the subject matter and the linguistic echoes. Definite interreactions have been extablished in the case of Basil of Seleucia's homily,[1] a Nestorian Christmas Hymn, and *Kontakion* No. 6 of Romanos.[2] Wehofer has established connections between Ephrem and Romanos in their presentation of the *Last Judgment*.[3] Baumstark presents many examples of Romanos' dependence on Syrian models for subject matter;[4] then, what is the truth in regard to the Christmas *kontakion?*

[1] *P. G.* LXXXV, 425 ff.

[2] Baumstark, *Oriens Christianus*, I, 2 (1911), 196 ff. P. Maas, 'Das Kontakion,' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XIX (1910), 298–302.

[3] T. M. Wehofer, 'Untersuchungen zum Lied des Romanos auf die Wiederkunft des Herrn,' *Sitz, d. Wien. Akad. d. Wiss., phil. — hist. Kl.* (1907), 1–175.

[4] 'Zwei Syrische Weihnachtslieder,' *Oriens Christianus*, I, 2 (1911), 193–204; 'Ein illustriertes griechisches Menaeon,' *ibid.*, I, 3 (1926), 67–79; 'Spätbyzantinischer und frühchristlichsyrisches Weihnachtsbild,' *ibid.*, III (1913), 115–127; 'Griechische und syrische Weihnachtspoesie,' *Gottesminne*, VI (1911–12), 244–263.

As far as the emphasis on the Magi side of the narrative is concerned, we must look to Syrian sources; for in Greek homily[1] they are never the center of the narrative. They are, of course, mentioned incidentally. Frequently, they are brought in as the type of those who adored Christ, and almost always they are grouped with shepherds, angels, and the star. Their adoration is contrasted with the lack of faith of Christians and Israelites.[2] Mary tells Joseph that they will clear her name;[3] their gifts are given mystic meanings[4] in

[1] The references to Greek homily writers are taken from Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*. The full titles of the orations which we shall later quote only by the number of the volume and column in *P. G.* are as follows:

Amphilochius: 'In Natalitia Magni Dei et Salvatoris Nostri Iesu Christi,' *P. G.* XXXIX, 35–44.

Anthanasius: 'De Descriptione Deiparae,' *P. G.* XXVIII, 943–958.
'In Nativitatem Christi,' *P. G.* XXVIII, 959–974.

Basil:
'Homilia in Sanctam Christi Generationem,' *P. G.* XXXI, 1457–1476.

Gregory of Nazianz:
'In Theophania,' *P. G.* XXXVI, 312–335.
'In Sancta Lumina,' *P. G.* XXXVI, 335–360.
'In Sanctum Baptisma,' *P. G.* XXXVI, 360–426.

Gregory of Nyssa:
'In Diem Natalem Christi,' *P. G.* XLVI, 1127–1150.
'In Diem Luminum,' *P. G.* XLVI, 577–600.

John Chrysostom:
'In Diem Natalem Iesu Christi,' *P. G.* XLIX, 351–362.
'De Baptismo Christi,' *P. G.* XLIX, 363–372.
'In Christi Natalem Diem,' *P. G.* LXI, 737–738.
'In Natale Domini Christi,' *P. G.* LXI, 763–768.
'In Natale Christi Diem,' *P. G.* LVI, 365–394.

Paul of Emesa:
'Homilia de Nativitate Domini et Salvatoris Nostri Iesu Christi,' *P.G.* LXXVII, 1433–1438.
'Homilia in Christi Domini et Salvatoris Nostri Nativitatem,' *P. G.* LXXVII, 1438–1444.

Proclus of Constantinople:
'Laudatio in Sanctissimam Dei Genitricem Mariam,' *P. G.* LXV, 679–692.
'De Incarnatione Domini Nostri,' *P. G.* LXV, 692–704; 704–708.
'In Natalem Diem Domini Nostri,' *P. G.* LXV, 708–716.
'Laudatio in S. Virginem,' *P. G.* LXV, 716–722.
'Laudatio Sanctae Dei Genetricis Mariae,' *P. G.* LXV, 721–757.
'In Sancta Theophania,' *P. G.* LXV, 757–764.

Theodotus of Ancyra:
'In Die Nativitatis Domini,' *P. G.* LXXVII, 1349–1370; 1370–1386; 1411–1432.

[2] Basil, *P. G.* XXXI, 1473.

[3] Athanasius, *P. G.*, XXVIII, 952.

[4] Theodotus, *P. G.* LXXVII, 1364; 1356; Gregory of Nazianz, *P. G.* XXXVI, 332. Basil, *P. G.* XXXI, 1472; Chrysostom, *P. G.* LXI, 766. The latter contains a *sensus historicus* well padded with a *sensus allegoricus* and a *sensus tropologicus*.

quite a different fashion from the practical folk touch at the end of Romanos' *kontakion*.[1] The star and Herod are also simply a part of the scenic background in most of the homilies, although Basil gives quite a discussion of the difference between the star and an ordinary comet;[2] and Gregory of Nyssa tells the story of Herod's slaughter of the infants.[3] Rarely are the Magi allowed to speak;[4] and never is there a long dialogue between them and Mary such as that which makes up the bulk of the *kontakion* of Romanos.

In Syrian literature,[5] on the other hand, not only are there innumerable casual allusions to the Magi;[6] but there are also some examples of dialogue between Mary and the Magi and between the Magi and Herod, as well as a monologue of Mary. The short references lay much stress on the prophetic and mystic nature of the star,[7] and on the Magi's gifts.[8] We meet more rarely the usage of Greek homily wherein the adoration of the Magi is the point of emphasis.[9] The grouping of shepherds, angels, and the Magi which is very common in Greek homily is rare in Ephrem.[10]

[1] In fact, Chrysostom assures us that Christ did not receive the gifts for any practical purpose connected with His own or Mary's need, but *τοὺς φέροντας ὠφελῶν*.

[2] *P. G.* XXXI, 1472.

[3] *P. G.* XLVI, 1144 f. Cf. Gregory of Nazianz, *P. G.* XXXVI 332. Before the closing exhortation to martyrdom, Gregory brings up the story of the Magi with expressed distaste.

[4] Basil, *P. G.* XXXI, 1469; Theodotus, *P. G.* LXXVII, 1365.

[5] It is only natural that the eastern Nativity literature should emphasize this oriental motif; and it is not surprising that the Syrian *Homiliarium* should contain a picture of the Magi on their journey as an illustration of Chrysostom's homily (Baumstark, 'Spätbyz. und Frühchrist.-Syr. Weihnachtsbild,' *Oriens Christianus*, III [1913], 118).

[6] In the Nativity hymns of Ephrem which Lamy edits in Vol. II, all but 8 and 9 have some reference to the Magi. The text used for Ephrem's poems is that of T. J. Lamy, *Sancti Ephraem Syrii Hymni et Sermones* (Malines, 1882), I, 4–274; II, 427–642. The writings are grouped under three headings: Nativity, Epiphany, and Mary. Even though it was necessary to depend on the Latin translation rather than the original Syrian, there is little chance that injustice was done to the cause of Syrian originals, since every conceivable parallel has been noted.

[7] For example, Ephrem, Vol. II, Nativ. 4, str. 5: 'Quis valebit loqui de occultatione et manifestationibus stellae lucidae quae ibat ante dona ferentes. Stella Filio fuit, sub diversa ratione, praedicator et custos; servavit corpus, praedicavit coronam.' Cf. Vol. I, Epiph. 1, str. 1 and 15; Vol. II, Epiph. 15, str. 1–6; Vol. I, Epiph. 10, str. 5; and elsewhere in the fourth hymn of Vol. II, strophes 7, 8, 12, 13, and 20.

[8] For example, 'Aurum regiae tuae dignitati, thus divinitati, myrrha humanitati.' Vol. II, Mary 10, str. 4. There are many similar interpretations in Ephrem.

[9] Ephrem, Vol. II, Nativ. 4, str. 13; Nativ. 1, str. 26. The last reference begins with the words: 'Magi eum quaesiverunt et in praesepio cum invenissent, non perscrutati sunt, sed adoraverunt in silentio et loco disputationum inanium dona obtulerunt ei.'

The examples of sustained monologue and dialogue need more careful study. Of the two Nativity hymns which Rücker edits,[1] the last tells the story of the Magi in detail[2] in order to bring out the miracles which took place at the birth of Christ; but direct conversation is rare.[3] On the other hand, the first hymn has a long conversation between the Magi and Herod[4] — in fact only five strophes are without a strophe-to-speaker dialogue.[5] In the two *Sougitha* which Baumstark edits,[6] the Magi never speak, but there are Mary monologues, and the first one in which she ponders before the Magi enter the cave is worth comparing with the *kontakion* of Romanos. In the hymns and homilies of Ephrem, there are two[7] which especially concern us; for in No. IV of the Nativity hymns, not only are the star and the Magi the subjects of the poem, but there is direct conversation between the Magi and Herod in strophes six and seven. Then, in No. XV of the Epiphany hymns, we have a Mary and Magi dialogue which continues from their entrances in strophe nine up to the end in straight dialogue, a strophe to a speaker. At first, the speeches contrast the poverty of the Christ child's human state with His royal prerogatives (strophes 10–28); then, they bring out His power over the Herod whom Mary fears (strophes 28–40); next, they compare the star as the angelic guide to the Magi with Gabriel (strophes 40–48); and finally, they establish the mission of the Magi as the apostles to their land. The gradual overcoming of Mary's doubts as to the divine power of her son is the unifying element in a narrative full of

[10] Only in the Syrian hymn which Zingerle translated, *Benediktinische Monatschrift,* IX (1927), 24.

[1] *Oriens Christianus,* X (1923), 33–56.

[2] The gifts are interpreted in strophes 6, 7, and 8. The folk touches about the infant are noteworthy in strophes 12, 13, and 14. There are twelve Magi who are named for us in this hymn. They get their information from Zardust and Belam (strophe 5), and their gifts from Adam who took them from Paradise (strophe 35).

[3] Herod speaks only in strophes 40 and 41; the Magi cry out with rejoicing in strophe 46, and Mary blesses them in strophe 52. Otherwise it is a third-person narrative.

[4] The twelve Magi seem to speak as one.

[5] Strophe 17 has both question and answer in it.

[6] *Oriens Christianus,* I (1911), 192–204.

[7] Aside from the two special hymns mentioned here, one should note that there is an interesting dialogue between Mary and Gabriel (Vol. II, Mary hymn No. 17). Since Gabriel does not appear in Romanos' *kontakion,* it does not concern us here. In No. 19 of the same group of poems, Mary addresses a series of epithets to Christ which have a theological interest.

folk elements. Jacob of Sarugh's *Memre* on the star and the Magi depends directly on the dialogue of Ephrem;[1] and Simon the Potter has not only many examples of a dialogue between Gabriel and Mary, but also examples of Mary's speeches to the Christ child, although the Magi never speak at any length.

There are, then, several possible Syrian sources for the dialogue form in Romanos' *kontakion*, and one of them even contains a sustained Magi and Mary dialogue to account for that presentation in the bulk of the *kontakion* of Romanos. Even in this case, though, the theme of the dialogue is given a different turn in the Syrian version; for the Mary of the latter poem, who has to be convinced again and again by the Magi of her child's divinity, is not the Mary who begs the Christ child to admit the royal representatives of the east, feels a dignified pride in the poverty of the cave which contains her treasure, and rather puts the Magi in their place when they question her about Joseph. Still, as far as our search is concerned with the source which contains an emphasis on the Magi element of the narrative, especially when it is presented in dialogue form, we must admit that the answer is Syrian literature, and probably Ephrem.

As for the possible sources of a discussion of the two natures of Christ, all of Greek and Syrian literature is full of that much mooted subject;[2] and the same is true of the other theological point empha-

[1] See Baumstark's article in *Gottesminne*, VI (1911), 253.

[2] Basil urges honoring the birth without question as to the union of mortal and divine (*P. G.* XXXI, 1457 ff.); Gregory of Nyssa concludes a homily, full of references to the Virgin's perpetual virginity, with a refutation of those who refuse to acknowledge the human nature of Christ (*P. G.* XLVI, 1127 ff.); The Pseudo-Athanasian homily is almost entirely devoted to dogma on the human and divine nature (*P. G.* XXVIII, 959–972); The homily attributed to Chrysostom exclaims in wonder at Christ who though ἀναφὴς καὶ ἁπλοῦς, καὶ ἀσώματος yet lay in a manger (*P. G.* LVI, 388); Paul of Emesa, after introductory exclamations on the marvel of the virgin birth, praises the bishops who anathematize heretics for claiming that Christ is mere man (*P. G.* LXXVII, 1433 ff.); and in the thirty-eighth oration of Gregory of Nazianz, he marvels over the virgin birth and spends much time discussing the nature of Christ (*P. G.* XXXVI, 312–335), while Theodotus of Ancyra insists that there was no change in Christ's nature when He became man of His own free will; and he closes the homily with a series of sharp antitheses between the royal rights and seeming poverty of Christ; cf., too, his homily which discusses how Christ can be both man and God (*P. G.* LXXVII, 1370–1376).

In Syrian literature, we find recognition of the two natures in Mary's musings about her son in the hymns which Baumstark edits *Oriens Christianus*, I (1911), 193–204. Ephrem's Epiphany hymns show occasional references to this theological point; and the sermons on the Nativity are full of them; but exclamations of marvel and rejoicing fill Ephrem's poems rather than theological dogma which, in general, occupied the attention of the Greek homily writers.

sized, namely, Mary's virginity.[1] In view of these facts, one would expect the phrases of the Romanos *kontakion* to show the same preference for Syrian sources as did the Magi dialogue; but a careful study does not establish this fact.

On the contrary, in the prooemion which gives us the setting, there is a characteristic example of the close borrowing from Greek homily which pervades the language of the entire hymn, as the following detailed analysis will show:

Prooemion:

1. Ἡ παρθένος σήμερον τὸν ὑπερούσιον τίκτει,
2. καὶ ἡ γῆ τὸ σπήλαιον τῷ ἀπροσίτῳ προσάγει.
3. ἄγγελοι μετὰ ποιμένων δοξολογοῦσι,
4. μάγοι δὲ μετὰ ἀστέρος ὁδοιποροῦσι,
5. δι' ἡμᾶς γὰρ ἐγεννήθη
6. παιδίον νέον ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων θεός.

This whole passage is made up of phrases which are traditional in Greek homily. The word, *σήμερον*, the introductory sentence, and the refrain are all a part of the usual beginning of a Nativity homily;[2] and of the three it is only the last which might claim even a possible Syrian source.[3] 'The earth proffers her cave' is a personification

[1] The Mary hymns naturally stress this point, and it would be impracticable to refer to all the casual allusions to this theme; and even in summarizing the works which use it as a main theme, there is too long a list to offer any conclusive evidence as to a single source.

[2] In Greek homily, the word *σήμερον* accompanies the idea of Romanos' prooemion in such passages as Chrysostom, *P. G.* LVI, 388; Paul of Emesa, *P. G.* LXXVII, 1433; Athanasius, *P. G.* XXVIII, 959; and Chrysostom, *P. G.* LVI, 389, 387. That of Athanasius is perhaps the most impressive: *θεὸς σήμερον ὁ ὢν καὶ προὼν γίνεται . . . σήμερον δὲ ἐκ τῆς παρθένου τικτόμενον δι'ἐμέ, ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν γεννηθεὶς κατὰ τὴν φύσιν, σήμερον δὲ διὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν. πρὸ αἰώνων γὰρ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς . . . σήμερον ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἐτέχθη.* Others are less striking: Chrysostom, *P. G.* LVI, 385; LXI, 737; Gregory of Nyssa, *P. G.* XLVI, 1128. Note, too, that the metrical homily arranged by Mercati includes a repetition of *σήμερον* in vv. 21 and 29, *Biblica*, I, 77.

Ephrem's hymns and homilies show no such tendency. The nearest approach to it occurs in two Mary hymns which begin with the statement 'today the Virgin has summoned me to a spiritual feast' (Nos. XI and XX in Lamy's edition, *op. cit.*, II, 567 and 627).

[3] Ephrem has Mary assure the Magi that Christ is just a *recens infans*. The rest of the refrain, *ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων θεός* is probably purely a Biblical echo (not of *Psalm* LXXIII, 12, as Maas suggests; but more likely *I Cor.*, II, 7: *ἣν προώρισεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων*. In any case, Ephrem speaks of the 'puer temporibus antiquior' (Mary hymn, Lamy, Vol. II, 580); and he has the Magi tell Mary, 'Puerulus tuus senex est, O Virgo, ipse est Antiquus dierum et omnia praecessit tempora' (Lamy, Vol. I, 126). Greek homily was fond of the idea which

which Proclus also used;[1] and when we consider lines 3 and 4, we are overwhelmed with evidence favoring Greek homily as the model for the phraseology of the *kontakion*. Here, the grouping of angels, shepherds, and Magi as well as the striking parallelism of the μετὰ phrases have many close parallels in the words of the Greek fathers; for example, Basil's prose account, arranged so that the end rhymes stand out, shows a close connection (*P.G.* XXXI, 1472):

Μετὰ μάγων προσκυνήσωμεν,
μετὰ ποιμένων δοξάσωμεν,
μετὰ ἀγγέλων χορεύσωμεν,
ὅτι ἐτέχθη ἡμῖν σήμερον Σωτὴρ
ὅς ἐστι Χριστὸς Κύριος.

However, the number of similar instances[2] in other homily writers warrants the conclusion that here we are dealing with a tradition rather than a direct borrowing from any one author.

Hence, when Baumstark tries to prove[3] that Romanos' idea of grouping the Magi with the shepherds rather than with the mother and child must have come from Syrian miniatures which he had

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Gregory and Theodotus express in strikingly similar language. Gregory has: αὐτὸς ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ Λόγος, ὁ προαιώνιος, and Theodotus ἦν μὲν γὰρ πρὸ αἰώνων θεὸς, Λόγος τῷ Γεννήσαντι συναΐδιος (See *P. G.* XXXVI, 326; and *P. G.* LXXVII, 1349).

[1] *P. G.* LXV, 713: πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις τῷ ἀπάτορι βρέφει προσφέρει τὰ ξένια; ἡ γῆ τὴν φάτνην . . . τὰ ὄρη τὸ σπήλαιον. Cf. Chrysostom, *P. G.* LXI, 766; and Basil, *P. G.* XXXI, 1473.

[2] Athanasius, *P. G.* XXVIII, 993:

ἦν μάγοι μετὰ τοῦ ἀστέρος . . . προσεκύνησαν,
καὶ ποιμένες μετὰ ἀγγέλων
τῷ θείῳ βρέφει συνεμακάρισαν καὶ συνύμνησαν.

Gregory of Nazianz, *P. G.* XXXVI, 332;

Μετὰ τοῦ ἀστέρος δράμε,
καὶ μετὰ Μάγων δωροφόρησον.

Ibid., 332:

Μετὰ ποιμένων δόξασον,
μετὰ ἀγγέλων ὕμνησον,
μετὰ ἀρχαγγέλων χόρευσον.

Ibid., 349:

Μετὰ ἀστέρος ἐδράμομεν,
καὶ μετὰ Μάγων προσεκυνήσαμεν,
μετὰ ποιμένων περιελλάμφθημεν,
καὶ μετὰ ἀγγέλων ἐδοξάσαμεν . . .

[3] *Oriens Christianus*, III (1913), 124.

known in his youth, one cannot help but be surprised. It is true that never in Syrian hymns and homilies do we find the Magi in the grouping which Romanos makes;[1] and this is probably responsible for the fact that Baumstark ignores literary sources; but if we discard the idea that every influence that went into the *kontakion* has to be Syrian and investigate the possibilities in Greek homily, we shall find that it reveals plenty of evidence that Romanos got not only the traditional grouping from that source, but even his phraseology; and certainly the popular Nativity sermons are more likely to have influenced his hymns than isolated Syrian pictures.

We have noticed that the point of emphasis in the narrative of the long Syrian poems about the Magi was quite different from that of Romanos even though both present the Magi and Mary as speakers; and now, we have observed that the prooemion uses the phraseology of Greek homily in regard to them. As far as the rest of the *kontakion* is concerned, we find in Romanos' amplification of the Magi narrative many new motifs;[2] and in spite of the Syrian influence on the dialogue, the phrases are almost entirely echoes of Greek homily if they are not original.

For example, when the Magi enter in strophe δ′, they question Mary as to her identity and she questions them as to theirs. It is significant that the only other passage where Mary questions the Magi (namely, in the fifteenth Epiphany hymn of Ephrem) the content is quite different; for there Mary asks the Magi why they brought the gifts. No one familiar with Greek tragedy can fail to think that the question which Romanos puts in the mouth of Mary and then of the Magi bears the stamp of Hellenic rather than Syrian tradition.

[1] This is natural when we consider that, in their tradition, the Magi are usually represented as coming to worship the child in the second year after the birth.

[2] For example, the vivid expression of Christ's omnipresence in the statement that He was both with the Magi and in Mary's arms (θ′, 2f.). There seems to be no parallel usage in other Nativity literature for Mary's jealousy of Sarah (γ′); nor for such a clear announcement of the reason for Joseph's presence (ια′); nor for the moral of the Magi's search; nor for the folk touches which we have mentioned already. Phrases about the star are also original:

Strophe γ′, 3 : σπηλαίου ἠράσθης ; ἡ φάτνη ἐτέρφθης;
" ε′, 2 : τῷ ἐκ σπλάγχνων αὐτῆς κύψασα προσεκύνησε
" ξ′, 1 : Ἐπειδὴ οὖν λαὸς σὸς ἐστι
" ζ′, 5 : αὐτὸς εἶ χάρις καὶ ἡ εὐπρέπεια τῆς σκηνῆς κάμοῦ
" ιβ′, 4 : πηλίνοις οἱ πύρινοι.

Also, the wording of such phrases as: τῶν μάγων τὸ βρέφος ζητούντων, as well as the Magi's answer to Mary: συνήκαμεν ὅτι ὤφθη παιδίον νέον (reflected in strophe β′ where Mary repeats her question), and Mary's remark that the kings of the East πρόσωπόν σου ἐπιζητοῦσι are reinforced by similar passages throughout the *kontakion*. (Such is the Magi's account of searching all the lands ἐκζητοῦντες ποῦ ἐτέχθη παιδίον νέον, of conversing with everyone ἐρωτῶντες ποῦ ἐτέχθη,[1] and of 'yearning to behold, to worship, and to hymn in praise the New Born Babe'). All these combine to leave an indelible impression that Romanos has emphasized a part of the Biblical story which even in the many Syrian accounts of the Magi receives less attention than in Greek homily, where the Wise Men of the East play a relatively minor rôle. In the long Magi speeches of Rücker's Nestorian homily, the single-minded determination of the Magi to search for the new King is lost sight of in the attention to prophecy-fulfillment and Herod's plots. In the first homily published by Baumstark, the Magi simply present their gifts. In Ephrem's many hymns and homilies, they exult, present mystic offerings, elude Herod, and recognize the significance of the star; but there is no discussion of their eagerness to search for the new-born babe,[2] although one would certainly expect it from the Magi's speeches to Mary when they bear gifts. On the contrary, Greek homily, which introduces the Magi only incidentally, affords a relatively large number of passages which are parallel to the above-quoted sentiment of Romanos. To be sure, the fact that the Magi came to seek the Christ-child is a narrative commonplace; but it receives such negligible attention in Syrian accounts that the treatment in Greek homily becomes significant; for in the latter we are never allowed to forget that they came πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ζητουμένου παιδίου ἀνεύρεσιν,[3] πρὸς τὴν ζήτησιν τοῦ γεννηθέντος,[4] μαθεῖν ποῦ ἔστιν ὁ τεχθείς,[5] ὡς βασιλέα ἐζήτουν οἱ Μάγοι, βασιλέως ἐπερῶντες τὸν τόκον.[6]

[1] See strophes ϛ′, ιδ′, ις′, ιθ′.

[2] See the one mild statement of Ephrem, Epiph. 15, str. 29: 'nequaquam a finibus terrae huc nos contulissemus et venissemus propter filium tuum.'

[3] Chrysostom, *P. G.* LXI, 766.

[4] Basil, *P. G.* XXXI, 1472.

[5] *Ibid.*, 1469.

[6] Theodotus, *P. G.* LXXVII, 1365.

So, too, Balaam revealed the star to the Magi, according to strophe ε′ of Romanos' *kontakion*. Though Ephrem makes the same statement once,[1] other Syrian works either give another source for the Magi's knowledge or do not account for it all. The prophecy of the star which will come forth out of Jacob is, on the contrary, frequently mentioned in Greek homily.[2]

Again, although the idea of contrasting Christ's royal power and human state was very common in Syrian literature, the striking expression of this antithesis in Romanos' words seems to echo a passage in the homily of Theodotus of Ancyra[3] whose description of the star is likewise close to that of Romanos.[4]

Since the Magi are distinctly oriental, and since the idea for a Mary — Magi dialogue probably comes from a Syrian source, we should have expected many phrase echoes from the eastern writers. The opposite seems to be true, for Romanos ends the account of the Magi, as he began it, with a tableau characteristic of Greek homily, for we read of the Magi bearing gifts in their hands and falling down before the child,[5] while the star reveals the place[6] and the shepherds praise the Lord and Creator.[7] This same grouping had appeared also in the account of Joseph's dream (strophe ιβ′); for Mary says he will tell what he saw *ἐν τοῖς οὐρανίοις καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγείοις*. If this is compared with *τὰ ἐπίγεια τοῖς οὐρανίοις συνάπτεται* of a homily by Chrysostom,[8] the similarity will be found to be striking. Furthermore, the

[1] Nativ. 4, str. 20 (Lamy, *op. cit.*, II, 478).

[2] Amphilochius, *P. G.* XXXIX, 40; Chrysostom *P. G.* LXI, 766; Basil, *P. G.* XXXI, 1469; Theodotus, *P. G.* LXXVII, 1430. Especially, notice Gregory of Nyssa's homily (*P. G.* XLVI, 1133) where we are told that the Magi observed the new star from Balaam's prophecy, and the star is described *ὃς παρὰ τὴν τῶν λοιπῶν ἀστέρων φύσιν μόνος . . . καὶ κινεῖται . . . καὶ ἵσταται καταμηνύων τὸν τόπον*. Cf. strophe ζ′ of Romanos.

[3] Romanos, ζ′3: *πενίαν πλουσίαν, πτωχείαν, τιμίαν*. Theodotus, *P. G.* LXXVII, 1364: *καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πτωχείᾳ ὁ πλοῦτος αὐτοῦ τῆς θεότητος δείκνυται, ἀστέρος τοῖς μαγοῖς δηλοῦντος τὸν πένητα, καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἄγοντος ἐπὶ τὴν φάτνην τοῦ πένητος*.

[4] Romanos, ή: *ἀστὴρ μὲν ἔστιν εἰς τὸ φαινόμενον, δύναμις δέ τις πρὸς τὸ νοούμενον*. Theodotus, *P. G.* LXXVIII, 1364: *ὅτι γὰρ οὐκ ἦν ἀστὴρ, ἀλλὰ δύναμις ἀγγελική*. Again: *περὶ τοῦ ἀστέρος ῥηθὲν, δύναμιν εἶναι τὸ φαινόμενον μηνύσει σαφῶς*.

[5] *μάγους δῶρα χερσὶ φέροντας καὶ προσπίπτοντας*.

[6] *ἀστέρα δηλοῦντα ποιμένας ὑμνοῦντας*.

[7] Notice that the threefold prayer which follows in the same strophe has the phrase *ὑπὲρ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς*, which has a possible parallel in Chrysostom's *καὶ ἡ γῆ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτῆς λαμπρὸν ἐπὶ φάτνης*.

[8] *P. G.* LXI, 766.

sentence is taken from the passage in Chrysostom which is a possible origin for the central part of the prooemion and the prayer of strophe κβ′. In other words, whenever Romanos presents the picture of Magi, shepherds, and angels there are phrases strongly reminiscent of the homily attributed to Chrysostom.

In the case of the theological phrases, it is difficult to trace sources, but a few outstanding examples of seeming correspondence in language between Romanos and writers of homily are worth noting.

The beginning of the *kontakion*, as in the Magi passages, furnishes the best examples of linguistic echoes. The opening figure of strophe α′ is unusual. The theology which makes of Christ's nativity the redemption for Adam and Eve,[1] and thereby for all mankind[2] was common enough in both Greek and Syrian literature; but to express that dogma by announcing that Bethlehem opened up Eden, and to follow that figure of speech by an exhortation to partake of the joys of Paradise is certainly out of the ordinary. It is thus particularly impressive when Theodotus of Ancyra includes both ideas in the beginning of his homily; and like Romanos, he follows them by assertions of the unimpaired chastity of Mary, whose virginity was guarded even though she gave birth to the παιδίον νέον, ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων θεός.[3]

Shorter parallel passages are not so significant, but in the case of the second strophe, in which Mary asks πῶς ἐνεσπάρης μοι, the many similarly worded questions in Greek homily are noteworthy, al-

[1] Adam: Athanasius, *P. G.* XXVIII, 945; Basil, *P. G.* XXXI, 1473; Chrysostom, *P. G.* LXI, 737; Gregory of Nazianz, *P. G.* XXXVI, 349; Proclus, *P. G.* LXV, 682, 709, 748.

In Ephrem, Mary is the direct cause of Adam's redemption. See Lamy, II, 522, 524, 550.

Eve: Athanasius, *P. G.* XXVIII, 952.

[2] Amphilochius, *P. G.* XXXIX, 40: Chrysostom, *P. G.* LVI, 391; Gregory of Nazianz *P. G.* XXXVI, 329.

[3] The two passages need to be compared in detail, as the spaced words will show: Romanos, ἀ: τὴν Ἐδὲμ Βηθλεὲμ ἤνοιξε, . . . δεῦτε λάβωμεν . . . τὰ τοῦ παραδείσου, ἐκεῖ ἐφάνη ῥίζα ἀπότιστος βλαστάνουσα ἄφεσιν. β′: . . . γνώμῃ, υἱὸς ἐγένετο . . . τὴν παρθενίαν δὲ ἀκμὴν ἐσφραγισμένην θεωρῶ σὺ γὰρ ταύτην φυλάξας ἐγεννήθης εὐδοκήσας παιδίον νέον, ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων θεός.

Theodotus, *P. G.* LXXVII, 1349: Ὦ γῆς ἀσπόρου καρπὸν βλαστησάσης σωτήριον. Ὦ παρθένος αὐτὸν νικήσασα τῆς Ἐδὲμ τὸν παράδεισον. Ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ μοσχευτῶν φυτῶν γένος ἀνέτειλεν, ἐκ παρθένου γῆς ἀνατειλάντων φυτῶν . . . καρπὸν σωτήριον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παρέχουσαν . . . Ἡ παρθένος τοῦ παραδείσου ἐνδοξοτέρα, γεγένηται . . . καὶ παρθένον ἐφύλαξε . . . Ἦν μὲν γὰρ πρὸ αἰώνων θεὸς . . . δι' ἀνθρώπους ἠθέλησεν . . . καὶ θελήσει θεοῦ.

though the general theological point is common enough even in Syrian literature. General homily tradition seems to have been responsible for the following repetitions of the question Romanos puts in Mary's mouth: for example, Gregory of Nyssa, *P. G.* XLVI, 1142: *πῶς ἔσομαι μήτηρ χωρὶς ἀνδρός*; Proclus, *P. G.* LXV. 713: *τίς σε μητέρα πρὸ τῶν γάμων ἐποίησε*; Chrysostom, *P. G.* LXI, 738: *ποῦ ἐστιν ὁ μὴ σπαρεὶς καὶ τεχθείς*;.

So, too, with the epithet from Ezekiel which Romanos adopts as an expression for Mary's virginity. He even plays with the phrase 'the unopened gate' in verses 6 and 7 of strophe *θ′*. The figure is not popular in Syrian literature but Greek homily is full of it.[1]

The eighth verse of strophe *δ′* hearkens back to the fifth of strophe *β′*; for the phrase *ἀπάτορος υἱοῦ* emphasizes the human fatherlessness of the Christ child, as the *οὐ νενύμφευμαι* did.[2] Both are of Biblical origin, but the *ἀγενεαλογητής*[3] is closer to the *ἀπάτωρ* and *ἀμήτωρ* of Greek homily than to the phraseology of Syrian literature.[4] Proclus[5] and Chrysostom[6] both use it especially, and it is suggested elsewhere. One use in Proclus (*P. G.* LXV, 713), *τῷ ἀπάτορι βρέφει* is followed immediately by the phrase *ἡ γῆ . . . προσφέρει τὴν φάτνην*, and the chance that Romanos knew the version of Proclus is thus increased.

Also, in the eighth verse of strophe *δ′*, we have the phrase, *μήτηρ καὶ τρόφος* which recalls the *γαλουχῶ* of strophe *β′*, 5. Although each idea occurs in Syrian hymns,[7] and Ephrem even makes use of the paradox which presents the 'One who feeds nations, nursed as a child,' nevertheless the wording of Romanos ('I behold Thee, mer-

[1] Amphilochius, *P. G.* XXXIX, 49; and Proclus, *P. G.* LXV, 692.

[2] Strophe *β*. There are many such phrases as *ἀπειρογάμου παρθένου* in Greek homily, but very few in Ephrem. See Paul of Emesa, *P. G.* LXXVII, 1436; Gregory of Nyssa, *P. G.* XLVI, 1137: Athanasius, *P. G.* XXVIII, 951; Proclus, *P. G.* LXV, 709, 712, 733; Basil and Athanasius emphasize the betrothal by the use of *μεμνηστευμένη*. Cf. *desponsata* of Theodotus, *P. G.* LXXVII, 1414, 1415. Cf. Lamy, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, 492, 536, 600. *Luke* I, 34.

[3] *Hebr.* VII, 3 and Romanos, strophe *ι′*.

[4] Syrian literature prefers the *unigenitus* epithet.

[5] Proclus, *P. G.* LXV, 685, 713, 716.

[6] Chrysostom, *P. G.* LXI, 737.

[7] For example: 'Puella lac, virgo natum habet,' Mary 5, strophe 4. Cf., too, Mary 2, strophe 3; Mary 11, strophe 3; Mary 15, strophe 2. Also, the first antithesis of Romanos is paralleled in Ephrem's *parens tua — nutrix tua.*

ciful One, and am amazed that I, who am unwed, nurse Thee,' and 'For I am not simply Thy mother, O merciful child, nor is it without prearranged plan that I give milk to Thee, the giver of milk,')[1] in both passages seems to gain inspiration from Greek homily. The latter citation is especially close to Amphilochius and Chrysostom:[2] Romanos, κγ', 2: γαλουχῶ τὸν χορηγὸν τοῦ γάλακτος. Amphilochius, *P.G.* XXXIX, 39: καὶ ἐγαλουχεῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμιάντων τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου μαστῶν, ὁ πάσαις ταῖς ὑπερκοσμίαις δυνάμεσι τὸ εἶναι κεχαρισμένος. Chrysostom, *P. G.* LVI, 387: ὁ γάλακτος . . . παρὰ μητρὸς παρθένου παιδίου τροφὴν ἔλαβε.

It remains to consider the use of allusions to the manger and swaddling clothes which picture the human surroundings of the divine infant. Romanos expresses this antithesis in true rhetorical manner in strophe β':

> ὁ σωτὴρ τῶν βρεφῶν βρέφος ἐν φάτνῃ ἐκεῖτο . . .
> καὶ σὲ μὲν βλέπω μετὰ σπαργάνων . . . σὺ γὰρ . . . ἐγεννήθης εὐδοκήσας.

Ephrem has very few references to manger and swaddling clothes. He likes to get his antithetical effect by exclamations of marvel that the womb could hold the divine, especially the divine fire; but Romanos was evidently influenced by the usage of the church orators, as the following passages show: Proclus, *P. G.* LXV, 717: φάτνη; ἀλλὰ τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς οὐκ ἐγύμνωσε κόλπον, σπήλαιον; ἀλλ' οὐδέποτε τῷ θρόνῳ ἡ Τριὰς ἐνέλειψεν. *Ibid.*, 741: μὴ γὰρ ἐκπίπτει τῆς μεγαλοσύνης ἐὰν κατακλιθῇ ἐπὶ τῆς φάτνης, *Ibid.*, 712: βρέφη συντρεχέτωσαν, διὰ τὸ ἐν φάτνῃ σπαργανούμενον βρέφος. *Theodotus*, *P. G.* LXXVII, 1361: Ἐν φάτνῃ γὰρ ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ κατατίθεται Λόγος. *Ibid.* 1364: βλέπε τὴν φάτνην τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβὶμ καθημένου. Chrysostom, *P. G.* LVI, 392: Τέκτονα καὶ φάτνην ὁρῶ, καὶ βρέφος καὶ σπάργανα—Ὦ πενία πλούτου πηγή—Ἐν φάτνῃ κεῖται, καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην σαλεύει, ἐν σπαργάνοις ἐμπλέκεται, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας διαῤῥήσσει δέσμα, ...Ἰδοὺ βρέφος σπαργάνοις ἐμπλέκεται, καὶ ἐν φάτνῃ κεῖται.

Aside from these and other[3] common allusions in Proclus, Theodotus, and Chrysostom, there are similar passages in the homilies of

[1] Strophes β', and κγ'.

[2] Proclus, *P. G.* LXV, 752, and Chrysostom, *P. G.* LXI, 737, and LVI, 391 have similar passages.

[3] For example, compare Theodotus, *P. G.* LXXVII, 1360, and 1365; and Chrysostom, *P. G.* LVI, 389; XLIX, 354; and LXI, 737.

Amphilochius[1] and Gregory of Nyssa[2] which prove rather definitely that the tradition of using manger and swaddling clothes for rhetorical contrast with the divine prerogatives of the infant was well fixed in Greek homily. The strong brevity of Romanos' expression, 'The Savior of infants lay an infant in the manger' reveals him as worthy pupil of this school.

It is noteworthy that Proclus, Theodotus, Basil, and Chrysostom are the four orators whom Romanos seems to have known well enough to imitate to any appreciable extent, and it seems fair to conclude that the majority of phrase echoes are of Greek homily tradition. Sometimes, the similarities may be due to chance as in the use of the Biblical figure *ῥίζα ἀπότιστος* which is common in Proclus.[3] A similar instance is the fact that the emphasis on the voluntary nature of the Redemption by the words *γνώμῃ*, *εὐδοκήσας*, and *βουλήσει* in strophes *β′* and *γ′* recalls the usage in Greek homily[4]; also in this class are such isolated counterparts as we can find in line two of the first strophe and the words of Gregory of Nyssa.[5] However, even though these last few parallel usages between Romanos and the sermons of the Greek fathers do not prove anything, nevertheless when they are combined with the more significant similarities in phrasing which we have given, we can say with some assurance that the language of such passages as present the Magi, as well as the series of Prooemion phrases, and the choice of quotations from Biblical narrative and theological tradition are to be traced to the homilies of the fourth and fifth centuries. Only occasionally is it fair to assume one source in preference to another. Proclus seems to be the more likely inspiration for the language which concerns Mary; and Theodotus seems to be the model for the beginning of strophe one. There is a surprisingly slight tendency to use the language of Syrian literature, even of the fifteenth Epiphany hymn of Ephrem.

[1] *P. G.* XXXIX, 39.

[2] *P. G.* XLVI, 1141: *παιδίον ἐν σπαργάνοις διειλημμένον καὶ ἐπὶ φάτνης ἀναπαυόμενον . . . τὸ δὲ σπήλαιον ἰδὼν ἐν ᾧ τίκτεται ὁ Δέσποτης . . . σπαργάνοις δὲ διασφίγγεται, ὁ τὰς σειρὰς τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτημάτων περιβαλλόμενος.*

[3] See *P. G.* LXV, 737, 757 and 713.

[4] Theodotus, *P. G.* LXVII, 1349. Athanasius, XXVIII, 965, 969, 972.

[5] *P. G.* XLVI, 1141: *κατιδεῖν τὰ ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ μυστήρια.*

In other words, in the Christmas *Kontakion* of Romanos there is a crossing of Greek and Syrian influence such as Maas had supposed; for the dialogue form in which the Magi and Mary present the Nativity narrative is Syrian; but the language, when not original,[1] is influenced by Greek homily. In addition to this conclusion which we have stated here rather arbitrarily, some qualifying remark is necessary, for undoubtedly many conditions had exerted their influence on the writings of Romanos and on the development of hymns up to the sixth century. It is impossible for us to measure the force which had motivated the production of Christian hymns in a form which would avoid, as far as possible, any pagan associations, and at the same time offer to the people some compensation for the drama which was denied them. Themes had to be chosen which would refute the ever-present heretic, and offer an acquaintance with Biblical literature. The orator was trying to do the same thing, and the really fundamental point is that the line dividing the homily and hymn was so slight in Gregory of Nazianz that he was said to be an orator in his poems and a poet in his orations, whereas a differentiation between the two literary forms was never even attempted in Syrian literature.

Consequently, the two-branched development of hymn and homily on Greek soil constantly shows a puzzling intertwining of roots. Romanos, the chief of Byzantine hymn writers, illustrates this growth; and any attempt to decide on one source for his *kontakia* to the exclusion of others is sure to fall short of absolute truth. Just what is the exact relation of sources can be determined only by studies of individual poems. As far as the Christmas hymn is concerned, we can state that the piece of paper which the poet swallowed before he arose to sing the melodious *kontakion* of the Nativity contained a wealth of literary inspiration, and represented the double heritage of the Greek-Syrian poet. From the deep wells of his familiarity with Syrian dramatic church poetry he drew the dialogue between Mary and the Magi; from an intimate love of the phrases which adorned Greek Christmas sermons he formed melodic expressions whose rhythmic charm surpassed their models and passed into all subsequent Nativity literature.

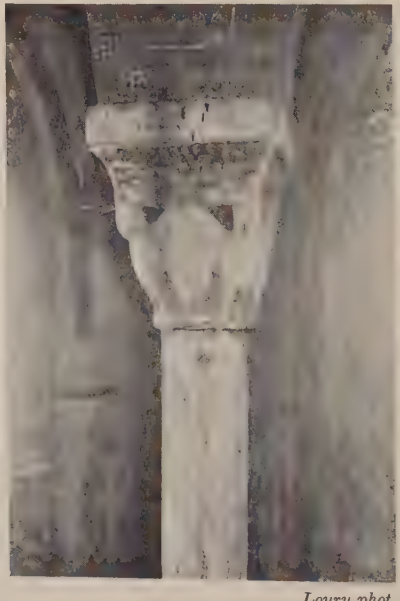
McMaster University

[1] See θ′, 2; γ′, 3; ϛ′, 2; ϟ′, 1 and 5; ιβ′, 4.

Courtesy of Fernand Mercier

PLATE Ia
APSIDAL PAINTING OF THE CHAPELLE DES MOINES
AT BERZÉ-LA-VILLE (SAÔNE-ET-LOIRE)

Loury phot.



Loury phot.

PLATE Ib, c
PAINTED CAPITALS FROM THE APSE AT BERZÉ-LA-VILLE

THE APSE AT CLUNY

By KENNETH JOHN CONANT
Research Associate in Archaeology of the Mediaeval Academy of America

SINCE the excavation of the east end of the abbey church of Cluny in 1929, a year and a half of study has clarified most of its problems, so that it is now possible to publish a tentative restoration which goes very far beyond anything heretofore available on this subject. Plan, elevation, and sections have been developed by the present writer with the devoted help of Mr Frédéric Palmer. The drawings presented herewith as Figures 1, 2, 3, and 4 were made at small scale and for reproduction in line, but they are worthy of much confidence. The final drawings are to be large in scale and rendered in wash so that they may be more perfect in detail, but otherwise they will not differ greatly from those presented here.

To arrive at a true understanding of the 'Géant-église' at Cluny, it must be considered in its larger aspect as a part of the whole Cluniac building program. It is generally forgotten that St Hugh of Semur, abbot from 1049 to his death in 1109, built at Cluny a whole series of structures, of which the church was merely the crown; the vast infirmary, the huge refectory, the immense stable, the spacious Chapel of Notre Dame de l'Infirmerie were his (SPECULUM IV [1929], 8), not to speak of other large enterprises in France and Spain. We now know that the Infirmary Chapel was dedicated in the year 1085. In undertaking the church, the abbot was not in the position of an isolated builder, but rather like the head of a contracting organization which has work continually in progress. While a large new building always involves elaborate preparation, the lost motion is by no means considerable under the conditions which obtained at Cluny in 1088. There is reason to think that the preliminaries were under way before the 'fundatio' of that year, but hardly before 1081. Some new construction was then indispensable, for increasing numbers of monks overcrowded the old abbey church; see SPECULUM V (1930) 86, 87.

At page 79 of this article is reproduced an interesting text, assigned to *ca.* 1080 by Bernard and Bruel, who published it. Alfonso

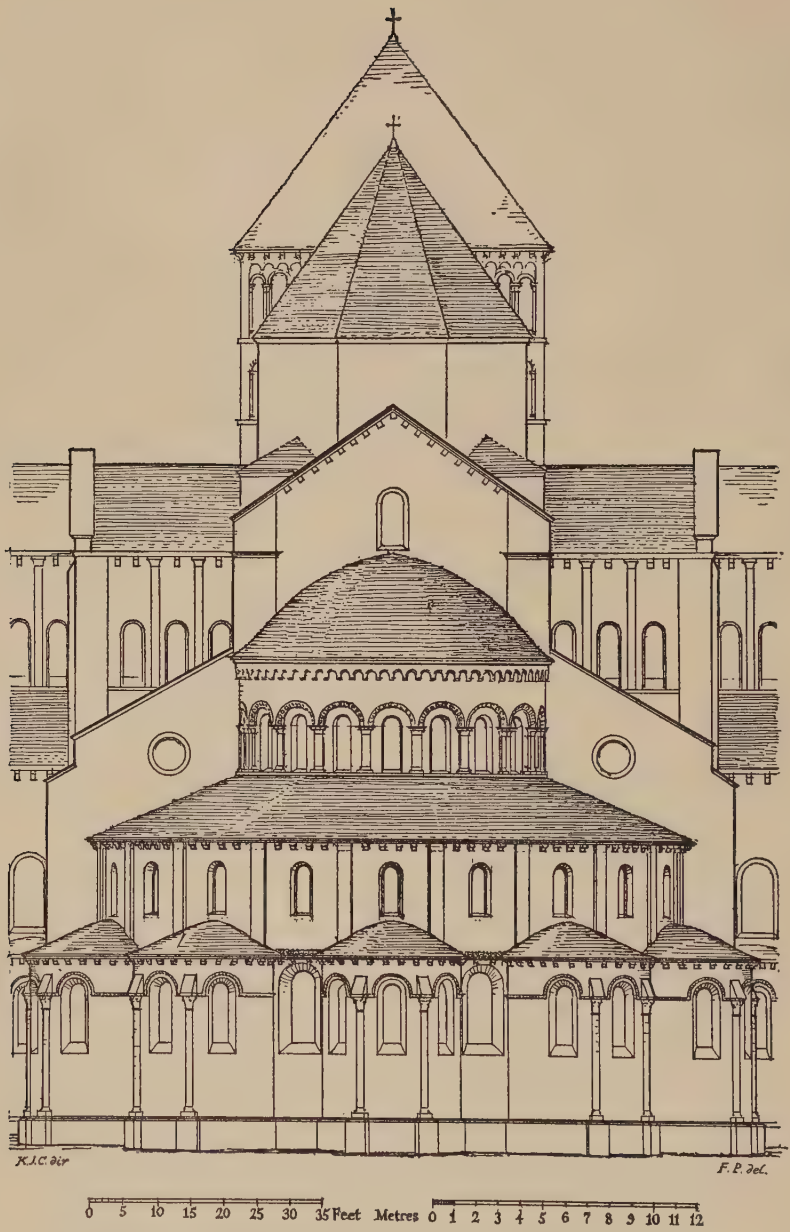


FIGURE 1. PRELIMINARY EAST ELEVATION OF THE APSE AT CLUNY

Cleveland phot.

PLATE II

APSE OF THE PRIORY CHURCH OF PARAY-LE-MONIAL

VI of Spain, engaged as he says in pacifying the cites of Yspania, promises St Hugh aid with the 'ecclesie quam edificatis' (at Cluny?) when he had achieved a success which with God's help could not be long delayed. Alfonso VI contributed very largely to the construction of the church at Cluny, and it is possible that he redeemed his engagement as a thank-offering for the capture of Toledo, May 26, 1085. The 'fundatio' of September 30, 1088, may mark the beginning of the actual construction of the church; it may refer to a cornerstone ceremony of which we have no knowledge, or it may be connected with a lost diploma of foundation by Alfonso VI, for the King received honors suitable to the founder of a church, as is clear from a diploma cited on page 85 of the article mentioned above.

It may be inferred from the texts that the design of the new church was conceived by a venerable monk named Gunzo (in French Gauzon), who is said to have been a retired abbot of Beaume. The accounts given in Gilon's Life of St Hugh (*ca.* 1113) and in the *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis* (at column 458; *ca.* 1120), are already tinged with the miraculous. Indeed, the scheme of the building was so expressive of the commanding position of Cluny, and so fine a representative of the great monastic Romanesque style in its many regional phases, as to be really inspired. We may suppose that Gunzo's rôle was like that of Iktinos in the design of the Parthenon. His Kallikrates, who put the building into execution, was probably Hezelo (Hézelon), canon of Liége and a man of acknowledged talent (*Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, column 794). The excavations show that the church proper was raised in accordance with a single plan, and reveal progressively how admirable it was from the point of view of theoretical or pure architecture. It is possible for the modern restorer to put himself into the mind of these Romanesque architects because their work shows a combination of skillfulness and good sense which always characterizes the best in architecture. Every one knows how remarkable the Cluny sculptors were, but they were by no means superior technically to the architects.

Fragments of the immense apsidal painting recovered in 1929 make it possible to connect that great work directly with the smaller and roughly contemporary one at Berzé-la-Ville (Plate I A). M. Fer-

nand Mercier, a distinguished student of French primitive paintings, has given particular attention to these works and he holds that the painter of Cluny was fully as remarkable in his way as either the sculptors or the architects. From the point of view of color and design the great painting was always highly esteemed, while its technical process, according to M. Mercier, took it far out of the ordinary run of contemporary painting. It was probably laid out in reddish paint and the areas tinted *al fresco*, but the real painting, M. Mercier says, consisted of skillful overlays of tempera — as many as seven layers over certain areas — enriched by wax overpainting. Berzé-la-Ville seems eclectic-mediaeval, but influenced by mosaics such as those of Ravenna; heir to the best in contemporary and earlier Italian and Byzantine achievements, and perhaps of French authorship. The pitiful débris of the Cluny painting supply few criteria of style, but there is every possible chance that it resembled the one at Berzé-la-Ville, and so was international, like the architecture.

The bearing of the foregoing upon the problem is considerable, for it means that in St Hugh's time there was an academy of outstanding artists at Cluny. The sculptors no longer occupy a precarious eminence alone, but, joined by the architects and painters, form what may be called the Academy of St Hugh. They were probably called together from a distance. Their training far transcended the local training available in Burgundy, and it is infinitely likely that they were sent as journeymen to see and observe abroad. It is fair to infer that St Hugh and Hezelo presided over the great work of coördination which brought the abbey church into being. Their pioneer task was so great, and absorbed so much of the artistic energy available locally, that we do not find the Burgundian school of sculpture and architecture bursting into flower elsewhere until the work at Cluny was virtually finished (early in the twelfth century). With over twelve hundred capitals to be carved before they were set, the abbot could not afford to be generous; but when the carvers were released, the Burgundian school flowered quite naturally.

New studies only confirm the dating 1088–1095 for the celebrated ambulatory capitals, contrary to the opinion expressed by M. Paul Deschamps in his monumental new work, *French Romanesque Sculp-*

Loury phot.

PLATE IIIA
THE SACRIFICE OF ABRAHAM
(CAPITAL 9)

Loury phot.

PLATE IIIB
ADAM AND EVE
(CAPITAL 10)

Abbé Monot phot

PLATE IIIC
WARRIOR PRUDENCE FROM
CAPITAL 6

Archives photographiques, Paris

PLATE IIID
THE FOUR RIVERS OF PARADISE
(CAPITAL 5)

ture (Paris: Pegasus, 1930), pages 34–37. M. Deschamps believes that the capitals were replaced or recut under Peter the Venerable during repairs after 1125. Such an hypothesis is entirely gratuitous and has nothing behind it. The upper and lower plane surfaces of the blocks are cut in the eleventh-century manner, and the carving of the sides of five capitals continues upon the top in such a manner that it must have been done before the impost blocks were set upon the capitals, and consequently before the dedication of 1095. M. Deschamps denies this, but the reader may judge for himself and consider the evidence for a reconstruction of the Cluny sanctuary after the first dedication by consulting SPECULUM V (1930), 77 ff. Moreover — and this is decisive — Capital 5 (the Four Rivers of Paradise), the most beautiful of all, has never been completed. Why should Peter the Venerable's carvers have neglected it, if they worked on the capitals? On the side which faced the ambulatory, the leafage is not undercut, as it is elsewhere on Capital 5 and on several others. Nor could any artist, hampered by older carvings, achieve the lovely free grace of these designs. It is very doubtful if the recutting could have been done without leaving some trace of the older work, and there is none. It is very unlikely that the recut designs would be as detailed as those existing, which are at studio scale, much smaller than their position calls for.

In arguing for his position in the *Revue de l'Art* [LVIII (1930), 157, 205], M. Deschamps calls attention to the elaboration of the capitals of the apse at Cluny as compared to the simplicity of those in the roughly contemporary reproduction of it at Paray-le-Monial (Plates II, VII). But the capitals at Paray are well designed to receive painted decoration. In the Chapelle des Moines at Berzé-la-Ville (already mentioned) there are simple capitals (Plate I B, C) which resemble the examples at Paray-le-Monial, with the difference that they retain their painted decoration. This is evidently the key of the difficulty. Such decoration of simply formed capitals is not exceptional at the time; it was perhaps intended, if not executed, at Paray. Furthermore, this phase of M. Deschamps' argument is contradictory, since he assigns the elaborate capitals devoted to the Sacrifice of Abraham (number 9) and Adam and Eve (number 10) to the eleventh century.

Both doubtless came with the eight great capitals (1 to 8) when the east end of the building was taken down [Speculum III (1928), 403].

There are excellent reasons for believing that Capitals 1 to 10 belong together as one series, and that, with the large marble altar slab

Figure 2. Preliminary Longitudinal Section of the Apse at Cluny

now exhibited in the local Museum in Cluny, all were in their places in 1095.

Capital 9 (Plate III A) is assigned to the eleventh century by M. Deschamps because of its esthetic shortcomings, but it is fair to say that these are exaggerated by its bad lighting and unfortunate plac-

Loury phot.

PLATE IVA
HIGH ALTAR SLAB FROM THE ABBEY CHURCH
Wrongly labeled 'XII^e siècle'

Loury Phot.

PLATE IVB
MARBLE URN OF ST HUGH

Loury phot.

PLATE IVC
DETAIL OF ALTAR SHOWN ABOVE

ing in the museum. The vase in the middle of the capital closely resembles a marble urn in the museum — traditionally the urn in which the heart of St Hugh (†1109) was preserved (Plate IV B). Capital 10 (Plate III B) is ascribed to the eleventh century by M. Deschamps because of a certain stiffness in the cutting. But this capital is made of a dark exterior weather stone, much harder than the '*petit marbre*' of the others. It seems to have been adapted for interior use. Allowing for differences in the color and hardness of the stone, it is difficult to believe that a full generation elapsed between this carving and the leafage on Capital 5 (the Four Rivers of Paradise); besides, the faces on the great capitals are in many cases as archaic as the others (Plate III C, D).

Capital 5 enters into the controversy once more through the similarity of its lower leafage to that of the marble high altar (Plate IV A, C). M. Deschamps believes that the altar was consecrated by Urban II in 1095 (*Mélanges . . . offerts à M. Fernand Lot . . .* Paris: Champion, 1925; p. 157, Pl. IV). A thorough study of these eleven pieces in relation to one another, to the texts, to excavated fragments of the ambulatory, and to the surviving transept, makes it abundantly clear that they all belong together, and consequently to the period 1088–1095.

A careful study of the epigraphy, soon to appear in SPECULUM, shows that there is nothing improbable in the lettering of the capitals at this date, although it is admittedly advanced in style.

Certain amplifications and corrections may now be made in the article concerning the iconography and the sequence of the ambulatory capitals, SPECULUM V (1930), 278 ff. By mischance the print of Capital 4 was reversed by the engraver of Plate I A. Capital 3 is correctly placed in the text, but the face shown looking toward the sanctuary in Plate I A and B, should look toward the observer's left, instead. This change is confirmed by a further study of the capital. Mr Porter has interpreted it as the Capital of the Winds, taking the wicker objects to be bellows. Others have thought that they were harvest baskets of some kind, but M. Jules Banchereau in a convincing article in the *Bulletin Monumental* (LXXVII [1913], 403) shows that beehives are intended. The parallel capital at Vézelay leaves no

doubt as to the proper placing, which is represented in Plate VII A. Capital 3 may most appropriately be called the Beehive Capital. In the SPECULUM article, page 283, it is stated that Capital 5 is unfinished, which is true; but the figure without eyes was probably intended to be so; this would prove that the Four Rivers of Paradise

FIGURE 3. PRELIMINARY TRANSVERSE SECTION OF THE APSE AT CLUNY

were considered as allegories for the four Cardinal Virtues by the sculptor. Justice should be blind. Capital 7 is best called the Palaestra Capital, according to more recent studies of Pietro Damiani's letter, which speaks of Cluny as of a spiritual gymnasium. Hildebert, bishop of le Mans, in his life of St Hugh (*Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, column 433) says the monastery 'quoddam virtutis gymnasium fuit.' In the ancient palaestra, boxing and bowling or similar 'diversions'

Boecker phot.

PLATE V

SHAFT WITH NECKING, IMPOST, AND CAPITAL 8
(THE LAST FOUR TONES OF PLAINSONG)
RESTORED; THE FIFTH TONE

had their place; piscinae were provided for bathing. The thermae are said to have had rooms for literary studies, athleticism among them. But the 'bowler' may be a sower of the 'caelestis eloquii semina.'

Fragment 814 (Speculum vi [1931], 8) is clearly a part of an impost block. In the studies made by the present writer and Mr Harold Fairchild Pyke, sculptor, the profile was completed and the foliate ornament extended over it, with the result that the unit leaf found on the fragment proved to be commensurate with the width of the block. The effect of similar blocks on two adjacent capitals correctly spaced is shown in Plate vii b. Incidentally, this spacing of 7′–2″ (2 m. 18) derived from the studies in plan based on the excavations of 1928 and 1929, checks well with the curvature noted on fragment 517 (*ibid.*, 6) which seems certainly to be a portion of one of the ambulatory arches.

The block shown in Plate v is derived directly from fragment 814. Underneath it is an abacus restored as well as possible from the other capitals of the Cluny series; below that is a cast of Capital 8, tentatively restored by Mr Pyke and the writer, resting on a plaster necking copied from the examples still to be seen (but not under the capitals) in the local museum at Cluny. The shaft underneath, though but 1′–7″ (0 m. 48) in diameter, was something like 32′–6″ (9 m. 91) in height. With this dimension in mind and the photograph in view, the queenly elegance of the Cluny columns may be imagined. The heaviness of the impost block, which would otherwise be objectionable, is due to the fact that the skewbacks above formed roughly a square over 3′–0″ (say a metre) on a side, resting ultimately on a round shaft of half that measurement in diameter.

To restore three of the figures on Capital 8, it was only necessary to extend the broken lines of their bodies and instruments, and imagine faces for them. The Fifth Tone of Plainsong, however, proved more difficult, for the body is almost completely missing. Recourse was had to drawings of the musical tones in two eleventh-century manuscripts to which Mr Charles Niver kindly called attention: Bibliothèque Nationale — *Latin 1118, folio 109;* and British Museum — *Harley 4951, folio 300*^{v}. While there are variations in the other tones, both represent a woman in an awkward position, without a

musical instrument, as the Fifth Tone. (Plate VI A, B). The inscription on Capital 8, 'Ostendit quintus quam sit quisquis tumet imus,' clearly explains the manuscript women as leaping; and it will be observed that the feet of the figure on the capital are those of a leaper. Therefore the Fifth Tone may be restored on the basis of the eleventh-century manuscript drawings. The date of the manuscripts tends to bear out what has been said about the iconography of the capitals, as eleventh-century iconography.

The arrangement given in SPECULUM V (1930), 278 ff. has stood a year of criticism well. To it may now be added the two engaged-column capitals 9 and 10, the former devoted to the Sacrifice of Abraham, associated with Capital 8 under the first apse arch on the southern side, and the latter devoted to Adam and Eve, in a corresponding position at the north (Plate VII A). It must be remembered also that fragments belonging in all probability to other capitals have been found in the excavations of the east end of the church. In the area of the south minor transept there was picked up a warrior closely resembling those of the cathedral of Modena. The iconographical program of the great ambulatory capitals should be large enough to include the smaller ones, also.

It is hardly to be denied that we have the iconographical program in the letter of St Peter Damian (†1072) to St Hugh, concerning the life of the abbey, to which (in part) attention has already been drawn (SPECULUM V [1930] 286; *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, columns 479–483). There is no better proof of the new identifications in the iconography, of the unity of the ten capitals in one scheme, or of the group of capitals as one consistent whole, than a reading of the great eleventh-century churchman's letter. One subject which would furnish telling proof is missing — a capital with an ox being prodded behind. That was a thankless subject for a great allegorical capital, but it may have been represented on a smaller one. Perhaps the two ill-characterized and broken little animals on the abacus of the Corinthian capital (number 1) may represent the 'Dominici boves' of which St Peter Damian writes. How richly the other nine capitals illustrate the letter is shown by its text, below, where the numbers in parentheses are those of the capitals involved.

British Museum—Harley 4951, fol. 300 v

PLATE VIa, b
THE FIFTH TONE IN MANUSCRIPT DRAWINGS

Courtesy of Charles Niver

Bibliothèque Nationale–Latin 1118, fol. 109

EPISTOLA III

Domno Ugoni Archangelo Monachorum, sanctoque Conuentui, Petrus peccator Monach. quidquid seruus.

Postquam feram semel uaenator illaqueat, si nexum eius pedibus iniicit, iam sine perdendi formidine longius eam euagari sub quadam libertate permittit. Is etiam, qui aucupio delectatur, dum iniecto funiculo pedibus tenet volucrem, securus auolandi datam simulat facultatem: et illa quidem fugam tentat, alarum librat ex more remigium: sed dum exilire conatur, aucupe funiculum stringente, retrahitur. Uos etiam me tuto ad propria remisistis, quem uidelicet glutino uestrae charitatis (4) astrictum insolubiliter retinetis. Nam recedere quidem corpore potui, sed mente de uestris manibus non exiui. Ita nempe mirandae conuersationis uestrae me uiscus obstrinxit, angelicae uitae coagulus agglutinauit, sincerae charitatis (4) laqueus irretiuit, ut facilius suimet obliuisci, quam a uestra memoria mens mea possit auelli. Uidi siquidem paradisum (10) quatuor Euangeliorum fluentis irriguum (5), immo totidem spiritualium riuis exuberare uirtutum (4, 5, 6): uidi hortum delitiarum diuersas rosarum (4), ac liliorum (6) gratias germinantem (6) et mellifluas (3) aromatum (6), ac pigmentorum fragrantias (6) suauiter redolentem (6) ut de illo vere valeat Deus omnipotens dicere: *Ecce odor filii mei sicut odor agri pleni* (6), *cui benedixit Dominus.* Et quid aliud Cluniacense monasterium, nisi agrum Domini plenum (6) dixerim, ubi uelut aceruus est coelestium segetum (6), chorus (2, 8) tot in charitate (4) degentium monachorum (7)? Ager ille quotidiano sanctae praedicationis ligone proscinditur (7), et in eo caelestis eloquii semina consperguntur (7). Illic spiritualium frugum (6) prouentus aggeritur, ut horreis postmodum coelestibus inferatur. Unde cum te, foelix Cluniace, considero, hoc tibi nomen impositum, non sine diuini praesagii dispositione perpendo. Hoc quippe vocabulum ex clunibus, et acu componitur, per quod uidelicet arantium boum (1?) exercitium designatur. Bos enim in clunibus aculeo pungitur, ut aratrum trahat, et arua proscindat. Illic enim humani cordis ager excolitur, unde seges (6) illa colligitur, quae promptuarii caelestis aedibus infercitur. Illic aculeus ille bobus infligitur, de quo superbienti adhuc Saulo dictum est: *Durum est tibi contra stimulum calcitrare.* Ille siquidem tamquam superbus, et ferox adhuc taurus aream Domini, quae est Ecclesia, superbiae cornibus ventilabat, sed iugo Fidei (4) diuinitus subditur, ut aratrum in agro Domini trahere compellatur. Unde postmodum de Euangelizantibus, tamquam de arantibus dicit: *Debet enim in spe* (4), *qui arat, arare: et qui triturat in spe* (4) *fructus* (5) *percipiendi.* De hoc aratro Dominus, *Nemo,* inquit, *mittens manum suam in aratrum, et respiciens retro, aptus est regno Dei.* Legis aratrum trahebat Israëliticus populus per desertum, cum hinc eum Pharao durissimae seruitutis aculeo pungeret, illinc autem Moyses praeceptis caelestibus, quasi quibusdam funibus prouocaret. Ille construendo luto, atque lateribus urbes, eum quasi post terga caedebat; iste promittendo ter-

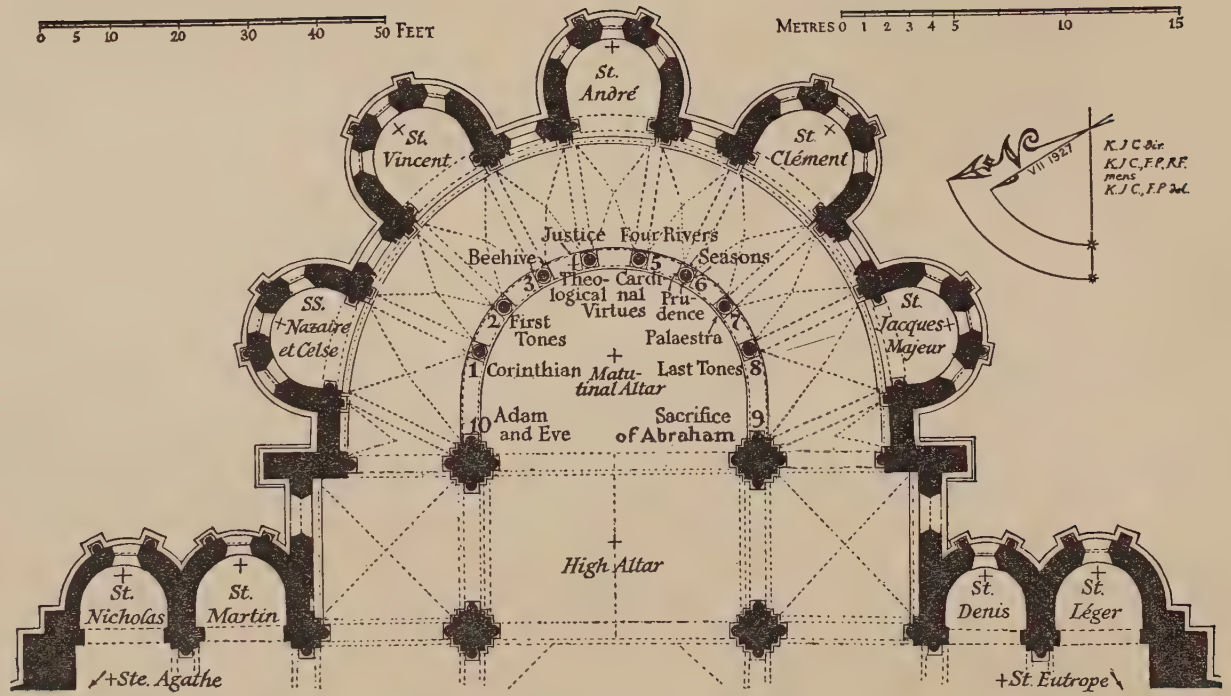


FIGURE 4. REVISED PLAN OF THE APSE AT CLUNY
The exterior of the ambulatory wall is a polygon.
The numbers are those assigned to the ambulatory capitals.

10 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Loury phot

PLATE VII A

REVISED SEQUENCE OF AMBULATORY CAPITALS

PLATE VII B

CAPITALS 4 AND 5 WITH SHAFTS, NECKING, IMPOST,

ram lactis ac mellis (3), praeuius attrahebat. Nos autem, qui in agro Ecclesiae, quasi Dominici boues (1?) aramus, tunc in posterioribus aculeo pungimur, cum ultima postremi iudicii (4) discussione terremur. In posterioribus nos aculeus terroris exagitat, ut ceruix nostra iugo diuinae leges astricta, in laboribus non lassescat. Conuenienter itaque Cluniacum agrum dixerim, in quo uidelicet Dominici boues (1?) infatigabiliter arant, dum eos diuini terroris aculeus stimulat: et uelut acu clunium pars postrema transpungitur, cum ultimi terrore iudicii (4) mens humana terretur. In posterioribus pungitur, ut in anteriora contendat, quia transacta cor nostrum vita terrificat ut discussionem ultimi examinis (4) pauescat. Hoc Paulus aculeo pungebatur, ut in anteriora contenderet, cum dicebat: Ego me non arbitror comprehendisse: unum autem, quae retro oblitus sequor ad brauium supernae vocationis: sequor, si comprehendam. Datus enim illi fuerat stimulus carnis, ut non in labore succumberet, sed in agro Dominicae segetis (6) indefessus araret. Hic bos insignis, atque mirabilis duo gerebat in capite cornua, quia duo ventilabat per praedicationis (7) officium testamenta; qui cum ad Galatus diceret: Unum Abrahae filium (9) ex ancilla natum, alterum ex nobili legitimi coniugii libertate progenitum; protinus addidit: *Haec enim sunt duo testamenta.* Hic etiam more bouis ligatus arabat, qui uincula sua saepe commemorat. Numquid enim tunc in uinculis non arabat, cum ad Philemonem catena constrictus aiebat: *Obsecro te pro filio meo, quem genui in uinculis, Onesimo?* Qui etiam tamquam bos egregius ad victimam ducebatur, cum dicebat: *Ego enim iam immolor,* (9) *tempus meae resolutionis instat.* Merito ergo uenerabilis locus sortitus est uocabulum, ubi nunc et spiritualium bonum trahitur aratrum, et coelestium segetum (6) usque ad unum granum, quod est Christus Iesus, accumulatur aceruus. Qui de semetipso dicit: Nisi granum frumenti (6) cadens in terram mortuum fuerit, nullum fructum affert.

Cluniacus praeterea spiritualis quidam campus est, ubi coelum, et terra congreditur, ac uelut arena certaminis (7), ubi spiritualis more palaestrae (7) caro fragilis aduersus potestates aëreas colluctatur. *Non est enim nobis colluctatio* (7) *aduersus carnem, et sanguinem; sed aduersus mundi rectores tenebrarum harum, contra spirituales nequitias in coelestibus.* Illic Iosue non ille Benun, sed caelestis ductor exercitus, et qui spiritualium instructor est bellatorum, suos edocet milites, superbas quinque Regum calcare ceruices: super quos nimirum triumphalem noscuntur obtinere victoriam, qui totidem sensus corporum per districtae custodiae cohibent disciplinam.

The letter concludes with a most urgent recommendation that the monks keep St Peter Damian's memory in their prayers, and and it is not past belief that St Hugh had this request of his friend in mind when the sculptural program for the sanctuary capitals was made.

Harvard University

NOTES ON THE TEXT OF THE *DEFENSOR PACIS* OF MARSILIUS OF PADUA

By DINO BIGONGIARI

THE recent edition of the *Defensor* by Mr Previté-Orton with its most valuable critical apparatus has marked a considerable advance in the study of Marsilius. There are, however, in this edition, and in those which have preceded it, a great number of passages — some of them of considerable importance — which, though never questioned or queried by the editors, seem to stand in need of correction either by textual emendation or footnotes. I have examined here below a certain number of these passages which, whatever their critical support, do not seem to meet the demands of reason or the requirements of that modicum of consistency and scholarship which we must, in justice, posit for our author. I have, however, left out of the present consideration a few readings which seemed, in my judgment, to demand considerable change, and have limited my attention to such sentences and phrases as are obviously erroneous and emendable with little or no departure from the critical apparatus. For the sake of convenience, I regularly refer to the edition of Mr Previté-Orton (Cambridge: University Press, 1928), although the passages I object to are usually not differently edited there from what they are in Goldast, etc.

1. One source of difficulty seems to have been the copyists' and editors' consistent practice of compounding words that should remain separate. I will give a few examples, leaving the complete enumeration to some future time. I mean, for instance, sentences like the following, in Dictio II, chapter 5, paragraph 2 (p. 145 of Previté-Orton's text) — 'Voluit ergo Apostolus eos iudicare coactivo iudicio qui non sunt ordinati *administrandum*' . . . Here obviously syntax demands *ad* as a preposition governing *ministrandum*. Again in the sentence (p. 95) 'Unde nec sunt unum per aliquid formaliter inhaerens unum, nec *pertangens* unum aut ea continens velut murus,' the participle *tangens* must, for grammatical exigencies, be separated from *per*, which is not a prefix, but a preposition needed to govern both *tangens* and *continens*. So on p. 54, instead of 'de quibusdam

instantiis *addicta* in capitulo praecedenti,' we should read *ad dicta*. And on p. 37 in the sentence: 'quod erit inquirere *legislatorem* seu causam agentem ipsius,' by writing *legislatorem* as one word, the passage is given an erroneous meaning, in that *ipsius*, as it now stands, can only refer to *legislatorem*, whereas the sense demands that it refer to *legis*, whose *causa agens* is here discussed and is found to be this very *lator*, that is: the *populus*. More important is the following sentence (I, 5, 11) 'quod *expositione* talium legum sive sectarum sapientes illi finaliter intendebant.' Here, recalling the regular, technical, and common meaning of *ponere leges*, considering the fact that Marsilius is not referring to *expounders* but to *lawgivers*, and remembering also his use of *ex* (pp. 15, 28, 64, 115, etc.) we should read *ex positione*, interpreting the word in the same sense in which it was used at the beginning of the paragraph (p. 19): — 'at extra causas *positionis* legum,' where we are told that these *sapientes* were: 'talium legum sive sectarum *adinventores*' (not *expositores*).

2. A certain number of passages as they appear in the present editions could be maintained only on condition that we impute to Marsilius an ignorance of elementary logic, grammar, etc., which is belied by the rest of his work. I shall discuss a few such passages which can be rectified by drawing from the resources of the critical apparatus.

We read for instance on p. 255 (II, 14, 18) the following: . . . 'committitur "figura dictionis" quoniam suscipere rei dominium aut rem cum dominio, non est suscipere *quod*, sed quo modo . . . . Differt tamen hic ab illo, quoniam in praesenti mutatur quid *in aliquid*, in eo vero quem format Aristoteles e converso,' which as it stands is meaningless. Marsilius is here striving to weaken the opponent's legal argument by imputing to him the use of the paralogism παρὰ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς λέξεως (Arist., *Soph. El.*, 22); that is: A gives merely one coin, but he had ten in his possession (and not merely one). Therefore he gives what he has not. The sophism can be solved by noticing that *merely etc.*, indicates not a substance (τόδε) but an accident of relativity (πρός τι), as Aristotle himself states in the passage quoted. The scholastics regularly translate

τόδε into *quid* and πρός τι into '*ad* aliquid.' The paralogism therefore comes from a change of 'quid' *into* 'ad aliquid,' or as Albertus says in his commentary to this passage of the Elenchi (II, 2, 6), 'quando mutatur *quid* in *ad aliquid*.' This is the only way of expressing the thought, and the only one that was ever used by the scholastics. It seems reasonable therefore to read *quid* instead of *quod* (following MSS *H* and *I*); and instead of *in aliquid* read 'in *ad* aliquid,' following MSS *Q* corr. and *T* corr. (where *ad*, being correctly so deciphered, should not be expanded into *aliud* as Mr Previté-Orton suggests). Marsilius by this very technical resort would conclude that his opponent is guilty of the illogism of transmuting or converting an *ad aliquid* (or a *quo modo*) into a *quid*.

The following sentence (II, 15. 6, p. 268) also seems to me to be incorrect: 'propter quod talis *Antiochiae* sibi soli nomen "episcopi" retinuit, ceteris sibi postmodum simplex nomen retinentibus "sacerdotis" '. Marsilius is here describing the change of meaning in the word *episcopus* from simple *priest*, overseer of the congregation, to *bishop*, overseer of other priests, a change which he says took place 'post apostolicorum tempora' (par. 6, *ad init.*). It is difficult to see what Antioch has to do here. Someone, I suppose, might think of the *Praefatio Concilii Nicaeni:* 'illic primum nomen christianorum novellae gentis exortum est'. But it does not seem to have much to do with it. The construction and the sense therefore demand that in place of *Antioch* we read a phrase meaning *antonomastically*. In fact, Marsilius is made elsewhere (II, 28, 15) to state his idea in this proper form, as follows: 'Quod vero unicus in unico templo vel diocesi posteriori tempore instituatur episcopus *antonomasice* in iconomia templi praeferendo illum, provenit ex humana institutione.' We should therefore read here too *antonomasice* or better *antonomastice* following the manuscripts which Mr Previté-Orton names: *Q*, *T*, *H*, *I*.

Another similar correction seems to be demanded for the title of Chap. 9 of Dictio I, where the printed editions read: 'De modis instituendi regalem monarchiam et *perfectionis* assignatione etc,' where in place of *perfectionis* we should read *perfectioris*. This chapter treats of the different ways of instituting a royal monarchy and of the determination of the *better* one of these ways, which turns

out to be the one by popular election. The text itself of the chapter makes this obvious. Besides, at the beginning of the following chapter (p. 36) we read the following resumptive statement: 'Quoniam autem electionem diximus *perfectiorem* atque *praestantiorem modorum* instituendi principatum;' and on p. 31, we have the following: 'monstrabimus ipsorum [i.e., modorum] *certiorem* atque *simpliciorem*.' Nor is there any mention in the chapter, nor could there be any, of a *de perfectionis assignatione*. The mistake originated and was perpetuated in the failure to see the syntax of *perfectioris*, viz., that it modified *modi* (understood from the preceding *modis*) and the passage was corrected without paying any attention to the pertinence of the title. It seems therefore that we should follow the reading of *Q* etc., and incorporate *perfectioris* in the text, in place of *perfectionis*. The point is essential for the development of the fundamental argument.

On that same page (29), and at the beginning of the same chapter (9), we read the following sentence: 'Ex ipsorum namque natura meliori vel deteriori, provenientibus hinc civili regimini tamquam actionibus, arguere oportet causam agentem a qua tam ipsi quam pars principans per ipsos ad politiam utilius habeant provenire.' The text seems to be here badly corrupt, nor has it been possible for me to determine from the critical notes of Mr Previté-Orton what the different readings of the generally disagreeing MSS are. I will not venture, therefore, to make any definite suggestions. The meaning, however, is clear enough and can pragmatically be established from the context. Marsilius here wants to prove that the only body that has the authority directly to establish (or institute) the ruler (*pars principans*), and through him, indirectly, the other parts of the state, is the *universitas civium*, the community or its quantitative-qualitative majority. In his ultra-scholastic method of inquiry he proves this by demonstrating that the *universitas civium* is the only possible *causa agens* which can give full efficacy (*complementum bonitatis*) to the best system (*modus*) that can be devised to install this *pars principans* or *principatus*. He reduces these *modi* to two: elective and non elective; he shows that the elective one is preferable; and finds that the *nature* of election is such that it can only find its fullest force in *popular* suffrage.

This conclusion is eventually reached in chapter 15, where Marsilius, having shown that the community must be the *causa agens* of laws, concludes that it also has to be the *causa agens* of this better *modus* of establishing the ruler, — the 'causa factiva potioris institutionis principatus.' In the chapter under discussion, however, he limits himself to proving that this better *modus* is election: 'ipsorum simpliciter (= absolutely) praestantior est electio' (page 36), and to indicating the method he is going to follow; which, *in particular*, he describes as follows (p. 31): 'Modos institutionum principatus per humanam voluntatem immediate factos [there should be no punctuation here] narrare volumus primum, deinde vero monstrabimus ipsorum certiorem atque simpliciorem. Postmodum vero ex illius modi natura meliori arguemus causam moventem a qua provenire solummodo debet et potest.' And on p. 36 (1st par.) 'Quoniam autem electionem diximus perfectiorem atque praestantiorem modorum instituendi principatum, bene se habet inquirere illius effectivam causam, a qua scilicet secundum complementum suae bonitatis habeat provenire.'

But this method is explained in more *general* terms at the beginning of the chapter in the very sentence under discussion, where the same idea is expressed in terms of proportional generalization as follows: from the better or worse nature of these *modi* considered as *actions* we have to infer the *causa agens* from which these *modi* themselves and the *principatus* set up through them can more suitably be applied to the state.

In my ignorance of the exact readings of the various *codd.*, I cannot make any definite suggestions. A few things, however, seem to be clear, viz., that *ipsorum* refers to *modis*, as does *ipsi* and *ipsos*. The argument is developed by emphasizing the connection between *causa agens* and *actio*. Therefore, recalling that Marsilius uses *modus* and *actio* interchangeably (p. 30: *modis seu actionibus* and *modus seu actio*) we should follow the MSS which read *actionum* (instead of *actionibus*) in apposition to *ipsorum*. That the text can not stand in its present form is shown also by the translation which Mr Previté-Orton gives of the passage: 'For from their better (or their worse) nature (considering them as activities proceeding from this nature in

civil government) we must deduce a *causa agens*.' For in addition to the difficulty of imagining who is meant in 'their' and 'them' (they cannot possibly refer to the same thing, which would then proceed from its own nature), this rather obscure sentence seems to have nothing to do with the argument, which is clearly enough indicated in the text, and which I have briefly outlined above. What in reality do 'proceed' here, to use the language of Marsilius, are the effects of a cause: viz., the election and the consequent establishment of the ruler for the benefit of the state.

And again, before leaving this same page (29) it might properly be asked if Marsilius could have written the sentence at the close of the third paragraph of the chapter: '*Democratia* vero . . . regit sola praeter reliquorum civium voluntatem sive consensum, nec *simpli citer* ad commune conferens *secundum* proportionem convenientem.' Everyone knows that *secundum quid* is regularly and invariably used in opposition to *simpliciter* ('absolutely' . . . 'relatively'). Marsilius himself employs these words in this sense (See pp. 260, 49, 82). As it stands, the sentence obliterates rather harshly that familiar distinction. Would it not be perferable to insert, with *H* corr., the word: *nec* before *secundum*, to reëstablish the needed contrast?

3. There are some instances, however, in which outright emendation seems indispensable. So in the title of chapter 4 (p. 11) where we read: 'De causa finali civitatis, et quaesitorum *scibilium*, et suarum partium distinctione in generali.' There is not a word in the whole chapter about any *scibile*, or anything connected with it that might even remotely justify its appearance in the title. For, examining carefully the content of the second part of the chapter, to which this part of the title refers, we will see that Marsilius inquires into things which are indispensable to *vivere* and *bene vivere*, the inalienable aspirations of all human beings. These things he calls and proves to be *necessaria;* and being directed to the satisfaction of a *natural* desire, being the means for *nature's* ends, they cannot possibly fail to be forthcoming; for the reason that '*natura* non deficit in *necessariis*.' The organization of the functions connected with these *necessaria* is nothing less than the state—the *civitas*, whose 'naturality' Marsilius, in apparent agreement with Aristotle and with

Cicero, thus tries to establish. These *necessaria* then are the various *demands* which alone have given rise to *political* (civil) association (*congregatio*), and which nature will unfailingly satisfy by endowing men with the requisite diversity of inborn aptitudes. These peremptory political demands are nothing else than *civilia quaesita*. These are the words of Marsilius himself: (last paragraph): 'Fuerunt igitur homines propter sufficienter vivere congregati, potentes sibi *quaerere necessaria* numerata pridem, illa sibi communicantes invicem. Haec autem *congregatio*, sic perfecta et terminum habens per se sufficientiae, vocata est *civitas*, cuius siquidem finalis causa et suarum partium pluralitatis iam dicta est.' In other words, these *necessaria quaesita* for the *congregatio*, (for the *civitas*) are the *civilia quaesita*, the necessary demands whose natural satisfaction is furnished by the manifold functions of the state. The title, therefore, in place of the meaningless *scibilium* should read *civilium*.

So again, on p. 43, the quotation from Aristotle as it stands makes no sense and contradicts Marsilius' own explanation: 'Si Timotheus non fuisset, multam melodiam non haberemus: si autem Phrynes, Timotheus non fuisset.' A *non* is needed before Phrynes; and that the absence of it is not due to a slip of Marsilius is shown by what he says immediately afterwards: '*nisi* habuisset prius inventa per Phrynem.'

Likewise, the closing sentence on p. 74 contains an impossible illogism: 'De causa quidem igitur effectiva electionis partis principantis, similiter autem et reliquarum partium *et* civitatis institutione ac ipsarum invicem ordine, determinatum sit hoc modo.' The word *et* there perverts the sense. The author has discoursed concerning the *efficient cause* of the election of the ruling part and concerning the executive appointment of the remaining parts of the state. He surely cannot claim to have treated of a *whole added to the sum of its parts*, nor of having discussed 'de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis;' and most assuredly he cannot say that in this chapter he has reached a conclusion concerning 'civitatis institutione' when he never said a word about it. He can only say, in summing up the contents of the chapter, what these contents are and what they had been already declared to be, viz. (p. 28) 'ex *ipsius* [i.e. partis principantis] effi-

cientiae manifestatione priori convenienter ingrediemur ad manifestationem *institutionis* et distinctionis activae *reliquarum partium civitatis.*' The word *et* should therefore be expunged from the text.

Again on p. 321–2, the clause 'quamvis eo tempore non tanta vocaret necessitas non-sacerdotum praesentiam quanta moderno propter instantium sacerdotum et episcoporum turbam *maiorem* Divinae Legis, *quantum* oporteret, ignaram,' seems to lack sense and grammar, the meaning demanding that we read '*magis* divinae legis *quam* oporteret ignaram.' So on p. 19, line 6, *ipsum* seems intolerably harsh, standing as it does for *partem* and it seems as though we should read *ipsam.*

The question might be raised why in the clause (p. 349) 'et eius iudicio *quaeque* ad cultum Dei, vel fidei stabilitatem procurandam fuerint, disponantur,' (and in other similar instances) the MSS *queque* should be expanded into *quaeque.* It would seem that *quaequae* were required if we wish to interpret the grammatical feeling of the mediaeval writers, who were fully aware of the fact that both parts of quisquis are inflected (and here it is clearly quisquis and not quisque). The editions (Hinschius, etc.) all read as Mr. Previté-Orton does.

On p. 404–5 in the sentence 'nolentes autem imperio Romano *subiecti* iam dicto episcopo . . . saepe dictus episcopus persequetur,' it is clear that instead of *subiecti* (as object of *persequetur*) we should read *subiectos;* and on page 457–458 in the phrase '*nec* aliunde per Evangelium posset dictum Apostoli confirmari,' if we are to avoid a contradiction we must either read *infirmari* in place of *confirmari* or else *et* instead of *nec.*

The sentence on p. 326 (II, 20, 14): 'Quod quidem asserit se licite posse, hoc etiam et quasi consimile inconveniens de facto persaepe faciens propter potentum favorem sibi quaerendum qui (super ecclesiasticorum officiorum institutionem et beneficiorum distributionem) Romanus episcopus habere se dicit, velut Christi vicarium, plenitudinem potestatis,' presents several difficulties. In the first place, the parenthesis should be removed, for grammatical considerations demand that *plenitudinem potestatis* should not be cut off from *super ecclesiasticorum* which syntactically depends on it: 'full

jurisdiction over the distribution of ecclesiastic benefices.' Second, the grammatical justification of 'Romanus episcopus' is hard to see. As the phrase now stands, we have a very harsh solecism which might be eliminated by assuming that *Romanus episcopus* is an explanatory gloss to *qui*, or else, perhaps, that it is parenthetically inserted. Third, we need some punctuation after *licite posse* indicating a fuller stop.

4. There are, on the other hand, passages whose assumed faults are ascribed by the editor to Marsilius' bad grammar and awkwardness which are in need of no correction. A particular group of these passages will be treated below in connection with the errors in punctuation. Here I will call attention to the following sentence (p. 490): 'Propter quod, ubicumque legatur et a quocumque dicatur translatum fuisse Imperium, aut alter quicumque principatus vel princeps aliquis (qui per electionem assumitur) institutus per papam, etc.,' in which the editor objects to *institutus* ('Marsilius, — he says — has here slipped into the nominative case, forgetting the construction of his sentence'). But the sentence is correct both in accordance with mediaeval as well as with classical usage, *legatur* and *dicatur* being used personally and therefore with subject and predicate in the nominative. It is a common construction with Marsilius who, a few lines below, says 'ideoque si *translatio* Imperii Romani vel imperatoris alicuius *institutio* dicatur aut scribatur rite *facta* fuisse per papam etc.'

5. But by all odds the greatest difficulty with the text of Marsilius in all its editions is the erroneous punctuation as both an index and cause of numerous misinterpretations. There are dozens and dozens of passages in which the subject is cut off from the verb by a period (occasionally by a new paragraph); where prepositions are separated by a colon from their noun; adjectives thrust in a different sentence from the one containing the noun they modify; parentheses placed where they do not belong and omitted where they are needed, etc.

I will point out only a few of these cases, to show the seriousness of the defects. On p. 101 (I, 19, 3), l. 17, we find a concessive clause: 'et si . . . varietur.' But the conclusion on which it grammatically

and logically depends: 'est tamen . . . causa', is not only separated from it by a period, but is transferred to a new paragraph.

Another equally unintelligible passage seems to be the following: I, 15, 7; p. 71) 'Quoniam sicut caliditas innata ipsius cordis tamquam subiecti, per quam cor seu forma eius omnes actiones complet, dirigitur, et mensuratur in agendo per cordis formam seu virtutem, nec aliter ageret ad debitum finem. Adhuc etiam sicut calor, quem "spiritum" dicunt, tamquam instrumentum ad complendas actiones, per totum corpus ab eadem virtute regitur, nec aliter horum calorum alteruter ageret ad debitum finem, quoniam "deterius" agit "ignis quam organa," ut in II *Peri Geneseos* et *De Anima.* Sic quoque auctoritas principandi alicui hominum data caliditati cordis tamquam subiecti proportionata. Sic etiam ipsius armata seu coactiva potestas instrumentalis, calori quem "spiritum" diximus proportionalis, *debet* regulari per legem . . . etc.'

There are many difficulties here. In the first place, there should be no period after *finem*, for the second one of the two dependent causal clauses begins here and is connected with the first one by the correlatives *adhuc etiam sicut*, continuing the *sicut* above. There should be no period after *De Anima* for there the main sentence, on which the two causal clauses depend, begins. There should be no period after *proportionata*, for we have here two connected phrases introduced by 'sic . . . sic' to match the 'sicut . . . sicut' above, with the difference that here they both have the same verb in common, so that the period separates the subject *auctoritas* from its verb *debet.* Which verb, having a plural subject, *auctoritas principandi* and *armata potestas*, should be plural, so that we had better read, *debent* instead of *debet* following MSS *Q*, *T*, *H*.

Another important passage demands correction p. 207 (Dictio II, chap. 11, par. 2): 'Quia enim humilitatem et huius saeculi contemptum Christus docere venerat, tamquam viam meriti salutis aeternae, ut prius humilitatem et mundi seu rerum temporalium contemptum *tam* exemplo quam verbo doceret. In summa quidem humilitate ac temporalium contemptu hunc mundum ingressus est, sciens ipse, quod non minus, imo magis opere seu exemplo docentur homines quam sermone.' Two corrections are needed here. In the first place,

the *tam* before *exemplo* falsifies the sense, and we should (with T, H, I) omit it. For the meaning here is: 'that he might teach humility and contempt of worldly things by deed *sooner than* by words,' so that *quam* is not a correlative to the erroneous *tam*, but a comparative after *prius*. That Marsilius means this is shown by what he states three lines below: '*magis* opere, seu exemplo . . . *quam* sermone,' the argument stressing the superiority of deeds over words and not their equivalence. The second error is the period after *doceret* (l. 19) which cuts off the subordinate clause 'Quia venerat' (l. 16) from the main verb 'ingressus est.' The sense here is: Deeds being more important than words, Christ chose to enter this world in poverty and misery, so that the lesson of humility which was to be afterwards preached in words might first be affirmed in actual deeds.

A similar misinterpretation we find on p. 337 (II, 21, 11): 'Nam *illud* non est nec esse debet auctoritatis Romani vel alterius cuiusvis episcopi aut particularis cum ipso collegii clericorum. Propter *quod* omnia regna omnesque politiae maiores sive minores haeresis et dissolutionis exponuntur pericolo.' The editors here have failed to see that *illud* is the antecedent of *quod*; that the phrase means: 'for that (*illud*), on account of which (*propter quod*) all kingdoms and all states may be exposed to the danger of heresy and disintegration does not and cannot pertain to the authority of the Roman bishop, etc.' The period therefore should be removed before *propter quod*.

Likewise on p. 26 (I, 7, 1) the causal clause: 'cum enim natura . . .' is incorrectly separated by a period from its conclusion 'Initiavit ipsa, etc.' And on p. 69 (I, 15, 5), an erroneously inserted period (l. 7) separates the causal sentence 'Quia enim civitas . . . ' from its conclusion 'qualis igitur est . . . . '

The following passage (I, 16, 11) is also defective: 'Ex determinatis autem a nobis XIV huius suppositionem accipientes, oportere futurum monarcham quemlibet prudentem et bonum esse secundum moralem virtutem, praecipue iustitiam, et quasi excellenter ad reliquos cives. Amplius et cum hiis suscipientes quae de diversitate inclinationum et dispositionum in gentibus et regionibus ad regiminum diversitates diximus IX^{0} huius, parte 10, credendum opinor, melius esse etc.' The clause *accipientes* etc. hangs in the air. By removing the period after *cives* (l. 17, p. 79), it should be connected

with *suscipientes etc.* and be made to depend on 'credendum opinor' (l. 20) recalling that *oportere* etc. is the object of *accipientes* and means: 'assuming that the future monarch must be prudent, etc.'

On page 168 (II, 6, 11), ll. 19–20, 'Haec autem ecclesiae anathematizatio hanc poenam illis, qui digne percelluntur, infligit,' makes no sense with the subject *anathematizatio* cut off from its verb by a semicolon; nor do ll. 9–13 on p. 86, where the object 'morem attendendum' is separated from its verb 'cognoscere potest' by a semicolon; and a solecism is unnecessarily introduced.

The initial sentence of paragraph 18, chapter 25, Dictio II is meaningless as it stands: 'Quod ne deinceps lateat horum episcoporum fallacia, tamquam veritatis praeco clamo valenter et vobis dico, regibus, principibus, populis, tribubus, et universis linguis! per Romanos episcopos . . . praeiudicium fieri.' The exclamation point after *linguis* is impossible for the reason that *regibus, principibus . . . linguis* are all datives governed by 'praeiudicium fieri.'

It is not possible here to enumerate all these defective passages, but for the benefit of the future editor of Marsilius, I may add the following changes: Remove period after *electum* (p. 87) and, on p. 449, between *regendus* and *Quod* (the two parts of a relative sentence); on p. 377, *cogitabilia* should not be separated from its noun *inconvenientia*, nor on p. 62 *sunt* from its predicate *circa quae*, nor on p. 500 *pars* from its limiting adjective *principans*. The semicolon after *Primae* (p. 501) is faulty, and on p. 3 *ex effectu*, depending on *sumpta*, and not on *explicanda*, should have no punctuation before it. On p. 20 the *operum* should not be cut off from the genitive it supports (we have here the 'opera misericordiae'). On p. 54, *pravi et stulti* are predicates of *videntur* and should not be cut off from it. On p. 87 no period between *electum* and *Et.* On foot of p. 414, the semicolon before *per* should be removed, for it separates the verb *persequeretur* from the object *recusantes*.

6. Conversely sentences are run together which syntactically and logically should be separated. On p. 53, a wrong meaning is given by such a slip. We read there: 'aut legum lationis auctoritas ad solam civium universitatem pertinet, ut diximus, vel ad hominem unicum aut pauciores, non ad solum unum propter ea quae dicta sunt . . . ' As it stands this sentence has already given rise to strange

interpretations. There should be a full stop after *pauciores*. For with *non ad solum* the rejection (or adoption) of the alternatives begins and is continued in *Propter eandem etc.*

The following sentence (Dictio II, ch. 14, par. 18) needs a similar straightening out: 'Quamvis enim per se rem licite transferant aut commutent in pretium aut e converso, non propter hoc transferunt in alios aut in se suscipiunt dominium rei alicuius, nisi forte secundum accidens transferre dicantur, ut quia ipsis rem licite transferentibus domini fiunt in quos transfertur; aliunde tamen per se, ut infra patebit, dominium autem nullo modo suscipiunt nec suscipere possunt perfecti manentes.' The *autem* after *dominium*, as the sentence is now punctuated, is ungrammatical and the argumentation is meaningless. There should be no semicolon after *transfertur* and there should be a period after *patebit*. The sentence will then mean (beginning with *nisi forte*) 'unless they be said to effect an *accidental* transfer (of the *dominium*) in that while they (the perfect ones) lawfully transfer the thing itself, those who receive this transfer do become *domini* (their *essential* title, however, coming from another source, as will be seen below). But the *dominium* itself, is never vested and can never be vested in those who aspire to perfection.' So on p. 5, l. 2, the sentence ends with *iniquitas* and should be so marked with a period.

7. On p. 213, l. 3 (II, 12, 1), in order to save the syntax, we should include within parenthesis 'certum . . . extitisse.' Parentheses, on the other hand, should be removed from the following (p. 346): 'deliberatorum quoque (tam circa fidem quam ritum ecclesiasticum sive cultum divinum *et* reliquorum ordinatorum ad pacem atque fidelium unitatem) transgressores per ecclesiasticam aliquam arcere censuram' . . . . For *transgressores* governs both *deliberatorum* and *reliquorum ordinatorum*, so that one cannot be inside and the other outside the parenthesis; and the phrase 'tam circa etc.' is needed for the meaning of *deliberatorum* (*et* connecting this latter with *ordinatorum*). Likewise, on p. 467 (II, 28, 27): 'in optima (convenientium humanae conversationi) dispositione,' the requisite complementary genitive is separated from the noun it modifies. And so on p. 486, where the phrase 'vicarii (Caesaris)' gives the wrong meaning: 'the vicar Caesar' instead of 'the vicar of Caesar,' i.e. (Pontius Pilate).

And finally, on p. 5, the parenthetical phrase should begin after *a quo* and end with 'capitulo,' for *a quo* refers not to *teste* but to God.

The latest edition has properly italicized all the quotations identified by Marsilius himself. There are many, however, which are introduced by him without any indications. These anonymous citations are usually well-known phrases, and should be identified, for on their significance as quotations the proper understanding of the passage often rests. There are thus some passages where the argument depends not so much on what is actually stated, but on the authority of the quotation and on its generally accepted implications. I mean such passages as the following on p. 22 (I, 6, 3): 'qui numquam facit frustra quicquam neque deficit in necessariis' where the reader will follow the argument and accept its weight only in so far as he recognizes in the phrase a quotation from Aristotle (*De An.* III, 9: 432 b and elsewhere), and supplies mentally all that was contained in that pregnant dictum. There are eight or ten such current sentences that need to be identified and italicized.

Another group is less important. It deals with words or phrases that would appear strange did the reader not know that they were quoted. Such phrases for instance as (p. 13): 'nudus nascitur et inermis' from Aristotle, *De Part. Anim.*, IV, 10 (see Plato, *Prot.* 321 C) and 'maculativa officia' (p. 21) and, on p. 31, 'nihil contristati' (from Arist., *Pol.* III, 14).

There are quotations whose recognition seems to have some literary pertinence, as the Horatian 'tonsores aut lippi' (p. 401).

And finally, there is a considerable number of self-quotations that must be identified and marked, for they are passages in which the author discusses the meaning of his own words. So, for instance, on p. 65, ll. 7, 8: 'oportet autem simul plurium intelligere non comparative idest maiorem partem sed plurium positive,' which is devoid of sense unless we italicize or put between quotation marks 'simul plurium' and 'plurium' to mean: 'the phrase *simul plurium* above used, etc.'

The same holds for *lex* and *principantis* (p. 67, ll. 24–25) and *legis* and *principantis* on p. 296, l. 27.

Columbia University

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE *DE EXPUGNATIONE LYXBONENSI*[1]

By C. W. DAVID

THE formidable naval expedition which sailed from Dartmouth, in the southwest of England, in May, 1147, and culminated in the conquest of Lisbon from the Moslems less than five months later — the only important success achieved by the Second Crusade, according to a contemporary writer[2] — would perhaps have attracted more attention than it has hitherto received, had it not been for the perplexing obscurity which surrounds the identity of the author of the remarkable historical memoir which contains most that is known concerning this enterprise.

The author, who casts his work in the form of a letter, has indeed named himself in his opening words, if the manuscript[3] can but be read aright; but the ambiguous abbreviations in which he has written his own name, as well as that of the person whom he addresses, have hitherto defied editors, who have been content to reproduce the abbreviated forms in the printed text.[4] Since the sixteenth century the author has been known as *Osbern*, for inside the manuscript volume which contains his work we read, as the last item in a brief table of contents, which is written in a fine Renaissance hand

[1] The work is without title in the manuscript. To avoid bibliographical confusion I continue to use the title which has been ascribed to it in the edition of William Stubbs and which approximates closely to the titles used in the edition of the Lisbon Academy and in the extracts edited by Reinhold Pauli (see below 2, note 4) and to the titles by which it is cited in the well-known bibliographies of August Potthast and Auguste Molinier.

[2] Helmold, *Chronica Slavorum*, in *M. G. H., SS.*, XXI, 58.

[3] Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, *MS. no. 470*, fol. 125r–146r, from the collection of Archbishop Parker. Apparently a unique manuscript; believed by Stubbs, *op. cit.* in note 4 below, p. cxlii, note 1, to have been the author's original; this view has been shared by Pauli, *M. G. H., SS.*, XXVII, 5, 6. My present belief is that it is probably an autograph, but that it is not the original draft, which the author appears to have written while actually on the crusade in 1147. It seems rather to be a copy made and corrected by the author himself later in the century when he was perhaps an old man.

[4] *Osb. de Baldr. R. salutem, Portugaliæ Monumenta Historica, Scriptores*, ed. Lisbon Academy of Sciences (Lisbon, 1861), pp. 391–405; *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, ed. William Stubbs (London, 1864), pp. cxlii-clxxxii (hereafter cited as *Itinerarium*); extracts edited by R. Pauli in *M. G. H., SS.*, XXVII, 5–10. The edition of Stubbs is to be preferred, but none is satisfactory The present writer hopes to publish an adequate critical edition in the near future.

of Archbishop Parker's time, *Historia Osberni de Expeditione, etc.*[1]; and the name has been reproduced in three successive catalogues of the manuscripts of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge;[2] it is also reproduced in Cooper's account of the Public Records.[3] Yet there appears to be no authority for the name, beyond a conjectural reading of the manuscript which, coming down from Archbishop Parker's time, has become traditional.

Concerning the status and personality of the author, nothing has hitherto been discovered beyond what may be inferred from the work itself. That he was an active participant in the crusade is perfectly apparent. That he was of Norman rather than of English descent has been argued by Ulrich Cosack[4] from the fact that he tends in his narrative to give precedence to the Normans over the English, and by Reinhold Pauli from the fact that he occasionally makes use of a French word, as, for example, *garciones*.[5] A more careful examination of his work seems to justify the conjecture that he was a priest of the virile fighting type that was likely to be attracted by crusading enterprises, that he traveled with the Anglo-Norman forces from the Eastern Counties, being particularly interested in the deeds of the men of Suffolk, and that he was closely associated with Hervey de Glanvill, principal leader of the Anglo-Norman forces, and perhaps served him as chaplain.

The language which he uses throughout his work — and particularly in the passages where he pauses for reflection — , his interest in religious or ecclesiastical events, in churches, relics, miracles and

[1] Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, *no. 470.*

[2] [William Stanley], *Catalogus Librorum MSS in Bibliotheca Collegii Corporis Christi in Cantabrigia* . . . (London, 1722), no. G 13; James Nasmith, *Catalogus Librorum MSS quos Collegio Corporis Christi . . . in Acad. Cantabrig. legavit . . . M. Parker* (Cambridge, 1777), no. 470; M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1912), II, no. 470. No mention is made either of the author's name or of his work in Thos. James, *Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis* (London, 1600), no. 74, which was reprinted in [Edward Bernard], *Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae* (Oxford, 1697).

[3] C. P. Cooper, *An Account of the Most Important Public Records of Great Britain* . . . (London, 1832), II, 166.

[4] *Die Eroberung von Lissabon im Jahre 1147* (Halle, 1875: doctoral dissertation), p. 7.

[5] *M. G. H., SS.*, XXVII, 5, and note 2. But he also uses Anglo-Saxon words, e.g., *worma. Itinerarium*, p. cxlvi.

sermons, his frequent quotations from the Scriptures and from the Fathers, all reveal unmistakably the attitude of a priest, though not of a fanatical or narrow-minded one.[1] Pauli has conjectured[2] that he was the 'certain priest' who, holding a piece of the true cross in his hands, preached the sermon[3] on the occasion of the dedication of the siege-tower which had been erected by the Anglo-Norman forces in preparation for the final assault upon Lisbon; and this conjecture is to some extent confirmed by an examination of the manuscript at the place where the sermon is recorded.[4] In comparison with other parts of the manuscript, the sermon is beautifully and regularly written without a single erasure and almost without a correction; it is set off by itself in a separate section which is introduced with an impressive initial capital. It seems in short to have about it the conscious pride of authorship for an important public occasion.

As to his fighting qualities, from the animation of his narrative and the abundance of details which he records, it is difficult to escape the conviction that he took part personally in the unpremeditated attack of the rank and file of the Anglo-Normans which resulted in the capture of the western suburb of Lisbon and in the heroic struggle by which the Anglo-Norman siege-tower was successfully defended while it was moved up against the wall of the city during the final attack.[5] His interest in the brave deeds of the men of Suffolk is revealed in his account of the seven youths of Ipswich who defended the siege-tower under the shelter of a 'Welsh cat.'[6]

His interest in Hervey de Glanvill and his close association with him receives repeated illustration. In the catalogue of the forces

[1] *Itinerarium*, particularly pp. cxlv, cxlvi, clv, clxvi, clxvii, clxxi, clxxvii, clxxix, clxxxi–clxxxii.

[2] *M. G. H., SS.*, XXVII, *5*, note 3.

[3] '. . . sacerdos quidam sacrosanctam ligni Dominici tenens in manibus particulam, sermonem huiusmodi habuit,' *Itinerarium*, p. clxxi.

[4] Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, *no. 470*, fol. 139r–141r; *Itinerarium*, pp. clxxi–clxxv.

[5] *Itinerarium*, pp. clxiv-clxv, clxxv–clxxvi. If it be true, as has been suggested, that he was the preacher of the sermon at the dedication of the tower, then the following passage, being his own words, is worthy of especial note: 'Ego vero ipse, fratres, in tribulationibus et laboribus vestris particeps praemiorumque vestrorum socius sicut vobis spondeo mihi fieri opto. Deo opitulante in hac machina huius ligni sacrosancti custos et comes inseparabilis vita comite vobiscum manebo' . . . p. clxxiv.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. clxxv.

with which he begins his narrative he names him first, as commander of the ships of Norfolk and Suffolk, among the four constables who were the recognized leaders of the Anglo-Norman forces.[1] On a later occasion his language leaves no doubt that after the first brush with the enemy upon the arrival of the fleet in the Tagus before Lisbon (June 28) he was one of the little band of thirty-nine who, with Hervey de Glanvill and Saher of Archelle, slept out with their arms upon them in a peculiarly dangerous and exposed position when there had not yet been time to establish a defensible camp.[2] Again, next day, at a critical moment during the negotiations of the crusaders with King Affonso Henriques of Portugal, when a powerful minority of 'about eight shiploads of Normans and men from Southampton and Bristol,' under the leadership of one William Calf, declared their opposition to stopping at Lisbon and their determination to push onward and practice piracy upon 'the merchant vessels of Africa and Spain,' their defection was prevented, according to our only author, by an impassioned address of Hervey de Glanvill — a speech which he reproduces in full with evident pride and admiration, being careful to record in a marginal note that he has not given the exact words but the sense of it.[3] Even more instructive is the situation revealed when the Moors in Lisbon had been brought to the point of surrendering the city and a brief truce had been arranged. Five hostages were received from the Moors by Hervey de Glanvill on behalf of the Anglo-Norman forces and by Fernando Captivo on behalf of King Affonso, and by them they were in due course handed over to the king. This action caused grave dissatisfaction to spread among the Anglo-Normans, where the king was distrusted and where it was felt that the hostages ought not to have been delivered into his hands; and at the instigation of a renegade priest of Bristol a mutiny was started among the lower ranks, which was directed against Hervey de Glanvill. Our author defends him with eloquence and animation; and from his language it transpires

[1] *Ibid.*, p. cxliv.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. clvi.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. clvii–clx. The marginal note is now multilated past complete verbal reconstruction, but its general meaning is fairly certain. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, *MS. no. 470*, fol. 132^{v}.

that he himself was present with Glanvill in the king's camp when emissaries were dispatched to calm the mutineers.[1]

In view of the foregoing indications of the close association of the author of the Lisbon memoir with Hervey de Glanvill, it becomes necessary to examine the meagre records of the Glanvill family in England to discover whether any trace of him can there be found.

The most important member of the Glanvill family in the twelfth century was, of course, the famous chief justiciar under King Henry II, Ranulf de Glanvill, whose father was without any doubt named Hervey de Glanvill;[2] and it would seem natural to conclude that the latter was identical with the leader of the Lisbon crusade of 1147, were it not for the complicating evidence of a fragmentary narrative in a fifteenth-century register of the abbey of Bury St Edmunds, which was first made known in a paraphrase by Blomefield[3] in the eighteenth century and which has recently been published in full.[4] This narrative purports to be an account of a meeting of the county court of Norfolk and Suffolk, held in Norwich, at which the abbot of St Edmund's successfully asserted his privileged jurisdiction[5] as against King Stephen in the case of two knights accused of plotting against the king's life. The date, which cannot be exactly determined, seems to be fixed within the limits 1148–1153 by the presence of Ording,[6] abbot of St Edmund's, and Daniel,[7] abbot of St Benet of

[1] *Itinerarium*, p. clxxviii: 'De quibus amplius quadringentis ex castris proruentes circumquaque armati perscrutantur, licet eum absentem noverint, voce magna clamantes, "Tollatur impius, puniatur proditor." Hoc itaque comperto, cum castris interessemus regis, a quibusdam senioribus nostrorum obviam itum est compescendum eorum vehementiae initia.' In conformity with the manuscript I have altered the reading of Stubbs from *provenientes* to *proruentes*.

[2] A charter of Bartholomew de Glanvill in favor of Bromholm Priory is attested, along with four other Glanvills, by *Harveio de Glanvill et Randulfo filio eius*, Wm. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (new edition, London, 1817–1830), v, 63, from the cartulary of Castleacre Priory; in the record of a trial before the *curia regis* in 1201 we read 'Herveo de Glanvill patri Rannulfi de Gla[n]vill,' *Curia Regis Rolls of the Reigns of Richard I and John* (London, 1922), Richard I–2 John, p. 433.

[3] Francis Blomefield, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk* (London, 1805–1810), III, 28–29.

[4] Helen M. Cam, 'An East Anglian Shire-moot of Stephen's Reign, 1148–53,' in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIX (1924), 568–571.

[5] Cf. H. W. C. Davis, 'The Liberties of Bury St Edmunds,' *ibid.*, XXIV (1909), 417–431.

[6] The dates of Ording's abbacy are commonly given as 1148–1156, Dugdale, *op. cit.*, III, 103–104, on the authority of a statement in the *Cronica Buriensis*, in *Memorials of St Edmund's Abbey*, ed. Thos. Arnold (London, 1890–1896), III, 5–6. It is probably through inad-

Holm; yet the treason complained of is referred to in the narrative as having been committed during the siege of Bedford, *preterito anno*,[1] which would seem to require a date for the meeting of the court not later than 1147, for the siege of Bedford is said to have taken place in 1145 or 1146.[2] Though the truth of this narrative has not been questioned by Blomefield or by any modern scholar,[3] it can hardly be regarded as entirely beyond suspicion.[4] Nevertheless, there appears to be at present no sufficient ground for rejecting it, and its evidence must therefore, at least provisionally, be reckoned with. Now the decision of the court in favor of the abbot's privileges is said to have been determined mainly by the testimony of one Hervey de Glanvill who declared that he was a man of advanced years (*proveccioris etatis homo*), whose memory ran back to the days of King Henry (i.e., Henry I) and even earlier, and that fifty years had passed since he first began to attend the courts of shire and hundred with his father,[5] and when the decision of the court was finally agreed upon, it is said to have been made with the assent, among others, of Hervey Fitz Hervey and Robert de Glanvill (*Her-*

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vertence that the Rev. J. C. Coxe, *Victoria History of the County of Suffolk*, ed. Wm. Page (London, 1907–1911), II, 59, has stated that he became abbot in 1146, although some shadow of authority for the earlier date may be found in the *Annales Sancti Edmundi* in *Memorials of St Edmund's Abbey*, II, 4, where it is said that Ording succeeded Abbot Anselm after the latter had ruled the house for twenty-six years, rather than twenty-eight as is commonly stated.

[7] Much uncertainty surrounds the beginning of Daniel's abbacy; he died November 8, 1153. See, Dugdale, *op. cit.*, III, 63–64; *Victoria History of the County of Norfolk*, ed. Wm. Page (London, 1901–1906), II, 331–332.

[1] *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIX (1924), 569.

[2] Helen M. Cam., *ibid.*, p. 568; cf. *Gesta Stephani Regis Anglorum*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. Richard Howlett (London, 1884–1889), p. 117.

[3] Cf. Richard Howlett, *ibid.*, preface, pp. xxxv-xxxvi; Augustus Jessopp, in Thomas of Monmouth, *The Life and Miracles of St William of Norwich*, ed. A. Jessopp and M. R. James (Cambridge, 1896), introduction, p. xxxii; J. H. Round, 'The Early Sheriffs of Norfolk,' in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXV (1920), 488–489; Helen M. Cam, *loc. cit.*

[4] At the end the author says: 'Hec itaque scripta sunt ne posteros lateat quanta sit libertas ecclesie Sancti Edmundi, quam constanter et quam viriliter et prelati et probi viri qui fuerunt in ecclesia laboraverunt pro eadem libertate manutenenda et conservanda' — a declaration which may well serve to put the modern student on his guard. *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIX (1924), 571.

[5] 'Verumtamen pro certo dico, testificor, et astruo quod transacti sunt quinquaginta anni quod primitus cepi frequentare centuriatus et comitatus cum patre meo, antequam casatus essem, et postea usque modo.' *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIX (1924), 570.

veus filius Hervei et Robertus de Glamville). It is clear, therefore, that there were two Herveys de Glanvill, father and son. Either of them may have been the leader of the Lisbon crusade, and Ranulf de Glanvill may have been the son of either.[1] In any case it is beyond a doubt that the relationship between Ranulf de Glanvill and the crusader of 1147 was a close one.

Now Ranulf rose to a position of sufficient wealth and distinction to become a founder of religious houses. His foundation charter of Butley Priory (1171) is still extant;[2] and among the witnesses we read, *Osberto clerico de Baldreseie*, that is, Osbert, clerk or priest of Bawdsey, a village near the southeast coast of Suffolk at the mouth of the River Deben.[3] Three Glanvills also attest this charter, among them one Hervey de Glanvill,[4] whose name stands in juxtaposition with the tantalizing name of Ranulf of Bawdsey (*Ranulfus de Baudreseie*).[5] It is, of course, a conjecture, but a conjecture which may well be risked, at least provisionally, that the author of the *De*

[1] In view of the advanced years of the father at the time of the Norwich meeting of the county court, it seems more likely, though by no means certain, that the son was the crusader of 1147. There seems to be no possible ground for the suggestion of Jessopp, *Life and Miracles of St William of Norwich*, p. xxxii, note 3, that the elder Hervey was the grandfather of the Lisbon crusader. According to W. U. S. Glanville-Richards, *Records of the House of Glanville* (London, 1882), pp. 23–26, *et passim*, the elder Hervey was the crusader and Ranulf and Hervey FitzHervey were two of his nine sons; but little reliance can be placed on this work.

[2] Dugdale, *op. cit.*, VI, 380 (from a late copy in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, *MS. no. 111*, p. 261). The accepted date is derived from a foundation history, printed by Dugdale, *loc. cit.* The death of William de Turbe, bishop of Norwich, January 17, 1174, fixes a certain *terminus ad quem*. In view of the importance of the list of witnesses for the purposes of the present investigation, the end of the charter may well be quoted: (I follow the text of Dugdale which does not differ in significant particulars from the manuscript) 'Hanc autem donationem feci in praesentia domini Willielmi Norwicensis episcopi, et sub eius testimonio; praesente uxore mea et consentiente et confirmante; et subscriptis hiis testibus, Willielmo archidiacono, magistro Stephano, magistro Rogero, scriptore episcopi, Hamiddo, magistro Stangrimo, magistro Nicolao, magistro Roberto de Wacstunesham, Osberto clerico de Baldreseie, Roberto de Walmues, Radulpho de Valmues, Osberto de Glanvil, Gilberto de Colevile, Gerardo de Glanvile, Rem. de Wacst., Willielmo de Sternefeld, Willielmo de Hereford, Roberto filio Rocelni, Ranulfo filio Nigelli, Ermeg. fil. Osberti, Roberto fil. Willielmi, Willielmo fil. Gilberti, Galfrido de Muriols, Ricardo de Riebos, Ranulfo de Baudreseie, Herveo de Glanvile, Savari de Valeines, et plures multi.'

[3] The identification of *Baldreseia* with Bawdsey is certain. Cf. W. A. Copinger, *County of Suffolk* (London, 1904–1905), I, 129; *Victoria Hist. of Suffolk*, I, 524, 525.

[4] I suppose him to have been Hervey FitzHervey, since it would seem quite unlikely that the older Hervey was still living in 1171.

[5] See above, note 5.

Expugnatione Lyxbonensi was still in the service of the Glanvill family in 1171, and that he is here revealed among the witnesses of Ranulf de Glanvill's charter as Osbert, priest of Bawdsey.[1] It would certainly be reckless to go further and find in Ranulf of Bawdsey of the charter the person who lurks behind the puzzling *R.*[2] to whom Osbert addressed his memoir, but the possibility is a tempting one.

[1] I note that the name still survived in the thirteenth century. Walter Rye, *A Calendar of the Feet of Fines for Suffolk* (Ipswich, 1900), p. 20 (3 Henry III), cf. p. 90 (15 Edward I).

[2] See above p. 1, note 4.

Bryn Mawr College

NOTES

LUPITUS BARCHINONENSIS

The identity of *Lupitus* of Barcelona to whom Gerbert (later Pope Silvester ii) wrote asking for a work on astrology (astronomy)[1] has long been a baffling problem. Such suggestions as have been made were based on no evidence. Max Manitius names him the 'späteren Bischof Lupitus von Barcelona,'[2] while François Picavet believes him to have been related to the Arab tutor of Ordoño ii of the Asturias, Abdallah Mahomet Ibn Lupi.[3] Julien Havet, editor of Gerbert's letters, was content to write: '*Lupitus* de Barcelone est inconnu,'[4] and Nicolaus Bubnov, editor of his mathematical works, was still briefer with his 'Incertus.'[5]

More recently, Dr Lluis Nicolau d'Olwer, in an excellent article on Gerbert,[6] suggested that *Lupitus* might be the *Archilevita Lobatonus* named as one of the executors of the will of Borrell, count of Urgell and Barcelona, for the county of Gerona,[7] whom he believed to be the same person as the *Archilevita Lobetus*, executor of the will of Vivas, bishop of Barcelona (973–995)[8] and already archdeacon in 975 when he exchanged some property with Bishop Vivas and the cathedral chapter.[9] Moreover, what this author considered even more significant was the discovery of the name *Lupinus*, known also as *Benedictus*, abbot of the monastery of Santa Maria d'Arles[10] ('Domno Lupino, alio nomine Benedictum nuncupato, omni scientia litterali pleniter instructo, Abbati Arulensi coenobio'), in a document dated April 27, 1004.[11] Because the Abbot *Lupinus* is here described as a learned man and because his name appears in this document wherein Gerbert's also appears ('gloriosum sapientissimumque Papam Gerbertum, alio nomine

[1] Ep. 24. *Lettres de Gerbert* (983–997) ed. Julien Havet (Paris, 1889).

[2] *Geschichte der lateinischen literatur des Mittelalters* (München: Beck, 1923), ii, 730.

[3] *Gerbert, un pape philosophe* (Paris, 1897), p. 37. See also De la Salle de Rochemaure, *Gerbert Silvestre II* (Paris, 1914), p. 62.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 19, n. 3.

[5] *Gerberti postea Silvestri II Papae Opera Mathematica* [972–1003] (Berlin, 1899), p. 101, n. 13.

[6] 'Gerbert (Silvestre II) i la cultura catalana del sigle x,' *Estudis Universitaris Catalans*, iv (1910), 337–358.

[7] Pierre de Marca, *Marca Hispanica sive Limes Hispanicus* (Paris, 1688), app. cxli, dated 'viii. Kalendas Octobris anno vii. regnante Vgo Duce vel Rege.' Count Borrell was Gerbert's patron while he was in Spain. Richer, *Historiae*, iii, c. 43 (Hannover, 1877).

[8] E. Florez, *España sagrada* (Madrid, 1775), xxix, 207.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 203–204.

[10] Arles-sur-Tech, *arrondissement* of Céret (Pyrénées-Orientales).

[11] J. Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de España* (Madrid, 1850), xii, app. iii, pp. 214–217. Printed also in Nicolau d'Olwer, *op. cit.*, app. v, pp. 356–358.

Sylvestrum nuncupatum'), Nicolau d'Olwer considered him to be the translator of the work on astrology desired by Gerbert, and identical with the Archdeacon *Lobatonus* mentioned in the testament of Count Borrell and the Archdeacon *Lobetus* in the testament of Bishop Vivas.[1] Nicolau d'Olwer's observations have not yet passed generally into the literature on the subject.[2]

However, a further study made by the present author indicates that for two reasons the Archdeacon *Lobetus* of Barcelona and the Abbot *Lupinus* of Santa Maria d'Arles could not have been the same person. In the first place, the other name of the Archdeacon *Lobetus* was *Seniofredus*, whereas the Abbot *Lupinus* was called *Benedictus*. Second, the Archdeacon *Lobetus* died in 995, while the Abbot *Lupinus* was still living in 1001. It also seems probable that the Archdeacon *Lobetus* was not identical with the Archdeacon *Lobatonus*, one of the executor's of Count Borrell's will.

In Volume XXIX of the *España Sagrada* we find the statement: 'El Obispo Vivas y el Cabildo comutaron con el Arcediano Lobeto unos Casales que tenian junto a la Catedral, por otros de Lobeto junto a la puerta de Regumir, etc.,'[3] but in the *Libri Antiquitatum* of the cathedral of Barcelona (compiled in the thirteenth century) this document is nowhere signed by *Lobeto archidiaconus*, but rather by *Semofredus* [*sic*] *archidiaconus*.[4] A document of the year 978 mentions the land of the Archdeacon *Lobetus*.[5] In 989 occurred a sale of land near the church of Santa Eulalia in Barcelona to a certain Bernat made by *Seniofredus*, called also *Lubeto*, the archdeacon.[6] In 990, Bishop Vivas of Barcelona with his Archdeacon *Seniofredus* granted a charter of immunity for the castle of Ribes in *Bello Loco* to a certain Peter.[7]

[1] In a later article this author is somewhat uncertain of their identity, 'Introducción al estudio de la literatura catalana,' *Estudio*, VIII (1914), 369.

[2] Thus, none of the following authors indicate a knowledge of Nicolau d'Olwer's study: Manitius, *op. cit.*, pp. 729–742; Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York, 1923, reprinted with corrections, 1929), I, c. 30; C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (Cambridge, 1924), pp. 8–9; George Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science* (Baltimore, 1927), Vol. I. The last-named omits Lupitus. However, *cf.* P. Kehr, 'Das Papsttum und der katalanische Prinzipat,' *Abh. d. preuss. Ak.*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1926, p. 10; Antoni Rovira i Virgili, *Historia nacional de Catalunya* (Barcelona: Edicions Patria, 1924), III, 394–6; Salvador Sampere i Miquel, *La pintura mig-eval catalana. L'art barbare* (Barcelona: Babra, 1920), pp. 45, 47.

[3] Pp. 203 f. Nicolau d'Olwer based his conclusions on this.

[4] M. J. Mas, *Notes historiques del bisbat de Barcelona*, Vol. IX. *Rubrica dels Libri antiquitatum de la Seu de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1914), Part I, no. 55 (*Lib. Antiquit.* I, f. 153, doc. 400).

[5] Mas, *Notes historiques del bisbat de Barcelona*, Vol. IV. *Taula del Cartulari de Sant Cugat del Vallés* (Barcelona, 1909), Part 1, no. CXVII (n. 392, f. 118 of cartulary).

[6] Mas, Vol. IX. *Rubrica dels Libri Antiquit.*, no. 92 (*Lib. Antiquit.* III, f. 93, doc. 241).

[7] *Ibid.*, no. 106 (*Lib. Antiquit.* IV, f. 157, doc. 368); printed in D. Francesch Carreras y Candi, 'Lo Montjuich de Barcelona,' *Memoria llegida en la Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, VIII (1903), 367 f.

The gift to the church of Saint Michael made by Bishop Vivas in 991 is signed by *Seniofredus, archipresbiter*,[1] named also *Lobetus*, as well as two other documents.[2]

In 995 Bishop Vivas decided to go to Rome and, realizing the risks of the journey, made his will before he left, naming as one of the executors the Archdeacon *Lobetus*.[3] The editor, Mas, writes in the *regestum* of this sworn will: 'Donan fè com a testimonis del testament, Llobet, arxilevita, *Adolardus*, viscomte, y Suniefret.'[4] The signatures, however, are as follows: *S+ Seniofredus, archipresbiter. — Adolardus, uice comes. — Seniofredus, tutores et elemonuarius*.[5] Hence, the Archdeacon *Lobetus* must also have been called *Seniofredus*, and was, moreover, an archpriest. Further confirmation of this identity lies in the will of this very *Seniofredus*, archpriest, dated March 8, 995 (VIII Id., Marc., A. VIII regnante Hugone rege qui dux fuit pridem), where it is stated that he is also called *Lubeto*, and the signature is *Seniofredus, archipresbiter*.[6] The Archpriest *Lobetus* is mentioned as deceased in a document dated June 15, 997 (XVII Kal. Jul., A. I regnante Roberto).[7]

In addition to the now proved difference in names, it seems quite obvious from the above that the Archdeacon (and later Archpriest) *Lobetus* of the cathedral of Barcelona, first mentioned in 975, could not have been identical with *Lupinus, alio nomine Benedictus nuncupatus*, abbot of the monastery of Santa Maria d'Arles in the year 1001, since the former was certainly dead by 997.

But there is still more evidence of the fact that *Lobetus* was called *Seniofredus*. In his testament the Archpriest *Lubetus* named as executors his brothers *Bonutius* and *Bonifilius*. Bishop Vivas likewise included them among the executors of his will,[8] and they appear in the will of Count Borrell.[9] *Bonutius* married *Senegondis* and their children were: *Amatus, Ralambaldus, Ismardus, Issuardus, Rainardus*, and *Deusdedit*.[10] The last-named succeeded his uncle *Seniofredus* (*Lubetus*) as archdeacon of Barcelona,[11] and

[1] Mas, IX. *Rubrica*, no. 113 (*Lib. Antiquit.* IV, f. 110, doc. 277).

[2] *Ibid.*, no. 146, without date (*Lib. Antiquit*, IV, f. 102, doc. 258); no. 147, date 987–995 (*Lib. Antiquit.* IV, f. 112, doc. 283).

[3] *Ibid.*, no. 148 (*Lib. Antiquit.*, I, f. 23, doc. 46); Florez, *España Sagrada*, XXIX, 207. Carreras y Candi, *op. cit.*, p. 320 and n. 249, believes the date of this will was 986–991, probably 991.

[4] Mas, Vol. IX, *Rubrica*, p. 64 (no. 149).

[5] *Ibid.*, no. 149 (*Lib. Antiquit.* IV, f. 51, doc. 150).

[6] *Ibid.*, no. 151 (*Lib. Antiquit.* II, f. 128, doc. 382).

[7] *Ibid.*, no. 179 (*Lib. Antiquit.* I, f. 157, doc. 412).

[8] *Ibid.*, no. 148; *España Sagrada*, XXIX, 207.

[9] *Marca Hispanica*, app. CXLI, col. 945.

[10] Mas, Vol. IX, *Rubrica*, no. 338 (*Lib. Antiquit*, IV, f. 159, doc. 374), dated 1014; printed in Carreras y Candi, *op. cit.*, p. 327, n. 274.

[11] Mas, Vol. IX, *Rubrica*, no. 210 (*Lib. Antiquit.* I, f. 157, doc. 411) of the year 1001; no. 216 (*Lib. Antiquit.* II, f. 230, doc. 733) of the year 1002.

later became bishop of Barcelona.[1] Moreover, he inherited some property from his uncle *Seniofredus*, whom he designates as the Archpriest *Lubeto* in one document,[2] and as the Archdeacon *Seniofredus*, called *Lupeto* in two others.

Although the evidence is not quite so convincing as to the separate identity of the *Archilevita Lobatonus*, one of the executors of the will of Count Borrell for the county of Gerona, yet he does seem to have been someone other than the *Archilevita Lobetus* of Barcelona for his name was *Oliba*. This is shown in a judgment of the year 987 for Hildesindo, bishop of Elne held in the presence of Gotmar, bishop of Gerona, and his deacons, among whom was 'Oliba quem alium nomen vocant Lobatone Archidiaconum.'[3] He signs one document as *Lobatonus, levita*,[4] another as *Oliba levita*,[5] and a third as *Oliba Archilevita*.[6]

Thus, the names thought by Nicolau d'Olwer to refer to the same person, *Lupitus*, have been shown to be those of three different persons, only one of whom, the Archdeacon *Lubetus* (*Lobetus*, known as *Seniofredus*), could have been identical with the addressee of Gerbert's letter. However, there is a slight possibility that a monk of San Cugat del Vallés may have been Gerbert's correspondent. A *Lobatonus* who owned property at *Rexago* in the county of Barcelona is mentioned in several documents of the cartulary of this monastery and was probably the same person who signs some of them.[7] His other name was *Suniario* or possibly *Seniofredo*,[8] but it is doubtful that he could have been identical with the Archdeacon *Lubetus* (*Lobetus*), in spite of the similarity of both names, as he seems to have been still alive in 1008,[9] whereas *Lubetus* (*Lobetus*) was dead by 997.

The treatise on astrology (astronomy) translated by *Lupitus* has been identified with the *Liber de horis* of a catalogue of manuscripts of the monastery of Santa Maria de Ripoll drawn up in 1046,[10] still extant in the tenth

[1] *Ibid.*, nos. 294–443 *passim; España Sagrada*, XXIX, 211–212. He was bishop 1010–1029.

[2] Mas, Vol. IX, *Rubrica*, no. 326 (*Lib. Antiquit.* IV, f. 119, doc. 313), of the year 1013.

[3] Villanueva, *Viage literario*, XIII, app. XX.

[4] Mas, Vol. IV, *Taula d. Cart. d. S. Cugat*, no. CLX (n. 137, f. 42), dated Dec. 9, 985.

[5] Villanueva, *Viage lit.*, XIII, app. XVIII, dated 980.

[6] *Ibid.*, app. XIX, dated 985.

[7] Mas, Vol. IX. *Rubrica*, no. 93 (*Lib. Antiquit.* II, f. 213, doc. 664); Vol. IV, *Taula d. Cart. d. S. Cugat*, no. CCV (n. 296, f. 74), no. CCXV (n. 271, f. 69), no. CCXCVI (n. 257, f. 66), no. CCLI (n. 154, f. 46), CCXCIV (n. 272, f. 69), no. CCCV (n. 111, f. 35), no. CCCXLIX (n. 295, f. 74); possibly also, no. CLI (no. 221, f. 59), no. CLXXVII (n. 103, f. 33), no. CCX (n. 377, f. 113), no. CCCXXXV (n. 433, f. 132), no. CCCLV (n. 574, f. 179).

[8] Mas, Vol. IV, *Taula*, no. CCXV (n. 271, f. 69), *S+m Suniario qui et Lobaton;* IX, *Rubrica*, no. 117 (*Lib. Antiquit.* IV, f. 115, doc. 296), *Sig+num Seniofredo, que dicunt Lobatone.*

[9] Mas, Vol. IV, *Taula*, no. CCCXLIX (n. 295, f. 74), dated XII *April. A.* XII *regnante Rodebertus rex.*

[10] Rudolf Beer, 'Die Handschriften des Klosters Santa Maria de Ripoll,' I., *Sitzb. d. Kais.*

century MS. *Ripoll 225*.[1] Although this manuscript contains some of the same material as the *Liber de astrolabio* ascribed to Gerbert,[2] nevertheless it is not the same and appears to be a separate treatise.[3] However, Gerbert's treatise was apparently derived from it, and that Gerbert actually received a copy of it from *Lupitus* seems a justifiable conclusion to draw from extant copies of at least parts of the work found in manuscripts of later date outside of Spain.[4]

Since the study made by Rudolph Beer, it has been generally accepted that Gerbert studied at the monastery of Santa Maria de Ripoll rather than with Bishop Atto of Vich, as stated by Richer.[5] From the early part of the following century comes evidence of literary relations between Barcelona and Ripoll. In 1011 the Deacon and Judge *Homobonus* (or *Bonus homo*) of Barcelona and possibly of San Cugat del Vallés[6] wrote a juridical

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Ak. d. Wissensch. in Wien, phil.-hist. Kl., CLV (1907), no. 3, p. 107, no. 207 of the catalogue (Catalan translation by P. Barnils y Giol, *Boletin de la Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, v (1909–10), 137 ff., 230 ff.) Catalogue also in Villanueva, *Viage lit.*, VIII, app. IV. This Benedictine monastery, dating at least from 888, is in the village of Ripoll, province of Gerona, located between the two rivers Ter and Frezer.

[1] Archives of the Crown of Aragon, Barcelona. See Beer, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 107; Zacarias Garcia (Villada) 'Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Hispaniensis. Bd. II, Ripoll,' *Sitzb. d. Wiener Ak. d. Wissensch.*, phil.-hist. Kl., CLXIX (1915), no. 2, p. 96; Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science*, p. 9, n. 21.

[2] Printed in Bubnov, *Gerberti . . . Opera Mathematica*, pp. 109–147, among Gerbert's doubtful works. Haskins, *op. cit.*, p. 9, seems even more doubtful of Gerbert's authorship.

[3] The contents are given in Beer, *op. cit.*, pp. 57–59; Garcia (Villada), *op. cit.*, p. 96; Haskins, *op. cit.*, p. 9, n. 21.

[4] MS. Leyden *Scaliger 38* (*olim 31*), fols. 42^{r}–43^{v}, 47^{r}–48^{v} (11th century, Bubnov. *op. cit.*, pp. xxxiv–xxxv). MS. Bern *Bong. 196*, fols. 1^{a}–8^{b} (9th century according to Hermann Hagen, *Catalogus Codicum Bernensium Bibliotheca Bongarsiana* (Berne, 1874), p. 246; 11th century according to Ernst Zinner, *Verzeichnis der astronomischen Handschriften des deutschen Kulturgebietes* (München: Beck, 1925), no. 921. This MS. was not noted by Bubnov. MS. *Monac. 14836* (*olim* St. Emmeram *K. 6*), fols. 156^{v}–159^{r} (11th century. See Bubnov. *op. cit.*, p. lviii; Maximilian Curtze, 'Die Handschrift *No. 14836* der Königl. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek zu München,' *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Mathematik*, VII (1895), 140.) MS. *Chartres 214* (*olim* 173), fols. 21^{v}–32^{r} (12th century. See Henri Omont, 'Manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Chartres,' *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements* (Paris, 1889), XI, 109; Bubnov, *op. cit.*, p. xxv.) MS. *Avranches 235* (*olim 2940*) (12th century. See Omont, 'Manuscrits de la bibliothèque d'Avranches,' *Catalogue général des manuscrits. Départments* (Paris, 1889), X, 112; Bubnov, p. xix.) This MS. indicates it as a work separate from that of Gerbert. Thus, f. 58 begins the treatise ascribed by Bubnov to Gerbert, 'Quicunque astronomicae peritiam disciplinae' (Bubnov, p. 114), while f. 69^{v} sates 'Item, alia compositio. Phylosophi quorum sagaci studio . . . concludatur,' and this is part of the treatise found in MS. *Ripoll 225*, f. 1^{v}. MS. *Vat. Reg. 1661*, f. 73^{v} (12th century), and MS. *Vat. 4539* (15th century), according to André Berthelot, 'Note sur une collection d'écrits mathématiques du Moyen-Âge d'après deux manuscrits du Vatican,' *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, v (1885), 209 ff. MS. Oxford *Corpus Christi* CCLXXXIII, f. 27 (not listed by Bubnov).

[5] III, c. 43.

[6] Mas, IV. *Taula*, *passim*. He appears as a judge first in 987.

text which he called *Liber iudicum popularis*, perhaps for the monastery of Santa Maria de Ripoll itself.[1] The principal sources for his introduction were the *Sententiae* of Isidore of Seville and the *Geometria Gisemundi* (excerpts from the *Corpus agrimensorum*),[2] both of which were at Ripoll,[3] and he undoubtedly made use of them there. Thus, it is quite probable that a copy of an astronomical work written by another man of Barcelona, *Lupitus*, also found its way into the Ripoll library, to be known as the *Liber de horis* in the eleventh-century catalogue, and still exists in MS. *Ripoll 225*.[4]

It is not at all strange that Gerbert should have addressed himself to *Lupitus* instead of using what seems to have been his Christian name, *Seniofredus*, for he does the same in letter 25 where the address is BONIFILIO GERUNDENSI EPISCOPO. This latter person was no less than the Count-Bishop Miro of Gerona (970–984) who was called *Bonifilius*.[5]

Further confirmation of the suggestions made above that *Lupitus* was an ecclesiastic of one of the lesser grades is the use of the second person singular in letter 24, as this is the usual form in the letters of Gerbert in which a destinary of lesser grade is known. Thus, letters 15, 19, 21, 86, 92, 130, 134, 142, 148, 153, 161, 162, 169, all addressed to monks, and letters 40 and 71 to a deacon, use the second person singular.

As to whether the Archdeacon *Seniofredus*, called *Lupetus* (*Lubetus*, *Lobetus*) of Barcelona and *Lupitus Barchinonensis*, the addressee of Gerbert's letter 24, were actually the same person, no definite proof is as yet available, especially as we know nothing of the intellectual activities of the archdeacon. However, from the evidence given above it will be seen that he was a man of some importance in Barcelona, the owner of considerable

[1] It seems to have been either no. 105, 106, or 107 of the eleventh century catalogue (Beer, *op. cit.*, pp. 98 f, 104), and was still in existence at the burning of the monastery in 1835 (*ibid.*, p. 98; Felix Torres Amat, *Memorias para ayudar a formar un diccionario critico de los escritores catalanes* [Barcelona, 1836], p. 306), but is now lost. Another copy written in 1012 for the bishop of Vich by *Homobonus* still exists in MS. *Z. II. 2 Escurialensis* at Madrid (Antolin, *Catalogo de los Códices latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial*, Madrid, 1916, IV, 250).

[2] Fernando Valls Taberner, 'El "Liber Iudicum Popularis" de Homobonus de Barcelona,' *Anuari de Historia de derecho español*, II (1925), 205 ff.

[3] Beer, *op. cit.*, pp. 108, 60–64. The *Geometria Gisemundi* is today MS. *Ripoll 106*, f. 81^{r}–87^{v}.

[4] At some time before 970 a *Suniarius presbiter* was at the monastery of Santa Maria de Ripoll where he copied a codex of Eugippius, now lost (Villanueva, *Viage lit.*, VIII, 38; Beer, *op. cit.*, pp. 37–38). Could this *Suniarius presbiter* be identical with *Seniofredus archipresbiter* of Barcelona, and hence with *Lupitus*? As must have been noted, the spelling of names was not at all fixed during this period.

[5] Botet y Siso, *Cartoral del Carles Many*, no. 58; Villanueva, *Viage lit.*, XIII, 74; XV, 280; Beer, *op. cit.*, p. 50; Nicolau d'Olwer, 'Gerbert y la cultura catalana,' p. 335 and notes. As to the use of these additional names in Catalonia during this period see Jose Balari y Jovany, *Origenes históricos de Cataluña* (Barcelona, 1899), pp. 529 ff., and D. Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta, *Historia de España* (Barcelona, 1920), III, 672.

property,[1] somewhat closely associated with Gerbert's patron, Count Borrell, and from his family came a bishop of Barcelona, *Deusdedit*. Thus, the address *Lupito Barchinonensi* would surely have indicated the Archdeacon *Seniofredus* since he seems to have been the most prominent *Lupitus* (*Lupetus*, *Lubetus*, etc.) in Barcelona at the time (984).

HARRIET PRATT LATTIN
Cambridge

[1] The archdeacons, by the end of the tenth century, were also the possessors of certain towers (*turres archidiaconales*) adjoining the bishop's palace. See Balari y Jovany, *op. cit.*, pp. 308 f.; Carreras y Candi, 'Lo Montjuich de Barcelona,' pp. 237–8; *ibid.*, 'Relaciones de los Vizcondes de Barcelona con los árabes,' in *Homenaje a D. Francisco Codera en su jubilación die Profesorado* (Zaragoza, 1904), p. 208.

THE PROVENIENCE OF THE LONDON VITRUVIUS

IN A RECENT article in *The Journal of Theological Studies*[1] Mr Frank Granger makes the interesting suggestion that the oldest extant manuscript of Vitruvius (London, B.M., *Harleianus 2767*) was written at Jarrow in the ninth century and later brought to the Continent. If this suggestion is correct, it is of the first importance. It would indicate that the revival of architecture at the court of Charlemagne was due, in part at least, to the importation of a manuscript from Saxon England. It would provide us, moreover, with an excellent criterion for the study of the script of Jarrow.

Let us consider the evidence. (1) Mr Granger begins by pointing out that the two most recent editors of Vitruvius, namely V. Rose[2] and F. Krohn[3], trace all the manuscripts to two independent sources, the *H*(*arleianus*) and the *G*(*uelferbytanus*), and prefer the former. (2) He notes the similarity between *H* and the *Codex Amiatinus* of the Bible (in some of the readings in which *H* differs from *G*) in the use of participles instead of nouns of agency, in the omission of parts of *esse*, and (in some of the readings rejected by the editors) in the employment of certain spellings. (3) Since the corrections of the Amiatinus often coincide with the recension of Alcuin, the Amiatinus probably followed him to Tours. 'Now we know that MSS of Vitruvius were multiplied in order to help the revival of architecture at the court of Charlemagne.' (p. 75) It is probable, then, that *H* (from which these manuscripts of Vitruvius were derived) also went to Tours and was corrected there. (4) 'On the last of the blank pages in the body of the manuscript (i.e., *H*)

[1] 'The *Harleian* MS. of Vitruvius (*H*) and the *Codex Amiatinus*,' *Jour. Theol. Stud.*, XXXII (1930), 74–77.

[2] In his edition, Leipzig: Teubner, 1899. Cf. also the edition by V. Rose and H. Müller-Strübing, Leipzig: Teubner, 1867.

[3] In his edition, Leipzig: Teubner, 1912.

cum abignirunt ꝑcalefacta ac&o ſparſo dirriliunt &
dirſoluuntur. Ergo cum harſerante oculor tra fieri unde
amur ratiocinemur hir dérationibur exacidir propter
acritudinem ſuci. & iam calculoſor en atura rerum ſimilit
porſe curari; ſunt autem & iam fonter utui nomixti
qué admodum eſt unur paphlagoniae ex coeam ſine
uino potantes fiunt temulenti. Aequiculi autem in
italia & in alpibur natione medullorum eſt genur aque
quam quibibébum efficiuntur turgidir guttaribuſ.
Arcadia uero ciuitar eſt non ignota dictori incauur agrir
eſt ſpelunca profluent aquae quibiberint fiunt abſte
mii. Adeum autem fontem epi gramma eſt in lapide in
ſcriptum. haec ſententia euerſibur grecis eam non erſe
idoneam ad lauandum ſed & iam inimicá utribur.
quod apud eum fontem melampur ſacrificiur purga
uit & rabiem proetidum filiarum reſtituit & q; earum
uirginum mentem in priſtinam ſanitatem;
epigramma autem eſt id quod eſt ſubſcriptum.
ΛΙΓΡΑΤΑ ϹΥΝΠΟΙΜΝΑΙϹ ΤΟΜΕϹΕΜ ΒΡΙΝΟΝΗΝ ΕΕΒΑ
ΡΥΗΝ ΔΙΨΟϹΑ ΝΕϹΧΑΤΙΑϹ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΡΟϹΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΟΝ
ΤΑϹΜΕΝΑΠΟ ΚΡΗΝΗ ΚΑΡΥϹΑΙ ΠΟΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑΝΥΜ
ΦΑΙϹ ΥΔΡΕΑϹΙΝϹΤΗ ϹΟΝΤΙΑΝ ΤΟ ϹΟΝΑΙΠΟΟΛΙΟΝ.
ΝΑΜΑϹΙΜΗ ΤΕΠΙΑΟΥΤ ΡΑΒΑΤΙΤ ΕΧΡΑΜΗϹΗ ΚΑΙΔΥ
ΡΗΠΗ ΝΗϹΝΤΥϹΕΟΝΤΑΜΕΘΗ ϹΦΕΥΤΕΔΕΤΗΠΗΤΗ
ΝΜΕΙϹΑΜΠΕΛΟΝΕΝΘΑΜΕΛΑΜΠΟΥ ϹΑΥϹΑΜΕΝΟ

Plate I

London, *B.M.*, *Harleianus*, *2767*, fol. 117ʳ.

there is the sketch of a cross in the same style as those which precede each of the Lindisfarne Gospels. This trace of the Celtic tradition helps to define the origin of *H* in Northumbria.' (p. 75) (5) In the Amiatinus at the end of each of the four Gospels appears the word *amen* and at the end of the Acts of the Apostles the words *Deo gratias amen.* In *H* at the end of the first and tenth books of Vitruvius appear the words *dō gratias amen.* Mr Granger concludes, therefore, that both manuscripts were written in the same scriptorium. (6) In rubrication and uncial letters *H* is similar to the Amiatinus. 'If anything, *H* has marks of a greater antiquity: where it differs so far as the uncial writing is concerned, it suggests the lapidary style of Pope Damasus'[1] (p. 76).

Mr Granger now concludes (p. 76): 'Although *H* was in Cologne at the monastery of St Pantaleon at the beginning of the eleventh century,[2] it almost certainly came two centuries before from the scriptorium of Jarrow along with the Amiatinus, so that the German court owed to Saxon England the Latin Vulgate and the canon of Roman architecture.'

The case is attractively stated. We must analyze the items in order.

1. Mr Granger has apparently overlooked H. Degering's review[3] of Krohn's edition of Vitruvius, in which the existence of no less than five independent sources of the text is demonstrated: *H*, *E*[4]-*G*, *S*(*letstadiensis*), *Vat. Reg. 2079* and *Vat. Reg. 1328*. The importance of this distinction will become clear in the discussion of the next item.

2. The omission of parts of *esse* in two manuscripts (especially with contents so widely different as the Bible and Vitruvius) can hardly be considered proof that they were written in the same scriptorium. Such omissions occur frequently everywhere. But the case may be different in the use of participles instead of nouns of agency and in the employment of similar spellings. Unfortunately Mr Granger cites no examples whatsoever. We are therefore left entirely in the dark. In these instances of similarity we are anxious to know if *H* agrees with *S*, *Vat. Reg. 2079*, *Vat. Reg. 1328*, or any of the other manuscripts. Just what is the nature of the usages? Is there any reason to believe that they are peculiar to Jarrow and to no other scriptorium? Each instance must be considered on its own merits. Until Mr Granger enlightens us, we must suspend our judgment on this point.

[1] Consecrated 367.

[2] The evidence for this statement lies in the fact that on fol. 145^{v}, in apparently the same hand of *saec.* ix/x that makes additions in the upper margins of ff. 27^{r}, 98^{v}, 144^{v} and 159^{r}, appear the words: Godera(m)n(us) p(ro)posit(us). Goderamnus belonged to the Abbey of St Pantaleon in Cologne and afterwards (1022–1030) became first abbot of Hildesheim. See the *Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts in the British Museum, Part* II, *Latin* (London, 1884), 72 and the references there cited.

[3] In *Philologische Wochenschrift*, XXXV (1915), 418–419.

[4] *E* belongs to the same class as *G*.

3. All of these statements are doubtful in the extreme. Because of the coincidence in the corrections of the Amiatinus and those of the Alcuinian recension (even were there no other information available) there would be no necessity whatever of supposing that the Amiatinus was ever in Tours. It could easily have been corrected, at any one of a number of places, from one of the numerous Bibles copied from Alcuin's recension and sent out from Tours.[1] As a matter of fact, however, it is definitely established that the Amiatinus was brought to Rome about 716 by followers of Ceolfrid, abbot of Jarrow, as a gift for the library of the *Confessio beati Petri*, where the Popes were in the habit of assembling important documents.[2] And there is some probability that it was brought to the abbey of San Salvatore at Monte Amiata (near Siena) at the beginning of the ninth century.[3] Under the circumstances it is most unlikely that it was present in Alcuin's time or afterward at Tours. Again, *H* may not necessarily be the only codex which served as an exemplar for the multiplication of texts of Vitruvius at the court of Charlemagne. The ancestors of any of the other four classes of manuscripts may also have served. That *H* was corrected at Tours, finally, seems highly improbable, because of the simple fact that most of the corrections are written in the same hand and in the same ink as the text.[4]

4. In four folios of the manuscript (87, 103, 133 and 145) the parchment is so thin that the writing on the recto shows through on the opposite side. For this reason, the verso of every one of these folios was originally left blank. On the last one appears a crudely drawn cross[5] wholly unworthy of the beautiful illumination of the Lindisfarne Gospels. The cross, like the name of Goderamnus beside it, is certainly a later addition and an addition by an unskilful artist. Just how much later it is to be placed is a question. Perhaps Goderamnus put it there at the end of the tenth century in Cologne. In any case, the general style of the crosses in the Lindisfarne Gospels (and, in fact, of Insular ornament[6] and script as a whole) was well known in various Continental centers (Cologne,[7] for example) from the eighth to the tenth centuries. There is, then, no necessity of assuming an Anglo-Saxon artist,

[1] Cf. W. Köhler, *Die Karolingischen Miniaturen, I. Die Schule von Tours*, in *Denkmäler deutscher Kunst*, (Berlin: Cassirer, 1930), 18.

[2] See the account of the Amiatinus in Franz Steffens, *Paléographie Latine* (Trèves and Paris, 1910), Plate 21 b.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] I came to this conclusion after a careful personal examination of the manuscript in 1929.

[5] Several of its component parts resemble double battle-axes.

[6] Cf. the facsimiles in E. H. Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, in *Denkmäler deutscher Kunst*, III, 1, (Berlin, 1916).

[7] H. Foerster, *Die Abkürzungen in den Kölner Handschriften der Karolingerzeit* (Tübingen: Laupp, 1916) gives proof for the abbreviations. In a work which I have recently completed and which the Mediaeval Academy will soon publish, *The Script of Cologne from Hildebald to Hermann*, I cite evidence for the script and for some of the illumination.

INCPT LIB· QVARTS

Decautare di dicere exorsus· prius respondendū putaui
eus inimicis· qui terrena gaudia consectantes rebusq:
fugacib: inhiantes· quicquid meis· triste misericordia
poraus admonentas di· quam punientas seueritate parcantur·
religioni increpitant xpianae quae una ē· salubris & uenere religio·,
& qm̄ cum sit meis & iam uulgus indoctum uelut doctorū auctoritate
inodium nr̄m grauius irritantur· ēxistimantab: impertis ea quae suis
temporib: insolita acciderint· per alia & ro tempora accidere
nonsolere· eorūq: opinionē & iam his· quea m falsā· ee· nouerunt·
ut aduersum nos iusta mur munc habere uideantur· suae scientiae
dissimulatione firmantab: de libris· quos auctores eorū ad cognoscenda
prēteritorū temporū historiā memoriae mandauerunt· longe
aliter· ee· quam putant demonstrandū fuit & simul docendum· deos
falsos· quos uel palā colebant uel occulte Adhuc colunt ēos esse
immundissimos· spūs· & malignissimos· ac fallacissimos· daemones· usq:
adeo· ut aut ueris· aut fictis· & iam suis· tamen criminib: delectentur·
quae sibi celebrari per sua festa uoluerunt· ut aper pōrendis
damnabilib: factis humana reuocari non possit infirmitas· dū adhaec
imitanda· uelut diuina probātur auctoritas·, haec none xm̄ conjectura
probauimus· sed patum ex recenti memoria· quia & ipsi uidimus
talia & talib: numinib: exhiberi patum ex litteris eorū quinon
tam quā incommeliū· sed tam quā inhonorē deorū suorū lecta
conscripta posteris reliquerunt· Nauctur doctissimus apud eos
uarro & grauissimae auctoritatis· cūrerū humanarū atq: diuinarū
dispectiores facer & libros· alios humanis· alios diuinis· persuacuisq: rei

but even if there were, such an artist might have been working in a *Continental* scriptorium,[1] employing either a device he had learned in England or one he had seen, or now saw before him, in an Anglo-Saxon manuscript that had come to the Continent.

5. The presence of *Deo gratias amen* (or *dō gratias amen*) at the end of books in both *H* and the Amiatinus is hardly proof of their common origin. This ending and similar endings are frequent in books written elsewhere. Several examples which occur to me follow:

Cologne, *Dombibliothek 41*, fol. 175^{r}: DO GRATIAS AMEN.

Cologne, *Dombibliothek 39*, fol. 71^{r}: DŌ GRATIAS AMEN. FINIT.

Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 18312*, fol. 45^{r}: EXPLT DO GRATIAS.

Cologne, *Dombibliothek 54*, fol. 163^{v}: $\overline{\text{DO}}$. GR$\overset{\text{m}}{\text{A}}$.

Instances of this sort could be multiplied indefinitely.

6. Unfortunately Mr Granger fails to mention in what respect the rubrication of *H* resembles that of the Amiatinus. In any event, the illumination of *H* in general is also characteristic of the usage at Cologne in the middle of the ninth century. The details will be discussed later.

The uncials of *H*, though even and well made, are often mixed with rustic capitals, If one may judge from the single facsimile in Steffens,[2] this is not true of the beautiful uncials in the Amiatinus. But it certainly is true of the remarkably similar uncials in Cologne, *Dombibliothek 184*.[3] These well-formed, but impure, letters are, it is true, reminiscent of earlier models (particularly the simple beauty of sixth century uncials), models to which the monks of Tours looked about the beginning of the ninth century in their attempt to make every variety of script true to type and every type founded on antiquity.[4] The uncials of *H*, however, are apparently not the result of a successful borrowing from an ancient source, but rather the imperfect imitation of such a successful borrowing at some other center such as Tours. This copying of the style of Tours is also a peculiarity of the minuscule script of *H*, as we shall see later.

[1] The presence of Insular scribes at Cologne, e.g., is attested by the script. In Cologne, *Dombibliothek 106* (written at Cologne *circa* 805) one scribe (*N*) is apparently an Irishman who has spent some time in a scriptorium (Insular or Continental) where the Anglo-Saxon script prevailed, while another (*Q*) is certainly Anglo-Saxon in the style of his script. Cf. my article, 'Cologne *Ms. 106*: a Book of Hildebald,' SPECULUM, IV (1929), 46–48 and 49. Another fine Anglo-Saxon hand appears in Cologne, *Dombibliothek 213*, which may possibly have been written at Cologne in the Hildebaldian period (791–819) or just before. Cf. F. B. C. Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts im Abendlande bis zum Ausgange des Mittelalters*, I (Graz, 1870), 511, who holds for Cologne, and A. Chroust, *Monumenta Palaeographica*, II. Serie, Band I, Lief. VI, Tafel 9, who holds for France.

[2] F. Steffens, *Paléographie Latine* (Trèves and Paris, 1910), Plate 21 b.

[3] See those on fol. 6^{r}, e.g.

[4] E. K. Rand, *Studies in the Scripts of Tours*, I (Cambridge, 1930), 40.

This ends our analysis of Mr Granger's evidence. His arguments are decidedly vulnerable. I might be content to leave the matter here, were I not able to point with some certainty to another scriptorium as the place in which the London Vitruvius was written. The identity of this scriptorium has already been suggested in the analysis above. It will not surprise the reader to hear that it is Cologne.

To prove my point I shall describe two manuscripts of the period to which *H* belongs and point out similarities between them and *H*.[1] The two manuscripts are Cologne, *Dombibliothek 75* and *184*. Both are to be referred to Cologne because of the presence of Tironian notes similar in nature to those that occur in other books written at Cologne.[2] Their dates may be fixed with a fair degree of probability in the period of Gunther (850–863), for the general nature of their script and various details in their ruling, abbreviations, etc., are best accommodated to a time later than the one datable manuscript of Hadebald (833–841)[3] and earlier than the one datable manuscript of Willibert (870–889).[4] Both may, therefore, be safely accepted as examples of the script of Cologne just after the middle of the ninth century.[5]

We may now compare the London Vitruvius with these two manuscripts and note the remarkable agreement of all three in general aspect and in details. Let us consider first the ruling, the arrangement of the leaves, and the quire signatures. *H* is ruled in the Old Style,[6] either two or four leaves at a time. *Cologne 75* is ruled in the same style, four leaves at a time.[7] Again, the leaves of *H* and *Cologne 184* are arranged (with the exception of three quires in each manuscript) so that hair-side confronts hair-side and flesh-side flesh-

[1] Further evidence will be available in my work, *The Script of Cologne from Hildebald to Hermann*, mentioned above, p. 58, note 7.

[2] P. Jaffé and W. Wattenbach, *Ecclesiae Metropolitanae Coloniensis Codices MSS.* (Berlin, 1874), p. 4 ff.: 'Agnoscimus autem in eis [i.e., in MSS certainly written at Cologne because of pressmarks, etc.] et in aliis nonnullis, quos eiusdem generis esse apparet, librarios veteri disciplina imbutos, ex Italia procul dubio arcessitos illos, qui notarum Tironiarum plenam adhuc notitiam habebant et in emendandis codicibus, qui diligenter a correctoribus relegebantur, eis usi sunt. Quas quidem notas adhibitas videmus in codicibus . . . LXXV . . . CLXXXIV . . .' (I have omitted from this list all the manuscripts not in question here.)

[3] Cologne, *Dombibliothek 93*, which bears the pressmark of Hadebald.

[4] Cologne, *Dombibliothek 137*, which can be dated because of the names in a litany. Note that Cologne, *Dombibliothek 29*, though it cannot be dated definitely, bears the inscription LIBER UUILLIBERTI ARCHIEPI and is close to *MS. 137* in style.

[5] A more detailed account of their script and their other characteristics is reserved for my larger study of the script of Cologne. Since these details are important in an exact determination of date only, they are unnecessary here. The main point, the provenience of the manuscripts from Cologne, is proved by the presence of the Tironian notes.

[6] See E. K. Rand, *Palaeographia Latina*, v (1927), 52–78, and *A Survey, etc.*, 11–18, for a description of this style.

[7] *Cologne 184* is ruled one leaf at a time on the hair-side, perhaps because the parchment is fairly thick and the ruling would not show clearly through more than one leaf.

peruiam angustam trecensire nonpossimus. Ecce quantum
humilitas studendum sit breuiter demonstratur. proin
de necesse est ut superbia cum auctore suo diabolo uigilan
ter cauenda tur. & humilitas xpi obediencer amplectatur.
Quoniam sicut illa se mitantes ad ima prosternit. ita ista
se complectentes ad summa erigit.

III DE PATIENTIA

Patientia quae xpi amore sufferetur. laudanda & prae
dicanda est. Quando autem amore terrenarum rerum
fit. non est uirtus patientia dicenda quae nulla est. sed ut
beatus augustinus scribit. miranda furtiua. neganda pati
entia. Patientia ergo tunc est laudanda & uirtus praedican
da. cum ob xpi amorem non solum Inaccedentibus exteriorum
rerum aduersitatibus habetur. sed & iam Incorde potissimum
retinetur. Nec enim prodest exterius demonstrari pati
entiam. & interius bellas dissensionum. & ceterorum fomen
ta retineri uitiorum. Quando igitur foris praetenditur
patientia. & interius regnant uitiorum bella. non est huius
cemodi patientia uirtus. sed uirtutis simulatio aestiman
da. Exstat igitur beatus iob exterioris Interiorisque exem
plum patientiae. qui non solum exteriorum damna rerum
& orbitates filiorum. & iniurias inlatas amicorum. uerum
& iam flagellum suicorporis patienter sustinuit. Et inter
tot aduersa. non admur murationem. sed addit laudem erupit
dicens. Si bona suscepimus de manu dni. mala quare non sus
cipiamus. Item. dns dedit. dns abstulit. sicut dno placuit
ita factum est. sit nomen dni benedictum. De patientia autem
ait salomon. Qui patiens est. multa gubernatur prudentia.
Qui autem Impatiens. exaltat stultitiam suam. Item. Melior
est patiens uiro forti. & qui dominatur animo suo

PLATE III

COLOGNE, *Dombibliothek 184*, fol. 100^{r} (Hands D and A).

side, but so that the flesh-side is on the outside of the gathering. This is the system common in ancient books,[1] but the exact opposite of that employed in most manuscripts of the ninth century. It is to be considered here as a conscious revival. The quire signatures, moreover, in all three manuscripts[2] are simple numerals, in *H* with lines pyramided above and beneath after the manner prevalent at Tours in the early ninth century,[3] in *Cologne 75* preceded by a sort of paragraph sign with occasional dots at the left.

All three manuscripts exhibit a similar variety of excellent minuscule script and, in some of their hands at least, a fairly even, vertical imitation of the writing practised at Tours at this time and earlier.[4] A careful inspection of the three plates[5] which accompany this article will disclose their close relationship. The script of *H* is larger and less regular than that of the other two manuscripts, but the forms of the letters are, with few exceptions, essentially the same in all three. Their consanguinity is further demonstrated by the occurrence of the following phenomena, most of which do not appear in the plates. In *H* and in *Cologne 184*[6] ordinary minuscule *a* and double-c *a* both occur; Merovingian high-backed *e* appears occasionally (and, in *H*, Merovingian flourishes at the ends of lines as well); uncial *D* (and, in the Vitruvius, *G* also) and semiuncial *N*[7] are sometimes used as minuscules. In *H* and in *Cologne 75* minuscule *u* frequently takes the form of *v* and suprascript letters occur from time to time (*u* in the Vitruvius; *i* in *Cologne 75*). In all three manuscripts the vertical shaft of the *h* curves in at the bottom toward the right in the fashion approved at Tours. The moderate number of ligatures in *H* (especially with *r*, *i-longa* and tall *e*) can nearly all be paralleled in the other two manuscripts.

All three manuscripts seem to use the same even and well made, but impure, variety of uncials.[8] None has any semiuncials.[9] This fact in itself is almost enough to indicate that the manuscripts are copies, and not examples, of the script of Tours. Small incidental initials are uncials,[10] in *H* slightly ornate.

Of the abbreviations in *H*, I need only say that they contain nothing out

[1] Lowe in E. A. Lowe and E. K. Rand, *A Sixth Century Fragment of the Letters of Pliny the Younger* (New York, 1922), 4, n. 2.

[2] Except for 5 quires in *Cologne 75* which have $\overline{\text{qr}}$· i etc.

[3] E. K. Rand, *A Survey, etc.*, 19.

[4] See the facsimiles for Periods v and vi in E. K. Rand, *A Survey, etc.*

[5] See also the *Catalogue of the Ancient Manuscripts in the British Museum, Part* ii, *Latin* (London, 1884), Plate 55 (=fol. 75^{v} of *H*).

[6] Open *a* also in this MS.

[7] In *Cologne 75* also.

[8] *Cologne 75* uses some square capitals, and *Cologne 184* some rustic capitals, as well.

[9] The only semiuncial touch in *H* is the *m* of the *amen* in the uncial *explicit* on fol. 161^{v}.

[10] In *Cologne 184* they are sometimes rustic capitals.

of accord with those used in the books of Cologne. A list will appear in my forthcoming book.

The illumination is similar in all three books, though in *Cologne 75* it is not quite so modest as in the other two. *Incipits*, *explicits* and titles are generally written in uncials.[1] In *H* the *incipits* and titles are red; the *explicits* black or red. In *Cologne 184*, on the other hand, red seems to be preferred in all cases, whereas in *Cologne 75* either color may be used or both colors in alternating lines. Of more significance, however, is the fact that in *H* and in *Cologne 184* the initials[2] at the beginning of sections of the text are identical in size (about two lines high) and color (plain black, usually shaded in red). In all three books the first line (or lines) of text immediately following these initials is written in black (or in *Cologne 184*, red) uncials.

This ends our comparison, which need not be continued with further details. There can be little question that the three manuscripts discussed above were products of the same scriptorium. One may conclude, then, that despite the fascinating theory of Mr Granger the London Vitruvius was written, not at Jarrow, but at Cologne, probably *circa* 850–863. It is certainly desirable to be sure of the origin of our oldest copy of Vitruvius and of one of the worthy monuments in the script of Cologne.

Leslie Webber Jones
The College of the City of New York

[1] Except for a few instances of rustic capitals in *Cologne 184* and of square capitals in *Cologne 75*.

[2] In *Cologne 75* there are a few somewhat larger ornamental initials with motives common at Cologne.

'THE ROUT OF WINCHESTER'

The events of September 14, 1141, were of capital importance in the struggle between Stephen of Blois, King of England, and the rival claimant to the English crown, Matilda, Countess of Anjou, the daughter of Henry I. In February of that year, Stephen had been captured at the battle of Lincoln and confined in Bristol castle, the chief stronghold of Matilda's half-brother and faithful partisan, Robert, Earl of Gloucester. Matilda was mistress of England, but her triumph was to be short lived. Early in August she occupied Winchester at the head of all the forces she could muster, and laid siege to the episcopal castle which belonged to Stephen's brother, Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester. The bishop summoned to his aid all those who were still faithful to the cause of King Stephen. Before long, a formidable army had gathered under the command of Stephen's wife, also named Matilda, and the able Flemish captain William of Ypres. This force surrounded Winchester in the hope of starving out the Countess and her partisans and thus raising the siege of the bishop's castle. On September 14,

the Countess and her supporters, finding themselves short of provisions and vastly outnumbered by their enemies, raised the siege and attempted to retire toward the west. The retreat was turned into a rout. The army was cut to pieces, and Earl Robert of Gloucester was captured. When he was exchanged for King Stephen a few months later, both parties were practically where they had been before the battle of Lincoln.

While the general results of this memorable fourteenth of September are perfectly clear, historians have been unable to give a satisfatory detailed account of 'The Rout of Winchester.' The sources — the *Gesta Stephani*, John of Hexham, the Continuator of Florence of Worcester, William of Malmesbury, and *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal* — seem at first glance to be hopelessly contradictory.[1] Mr Round solved the problem by rejecting the testimony of the *Histoire* in favor of that of the *Gesta Stephani* and John of Hexham.[2] The resulting account of the day's events can, as Mr Round pointed out, be reconciled without great difficulty with the evidence supplied by Malmesbury and Florence of Worcester. M. Paul Meyer, on the other hand, believed that the *Histoire*, supported as it appears to be by Florence of Worcester, outweighed the other authorities.[3] Mr Howlett did not make a definite statement, but he seems to lean toward M. Meyer's view.[4] As this question which has puzzled these three eminent scholars is of some importance in the history of the period and has a direct bearing on the eventual estimate of the historical value of the *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, it seems to merit further investigation. A careful study of the sources has convinced me that they are not really contradictory, and that for once Mr Round's highly acute critical ability has played him false. So rare is it to find this historian in error that this fact alone would justify a detailed discussion of the matter.

The four contemporary chroniclers — the author of the *Gesta Stephani*, John of Hexham, the Continuator of Florence of Worcester, and William of Malmesbury — in describing the Rout of Winchester deal with three distinct groups of events.[5] One of these centers about the burning of Wherwell

[1] *Gesta Stephani regis Anglorum* ed. Richard Howlett in *Chronicles and Memorials of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I* (Rolls Series, London, 1886), III, 3–136. *Historia Johannis prioris Hagustaldensis ecclesiae* ed. Thomas Arnold in *Symeonis Monachi Opera* (Rolls Series, London, 1885), II, 284–332. *Continuatio Chronici Florentii Wigorniensis*, ed. Benjamin Thorpe (English Historical Society, London, 1848–1849). William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella*, ed. T. D. Hardy (English Historical Society, London, 1840). *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal* ed. Paul Meyer (Société de l'Histoire de France, Paris, 1891–1901).

[2] J. H. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville* (London, 1892), pp. 128–133.

[3] *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, III, 5, note 2.

[4] *Gesta Stephani*, p. 82, note 1.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 81–83. John of Hexham, II, 310–311. Florence of Worcester, II, 134–135. William of Malmesbury, II, 752–753.

Abbey by a royalist force under William of Ypres in an attempt to dislodge a party of the Countess' supporters who had taken refuge in it. Another group consists of the events which culminated in the capture of Robert of Gloucester as he tried to retreat from Winchester. In the third are found the details of the Countess' escape to Ludgershall and her further flight to Devizes. As to the events within each of these last two groups, all four chroniclers are in essential accord. The *Gesta Stephani* and John of Hexham disagree as to the exact reasons for the presence of the Countess' partisans at Wherwell, but all four sources are in agreement as to what happened there. While the *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal* does not mention the capture of Earl Robert, it is in accord with the other sources as to the events of the two other groups.[1] Thus one can easily give satisfactory separate accounts of the burning of Wherwell Abbey, the capture of Earl Robert, and the escape of the Countess.

The historian's difficulties commence when he tries to discover the proper relation between these groups and to fit each into its proper place in a complete account of the day's events. The *Gesta Stephani*, John of Hexham, and William of Malmesbury agree that the affair of Wherwell was the first chronologically. Florence of Worcester clearly has no idea where that combat belongs.[2] The first two of these sources also state that the news of the burning of Wherwell convinced Robert of Gloucester of the necessity for beating a hasty retreat. Neither the three above-mentioned chronicles nor Florence of Worcester have any clear idea as to when and how the Countess escaped; they simply agree that she went to Ludgershall and from there to Devizes. The *Gesta* states that she reached Devizes with a small following before the rest of her partisans arrived.[3] William of Malmesbury says she went ahead of Earl Robert.[4] Florence of Worcester adds the information that she retreated by a different route from the one used by her brother and rode astride from Ludgershall to Devizes.[5] The *Histoire* seems to furnish the solution to this problem of Matilda's escape. It states that she accompanied the force sent to Wherwell and went on to Devizes, while her followers engaged the royalist force under William of Ypres.[6] I cannot agree with Mr Round when he says that to accept this statement of the *Histoire* one must reject the *Gesta Stephani* and John of Hexham.[7]

[1] *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, lines 183–276.

[2] He places it at the end of his account but emphasizes the fact that it took place on the same day. (Florence of Worcester, II, 135).

[3] 'Sed et ipsa Andegavensis comitissa . . . ante omnes, Brieno tantum cum paucis comite, ad Divisas confugit.' (*Gesta Stephani*, p. 83).

[4] 'Sororem praemittens' (William of Malmesbury, II, 753).

[5] 'Porro frater suus . . . per aliam viam egressus.' . . . 'Equo iterum usu masculino suppositа' (Florence of Worcester, II, 134).

[6] *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, lines 200–238.

The question turns largely on the true reason for the despatch of the force to Wherwell. All the authorities agree that Queen Matilda's blockade had caused a serious shortage of provisions in Winchester. According to the *Gesta* the Countess' partisans decided to send a party of three hundred knights to fortify Wherwell, which controlled a passage over the river Test, in the hope of breaking the blockade and permitting supplies to reach the city.[1] John of Hexham, on the other hand, simply states that the party was to meet and bring in a convoy of provisions.[2] Mr Round believes that the author of the *Gesta* 'can hardly be mistaken in a statement so precise.'[3] I cannot see why either the author of the *Gesta* or John of Hexham should be expected to have an accurate knowledge of the purpose of this expedition — information obtainable only from one of the Countess' partisans. On the other hand, the account in the *Histoire* represents the story told (years later, it is true) by William Marshal, who had heard it from his father, John Marshal, one of the Countess' principal supporters. According to the *Histoire*, the Countess, troubled by the overwhelming numbers of the enemy, wished to make good her escape. John Marshal suggested that she go to his castle of Ludgershall.[4] Not only is John Marshal's testimony more acceptable in this case than that of the other authorities, but this account is more reasonable. Robert of Gloucester's first care, when he realized the hopelessness of his position, would be to assure the safety of his sister's person. What more natural than to send her out toward Ludgershall with a strong escort while he and the rest of the army occupied the enemy's attention by continuing their siege of the bishop's palace? This view is supported by Malmesbury's statement that Earl Robert sent his sister ahead of him. Thus the expedition to Wherwell had as its real purpose the escape of the Countess to Ludgershall.

The *Histoire* tells how the Countess set off for Ludgershall accompanied by John Marshal and Brian fitz Count, Lord of Wallingford. Before they had gone far on their way, they discovered that they were being pursued by a large royalist force. When they reached Wherwell, John, after persuading Matilda to ride astride in order to increase her speed, sent her on toward Ludgershall in the care of Brian fitz Count, while he and his men held the passage of the Test against the enemy. Overwhelmed by superior numbers, John was soon forced to take refuge in the Abbey church. There he maintained his position, despite the attempt to burn him out. Although he had

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[7] *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 130.

[1] 'Ut scilicet inde et regales facilius arcerentur, et ciborum subsidia competentius in urbem dirigerentur.' (*Gesta Stephani*, p. 81).

[2] 'ut conducerent in urbem eos qui comportabant victualia' (John of Hexham, II, 310).

[3] *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 129.

[4] *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, lines 183–199.

an eye put out by molten lead falling from the roof of the church tower, he managed to escape and make his way to his castle of Marlborough.[1] Most of these details are amply confirmed by the other authorities. John of Hexham and Florence of Worcester connect John Marshal with the expedition sent to Wherwell.[2] The *Gesta* states that Brian fitz Count accompanied Matilda in her flight. John of Hexham says that the expedition was followed to Wherwell by William of Ypres and there attacked by him.[3] Florence of Worcester states that John Marshal fled to Wherwell pursued by a royalist force. Only John of Hexham fails to mention the burning of the Abbey church. Florence of Worcester adds the information that John Marshal escaped from the conflagration.[4] All the sources agree that Matilda reached Devizes, and the Gesta gives Brian fitz Count as her companion. The only difficulty in accepting the *Histoire's* account is that no other authority mentions the fact that the Countess and Brian accompanied John Marshal and his men to Wherwell.

When one considers the haziness of the chroniclers' ideas as to just when and how Matilda did escape from Winchester, this difficulty does not appear very serious. Florence of Worcester indeed gives one detail which tends to confirm the *Histoire*. He mentions that Matilda rode astride, but from Devizes to Ludgershall rather than from Wherwell to Devizes. But there are far stronger reasons for accepting the testimony of the *Histoire* on this particular point. While the author of the *Histoire* is often inaccurate in dealing with events which do not directly concern the person in whom he is interested, he is remarkably reliable when his principal character is involved. His account of the retreat of the Countess from Winchester, the combat at Wherwell, and the burning of the church must have come from John Marshall himself, probably through his son William, No one else could have repeated the conversation between John and his companion in the burning church tower.[5] It is utterly inconceivable that John would have told so detailed and circumstantial a story if it were not essentially true. As the evidence of an eye-witness this testimony must be accepted by the historian. Mr Round's objection that John Marshal was in no position to give orders to Brian fitz Count is a mere quibble.[6] The fact that John in

[1] *Ibid.*, lines 200–276.

[2] 'Emissi sunt autem ducenti milites, cum Rodberto filio Edae, et Henrici regis notho, et Johanne Marascaldo' (John of Hexham, II, 310). 'Johannem . . . ad monasterium Warewellense fugientem' (Florence of Worcester, II, 135).

[3] 'Quos persecuti Willelmus Dipre et pars exercitus usque ad Warewella' (John of Hexham, II, 310).

[4] 'Praedictum tamen Johannem nec capere nec expellere potuerunt' (Florence of Worcester, II, 135).

[5] *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, lines 251–258.

[6] *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 130.

telling his story made himself order the lord of Wallingford to conduct Matilda to Devizes does not invalidate his account in the least. It simply adds a human touch that makes it the more credible.

The remaining events of this fourteenth of September require little discussion. The *Gesta* and John of Hexham agree that the news of the combat at Wherwell so thoroughly discouraged Earl Robert of Gloucester that he decided to retreat at once. As a matter of fact, I am inclined to suspect that the plan decided on in the council that morning called for his retirement as soon as the Countess and her escort were well on their way toward Devizes, but this cannot be proved. At any rate, as soon as the Earl and his forces issued from the gates of Winchester they were attacked and their retreat turned into a rout. Robert was captured while attempting to cross the Test at Stockbridge.

In his attempt to unscramble the details of the 'Rout of Winchester' Mr Round, I believe, erred in giving too much weight to the *Gesta Stephani* and John of Hexham, and too little to the *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal.* In discussing the reasons given by the first two of these sources for the expedition to Wherwell, he failed to notice that the *Histoire* furnishes more credible testimony on that question. Then he took too seriously the order in which the *Gesta* placed the three groups of events. When a mediaeval chronicler was faced with a number of actions taking place more or less simultaneously, the actual order in which he placed the events was by no means sacred. It certainly should never be used as a basis on which to reject such competent testimony as that of the *Histoire.* While showing such implicit faith in the *Gesta,* Mr Round rejected the testimony of John Marshal, a prominent participant in the events of which he told. John might not remember when Stephen was captured, he might even believe that Stephen instead of his Queen had commanded the royal forces at Winchester, but he would be likely to retain a clear idea of his own part in the affair.[1] By eliminating these errors, one can obtain a satisfactory account of the 'Rout of Winchester.'

Sidney Painter
The Johns Hopkins University

[1] See Meyer's notes, *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal,* III, 3, note 1; 13, note 1.

DAS WERK *DE AMORE* DES ANDREAS CAPELLANUS UND DAS VERURTEILUNGSDEKRET DES BISCHOFS STEPHAN TEMPIER VON PARIS VOM 7. MÄRZ 1277

Bischof Stephan Tempier von Paris hat am 10. Dezember 1270 fünfzehn Sätze, von denen dreizehn Lehrsätze des lateinischen Averroismus und

zwei Eigenlehren des hl. Thomas von Aquin darstellen, verurteilt.[1] Auf Veranlassung des Papstes Johannes XXI hat er sodann in einem weiteren Verurteilungsdekret 219 averroistische und aristotelische Sätze, darunter auch neun Lehrsätze von Thomas von Aquin verworfen.[2] Dieser letzteren Liste verurteilter Sätze hat er ein Begleitschreiben vorangestellt, in welchem er ausser einer Schrift über die Geomantia auch ein Werk verurteilt, das also charakterisiert ist: 'Librum etiam De amore sive de Deo amoris qui sic incipit: *Cogit me multum* etc., et sic terminatur: *Cave igitur, Gualteri, amoris exercere mandata.*[3] Weder H. Denifle noch P. Mandonnet, welche das Verurteilungsdekret des Bischofs Stephan Tempier ediert haben, haben über dieses Werk sich geäussert. Dasselbe ist meines Wissens bisher nicht identifiziert worden. Auch M. Gorce,[4] der zum erstenmal auf Zusammenhänge hingewiesen hat, die zwischen dem Verurteilungsdekret von 1272 (nämlich in den in demselben verworfenen laxen Anschauungen über sexuelle Dinge) und dem *Roman de la Rose* des Jean de Meun, Professors an der Artistenfakultät, bestünden, hat den Verfasser dieses Werkes *De amore sive de Deo amoris* nicht festgestellt. Ich habe in einer kürzlich in den *Sitzungsberichten* der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften veröffentlichten Abhandlung über den lateinischen Averroismus und seine Stellung zur christlichen Weltanschauung, in der ich ethische Sätze der Verurteilungsliste aus ungedruckten Ethikkommentaren der Artistenfakultät feststellen konnte, hierüber Folgendes bemerkt:[5] 'Es ist nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass in dieser Schrift über die Liebe oder den Liebesgott die gegen die Keuschheit oder ein keusches Leben gerichteten Sätze, welche auf der Verurteilungsliste von 1277 standen, ausgesprochen waren. Dieses Werk ist noch nicht identifiziert. Das von A. Jubinal (Paris, 1834) edierte Gedicht: *Li fable du Dieu d'amours* hat ein anderes Initium und auch die Schlussworte lauten anders. Wir dürfen annehmen, dass das von Bischof Stephan Tempier verurteilte Buch *De amore sive de Deo amoris* in französischer, nicht in lateinischer Sprache abgefasst war.' Da wurde ich nun durch Herrn Professor Paul Lehmann,[6] der meine Akademieabhandlung gelesen hat, darauf aufmerksam gemacht,

[1] Diese verurteilten Sätze stehen bei Denifle, *Chartularium Univ. Parisiensis* I, 486 f. und P. Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant et l'Averroïsme latin au xiii^e Siècle* II (Louvain, 1911), 111.

[2] Denifle, *op. cit.*, I, 543 ff. Mandonnet, *op. cit.*, II, 175–181.

[3] Mandonnet, *loc. cit.*, s. 176.

[4] M. Gorce, 'La Lutte *Contra Gentiles* à Paris au XIII^e Siècle,' *Mélanges Mandonnet* (Paris, 1930), I, 223–243, besonders s. 241–243. M. Gorce, 'Averroïsme,' *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie ecclésiastique* (Paris, 1931), V, 1032–1092.

[5] M. Grabmann, 'Der lateinische Averroismus des 13. Jhdts. und seine Stellung zur christlichen Weltanschauung aus ungedruckten Ethikkommentaren,' *Sitz.-ber. der Bayer. Akad. der Wiss.*, phil.-hist. Abt., Jhg. 1931, Heft 2 (München, 1931), 75 f.

[6] Ich spreche Herrn Kollegen Paul Lehmann für seinen gütigen und wertvollen Hinweis den besten Dank aus.

dass dieser von Bischof Stephan Tempier verurteilte *Liber de amore sive de Deo amoris* nichts anderes sei als *Andreae Capellani regii Francorum de Amore libri tres*. Ich hatte bei der Abfassung meiner Untersuchung an dieses Werk schon deshalb nicht gedacht, weil ich unter dieser verurteilten Schrift ein gleichzeitiges Werk vermutete und der Traktat des Andreas Capellanus in der Regel schon ins 12. Jahrhundert verlegt wird. Ich überzeugte mich sogleich, dass tatsächlich es sich hier um die *Libri tres de Amore* des Andreas Capellanus handelt. Die Praefatio beginnt mit den Worten:[1] 'Cogit me multum assidua tuae dilectionis instantia, Gualteri venerande amice.' Die im Verurteilungsdekret des Stephan Tempier angegebenen Schlussworte.[2] 'Cave igitur, Gualteri, amoris exercere mandata' sind der Anfang des Schlussatzes des dritten Buches und des ganzen Werkes: 'Cave igitur, Gualteri, amoris exercere mandata et continua vigilatione labora, ut quum venerit sponsus, inveniat te vigilantem, nec de corporis iuventute confisum mundana delectatio te faciat in peccati dormitione iacere ac de sponsi tarditate securum, quia, eiusdem sponsi voce testante, nec nescimus diem neque horam.' Ich kann hier natürlich auf das Werk des Andreas Capellanus nicht eingehen. E. Trojel hat in der Praefatio zu seiner Edition der *Libri tres de Amore* des Andreas Capellanus die literarhistorischen Fragen eingehend untersucht. In dem soeben erschienen 3. Bande der *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelaters* von M. Manitius, an dessen Ausarbeitung ja Herr Professor P. Lehmann tätigen Anteil genommen hat, ist der gegenwärtige Stand der Forschung über Andreas Capellanus gut dargelegt.[3]

Ich will hier nur kurz die Frage berühren, warum dieses Werk in das Verurteilungsdekret des Bischofs Stephan Tempier aufgenommen worden ist. Der Grund hiefür liegt jedenfalls darin, dass in dieser Schrift des Andreas Capellanus über sexuelle Dinge Anschauungen vertreten sind, die zu den diesbezüglichen verurteilten Sätzen in innerem Zusammenhang stehen. In dem Verurteilungsdekret von 1277 finden sich die folgenden Sätze:[4] 'Quod simplex fornicatio, utpote soluti cum soluta, non est peccatum. — Quod peccatum contra naturam, utpote abusus in coitu, licet sit contra naturam speciei, non tamen est contra naturam individui. — Quod continentia non est essentialiter virtus. — Quod perfecta abstinentia ab actu carnis corrumpit virtutem speciei.' Die beiden ersten Bücher des Traktates des Andreas sind ohne Zweifel ihrer ganzen Tendenz nach eine Verteidigung, ja eine Theorie und Technik der ausserehlichen geschlechtlichen Liebe. Schon seine Definition von *amor* kündigt das an:[5] 'Amor est passio

[1] *Andreae Capellani regii Francorum de Amore Libri Tres* recens. E. Trojel (Havniae, MDCCCXCII), s. 1.

[2] *Ibid.*, s. 360.

[3] M. Manitius, *Gesch. der lat. Lit. des Mittelalters* III (München, 1931), 282–286.

[4] Vgl. Grabmann, *loc. cit.*, s. 12.

[5] Trojel, *ed. cit.*, s. 3.

quaedam innata procedens ex visione et immoderata cogitatione formae alterius sexus, ob quam aliquis super omnia cupit alterius potiri amplexibus et omnia de utriusque voluntate in ipsius amplexu amoris praecepta compleri.' In den verschiedenen Dialogen zwischen *mulier* und *homo*, in welchen Andreas seine Gedankengänge entwickelt, werden Ansichten geäussert, welche die Erlaubtheit des ausserehlichen Liebes- und Geschlechtsverkehres vertreten, in gewissem Sinne ein Kommentar zu dem Satze: 'Quod fornicatio simplex non sit peccatum.' So spricht in einem dieser Zwiegespräche der *homo* den Satz aus:[1] 'Credo tamen, in amore Deum graviter offendi non posse; nam quod natura cogente perficitur, facili potest expiatione mundari.' An einer anderen Stelle ist vom *amor mixtus* die Rede, der also bestimmt wird:[2] 'Mixtus vero amor dicitur ille, qui omni carnis delectationi suum praestat effectum et in extremo Veneris opere terminatur.' Ueber diesen *amor* äussert sich der *homo* also: 'Nam et mixtus amor verus est amor atque laudandus et cunctorum esse dicitur origo bonorum,' etc. Gegen die durch den Zölibat den Klerikern auferlegte Pflicht der gänzlichen Enthaltsamkeit wendet sich im Gespräch mit einer *mulier* ein *homo*, der sich als *clericus* einführt:[3] 'Quamvis clericorum sim sorti coniunctus, tamen sum in peccatis conceptus et carnis lapsui sicut et ceteri homines naturaliter pronus existens. . . . Unde non credo, ipsos [*sc.* clericos] Deum maiori voluisse carnis abstinentia colligare et duplici eos sarcina fatigare. Quare igitur magis clericus quam quilibet laicus castimoniam tenetur corporis conservare?' Im weiteren Verlaufe des Zwiegespräches versteigt sich der *clericus* zu folgender Behauptung:[4] 'Sufficit ergo mihi, si altari assistens meae plebi Dei studeam verbum annuntiare. Unde si ab aliqua petam muliere amari, sub clericali me non potest praetextu repellere? immo inevitabili vobis necessitate probabo, quod magis in amore clericus quam laicus est eligendus.' Diese Ausführungen erinnern uns doch deutlich an die von Stephan Tempier verurteilten gegen die geschlechtliche Enthaltsamkeit gerichteten Sätze. Es besteht sonach kein Zweifel, dass wir in dem Buche des Andreas in erster Linie die Unterlage für die Sätze der Verurteilungsliste von 1277 sehen dürfen, welche auf sexuelle Materien sich beziehen. Das deutlichste Zeugnis dafür ist jedenfalls die ausdrückliche Verurteilung dieses Buches *De amore sive de Deo amoris* in der Einleitung des Verurteilungsdekretes. Damit ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass Bischof Stephan Tempier in zweiter Linie auch den *Roman da la Rose* des Jean de Meun und ähnliche literarische Erzeugnisse im Auge hatte. Beachtenswert ist noch, dass das Werk des Andreas von der Verurteilung auch nicht durch den Umstand geschützt worden

[1] *Ibid.*, s. 162.
[2] *Ibid.*, s. 183.
[3] *Ibid.*, s. 185 f.
[4] *Ibid.*, s. 188.

ist, dass er seinen Darlegungen über die geschlechtliche Liebe noch ein drittes Buch *De Reprobatione Amoris* beigegeben hat, in welchem er vom Standpunkt der christlichen Moral gegen die ausserehliche geschlechtliche Liebe Stellung nimmt. Die Ausführlichkeit und das innere Wohlbehagen, womit er in den beiden ersten Büchern die *ars amatoria* gelehrt hatte, musste den Verdacht erwecken, dass der Verfasser es mit dem dritten Teile, in welchem er das Gegenteil verteidigt und bewiesen hat, nicht recht ernst gemeint hat. Sein Verfahren erinnert hier an die Methode der doppelten Wahrheit bei den Philosophen des lateinischen Averroismus, welche zuerst eine mit den Lehren des christlichen Glaubens in Widerspruch stehende These, z. B., die Lehre von der Ewigkeit der Welt, eingehend begründen und die dagegen vorgebrachten Einwände entkräften und so daraus, dass sie dieser Lehre zustimmen, kein Hehl machen, dann aber die Glaubenslehre augenscheinlich aus Erwägungen der Vorsicht danebenstellen.[1]

Durch diese Feststellung, dass Bischof Stephan Tempier vom Paris am 7. März 1277 dieses Werk des Andreas Capellanus verurteilt hat, ist die Erkenntnis gegeben, dass dieses Buch in der damaligen Zeit noch viel gelesen und benützt worden ist und auch in Pariser Universitätskreisen eine gewisse Rolle gespielt hat. Bisher war wohl bekannt, dass das Buch *De amore* des Andreas Capellanus im 13. Jahrhundert schon früher benützt worden ist. Albertanus causidicus Brixiensis hat sowohl in seine 1238 entstandenen Schrift *De dilectione Dei et proximi* wie auch in der etwas späteren Abhandlung *De arte loquendi et tacendi* (1243) das Werk des Andreas zitiert.[2] Man hat auch in den kurz vor der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts geschriebenen Gedichten des Jakob von Amiens *L'art d'amors* und *Li remedes d'amors* eine Benützung des Andreas wahrgenommen. Gegen Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts wurden auch zwei französische Uebersetzungen dieser *Libri tres de amore*, welche dann im 14. Jahrhundert zweimal ins Italienische und im 15. Jahrhundert gleichfalls zweimal ins Deutsche übertragen wurden, hergestellt, ein Beweis dafür, dass die Verurteilung durch Bischof Stephan Tempier hier ebenso wenig einen dauernden und durchschlagenden Erfolg wie gegenüber dem lateinischen Averroismus gehabt hat. In die Geschichte der Nachwirkung der Schrift *De amore* des Andreas Capellanus fügt sich jetzt auch diese kirchliche Verurteilung durch Bischof Stephan Tempier von Paris im Jahre 1277 ein.

Martin Grabmann
München

[1] Vgl. Grabmann, *loc. cit.*, s. 15 f.
[2] Trojel, *ed. cit.*, p. xiii.

ALCHEMICAL WRITINGS ATTRIBUTED TO ROGER BACON

IT USED TO BE commonly held that Roger Bacon exerted little influence on his contemporaries and immediate successors. As regards the more strictly philosophical aspects of his thought I express no opinion. But as regards the impression created by his advocacy of experiment we have convincing evidence in the immense number of fourteenth and fifteenth century manuscripts on scientific subjects bearing his name. Many of these are copies of texts falsely ascribed to him. This fact reinforces rather than diminishes the evidence for his reputation, since it shows that his name was on many men's tongues and that they desired to possess his works, however they may have misinterpreted his thought.

A number of such spurious texts have been noted by Dr A. G. Little.[1] Many more are, however, to be found in collections of Latin alchemy.

The only writings on alchemy of which we can be absolutely sure that Roger Bacon was the author are those in the *Opus Minus*,[2] in the recently published portion of the *Opus Tertium*,[3] in Roger's commentary on the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum Secretorum*[4] and in the earlier portion of the *Epistola de potestate artis et nature*[5] (*Vide infra*). Mr Robert Steele, who is editing the texts of the printed alchemical collection *Sanioris medicinae magistri D. Rogeri Baconis angli de arte chymiae scripta* believes that all of the latter may with almost equal certainty be attributed to Roger.

Roger accepted the possibility of transmutation of metals. This is merely a logical outcome of the current conception of matter. In the *Opus tertium* Roger tells us 'Hoc alkimista preparat, sed experimentator imperat hoc alkimiste, et novit uti eo, sicut navigator carpentatori de navis fabricatione et ea scit uti.' Thus for him the alchemist is a 'man of science', a knower, as distinct from the 'mechanic' or doer. Roger is interested rather in the theory of alchemy than in the practical devices of the alchemist.

A peculiar position among the Bacon epigrapha is taken by the *Epistola de potestate artis et nature*, part of which has come down in a thirteenth cen-

[1] In his bibliographical Appendix to the volume edited by him, *Roger Bacon Commemorative Essays* (Oxford, 1914). This work is cited hereafter as *Little*. The alchemical MSS on which the present paper is based are recorded by me in my *Catalogue of Latin and Vernacular Alchemical MSS in Great Britain and Ireland* (Brussels: Lamertin, for the Union Académique Internationale, 3 vols. 1928–1931). This work is cited hereafter as *D.W.S.*

[2] *Little* 12; *D.W.S.* 187.

[3] *Little* 13; *D.W.S.* 128.

[4] *Little* 6; *D.W.S.* 30.

[5] *Little* 18; *D.W.S.* 190. The *Epistola*, with the additional matter, is printed by J. S. Brewer, *Fr. Rogeri Bacon Opera Inedita*, London, 1859, App. I, pp. 523–551, and in several alchemical collections. Printed versions name Gulielmus Parisiensis as Roger's correspondent.

tury MS. This section is certainly by Roger. In many later manuscripts, however, there follows a further section (Chapters 9, 10, and 11 of the printed text) dealing with alchemy and almost certainly not by him. Of this portion of the work, chapters 10 and 11 are on the face of them earlier than Bacon, being accretions dating from the beginning of the thirteenth century, while Chapter 9, though possibly by Bacon, is more probably of later date.

In the early chapters, a clear distinction is drawn between natural wonders and the marvels recounted by the superstitious. The work then proceeds to physical and optical wonders, including Greek fire, the effects of gunpowder, the use of the planisphere, and the production of artifical gold. The genuinely Baconian part of the *Epistola* points out that seventeen different alloys may be formed with silver and with copper[1] for the formation of artificial gold, so that there is plenty of scope for art 'sine fraude.' The legitimate sphere of art may be found in refining alloys to any degree of purity, and in retarding old age. The doubtful chapter 9 deals with processes for making the 'philosopher's egg.' The instructions for its preparation are interspersed with theoretical explanations in terms of the elements. Yet the actual physical processes are carefully watched. 'The keys of the art are congelation, resolution, inceration, projection; or otherwise, purification, distillation, separation, calcination and fixation.' The spurious chapters give symbolical instructions suggesting that 'the Phoenix, that singular bird' may be incorporated. Yet further chemical recipes are given and 'thus thou wilt make thunder and coruscation. . . . And he who reveals these things will have the key which openeth so that none can shut; and that which it shutteth can no man open.'

Roger complains in the *Epistola* of the reckless fashion of appending famous names to writings, 'as when they say that Solomon composed this or that, and similarly of other sages.'[2] Yet he himself fell a victim to this habit, for he never doubted that the *Secretum Secretorum* was written by Aristotle for the edification of his pupil Alexander. That work has an alchemical section, which includes a version of the most popular of all alchemical texts, the brief *Emerald Table of Hermes*. Despite Roger's elucidatory notes, it is hard to discern the meaning behind the mystical phraseology of the *Emerald Table*. We may, however, follow his view that a process of distillation and sublimation is described in it.

A number of alchemical writings bearing Roger's name are demonstrably the work of others. Among these wronged authors are Johannes de Rupe-

[1] Brewer *loc. cit.*, App., p. 538.

[2] Brewer, *loc. cit.*, p. 526.

scissa,[1] Arnald of Villa Nova,[2] Elias of Assisi,[3] 'Uthesia et Maria,'[4] Geber.[5]

We shall not trace the pseudepigraphic career of all these texts. An account of one will suffice. The history of this text is a remarkable tribute to the enduring character of Roger's alchemical reputation. It also illustrates the devious descent of alchemical traditions.

There is a certain *Breviloquium*[6] containing a prologue and seven chapters of *Dicta* or quotations from famous alchemists. Of the five manuscript copies of this work in England all save one (which lacks title and prologue) attribute the work to one 'Johannes pauper.' Though these five are all of the fifteenth century, a version of the work found in numerous fourteenth century manuscripts, actually cites a *Breviloquium* of Johannes: This version, entitled *Radix Mundi*, is by Johannes Sawtre, monk of Thorney. His authorship is indubitable since the prologue — which is different from that of the *Breviloquium* — ends:

Quisquis igitur auctoris nomen scire desideras litteras 30 dictionum 4 versuum subsequentium primas attende, et pro peccatis eius digneris exorare.

Ius Obrisus Habet-Azoc Nubit Novis Edel
Sic Sunt Atri Vult Tunc Rex Eque Meditari
Os Neo Alit Cadens Hefter Venena Spumans
Tunc Odor Opus Rubra Hefter Nitet Est Ycar Eliamedar.

The initial letters of the words of the verses spell:

JOHANNES SAUTRE MONACHUS TOORHNEYE

This *Radix Mundi* of John Sawtre was printed as by him in an alchemical collection by H. Condeesyanus, *Harmoniae . . . Chemico-Philosophicae* (Frankfurt, 1525) I, 153–178. An English translation was printed in *Five Treatises of the Philosophers Stone . . . One of John Sawtre a Monke, translated into English . . . By the Paines and Care of H.P.* in London in 1652. And yet tradition insisted on attributing the work to Roger, as in the English translation by one Robert Freelove, a mercer of London, dated 16 February, 1550. The tradition lasted until the eighteenth century.[7]

[1] *Little*, 62; *D.W.S.* 292 iv; xxxi; xxxviii; 293 viii. Scribes of many XV century copies of Johannes de Rupescissa's *De quinta essentia* are doubtful as to whether he or Roger be the author. Cf. *D.W.S.* 292 vi, xiii, xvii.

[2] *D.W.S.* 231 xvii; Cf. *Little* p. 401 note.

[3] *D.W.S.* 201; cf. *Little* 60.

[4] *Little* 59 note 1; *D.W.S.* 142 ix, written by Aegidius du Wes or De Vadis, tutor to the English Tudor princesses. The words 'forte Rogeri Baconis' are, however, added by a later hand.

[5] *D.W.S.* 72 ii.

[6] *Little* 57 and 55; *D.W.S.* 217.

[7] See *Little* 55, citing this translation as well as two other English versions attributing the work to Roger Bacon, one from the sixteenth and the other from the seventeenth century. A translation was incorporated among the works of Roger in the German collection *Theatrum Chemicum*, Nuremburg, 1732. Johannes de Sawtre appears in the records of the Benedictine

There is an immense mass of alchemical works attributed to Roger on fourteenth and fifteenth century authority. We shall discuss them very briefly. Numbers 1–4 are regarded by Mr Robert Steele as almost certainly early works of Roger Bacon and No. 8 as also compiled by him.

1. *Tractatus trium verborum.*[1] This consists of three letters addressed to John of Paris. They occur in four fourteenth century manuscripts, in two of which a code is used for Roger's name. They are entitled 'mendacia' as a warning, perhaps, that the meaning is hidden. This title is dropped in the fifteenth century copies.[2] The letters give instructions for chemical processes. Some of the symbolical directions have not yet been interpreted. Like the *Opus Minus* the *Letters* quote Avicenna *De Anima* extensively. Roger criticises the translator of this text for not having understood the material with which he was dealing.

2. *Breve Breviarium*[3] is a longer tract than the preceding. There is only one copy from the fourteenth century, while the fifteenth century versions are usually extracts. This is a practical work in which observations and experiments are recorded and explained. There is a discussion of the famous phrase 'Sciant artifices alchymie species vere transmutari non posse,' and of other extracts believed by Roger to form part of Aristotle's *Meteorics*. They are in fact from a passage of Avicenna of which the translation of Alfred de Sareshull became attached to the version of Book IV of the *Meteorics* made by Henricus Aristippus direct from the Greek.

3. *Speculum secretorum alchemie.*[4] This short tract again discusses the phrase referred to in 2. It then turns to descriptions of experiments.

4. *Verbum Abbreviatum.*[5] This is another short text of practical instructions. It purports to have been written by Roger and edited by Raymundus Gaufridus. There are many copies of this work. The fifteenth century produced both an English and a French version, the latter attached to a copy of the *Testamentum Raymundi.*

Abbey of Thorney in Cambridgeshire, England. He was admitted acolyte by the Bishop of Ely in 1381, and in 1402 he resigned from the office of Prior. Cf. transcripts in Brit. Mus. *Additional MS. 5285: Extracts from the Original Register of the Bishops of Ely . . . 17 Feb. 1752,* fols. 114, 116, 119, 235. *Ordinations by the Bishop of Arundel 1374–1388* cover fols. 106–121 of this volume and *Bishop Fordham's Register* covers fols. 235–287. Cf. also A. Gibbons, *Ely Episcopal Records,* Lincoln, 1891, p. 401. In this volume, *Bishop Fordham's Register* is printed on pp. 396 ff.

[1] *Little* 22; *D.W.S.* 192.

[2] One of the copies, an extract only of the third *Epistola,* is entitled *Liber Avicenne de diverso modo ignium.* In it a later hand has erased the name of Avicenna, substituting *Bachonis fragmentum.* See *D.W.S.* 192 viii.

[3] *Little* 20; *D.W.S.* 191.

[4] *Little* 53; *D.W.S.* 197.

[5] *Little* 21; *D.W.S.* 193 and 193, corrigenda.

5. *Proiecio Elixir secundum Rogerum Bacon talis est.*[1] A short fourteenth century text giving practical instructions.

6. A short text in English attributed to Roger in the fourteenth century copy, while of the fifteenth century copies one is anonymous and one suggests as author *either* Roger Bacon or Johannes Snell de Wigmore.[2] The work is an attempt, in the manner of Roger, to explain alchemical processes as natural phenomena in terms of the four elements.

7. A fourteenth century text in the British Museum ending *Explicit opus Rogeri Bacon* is entirely occupied with instructions for alchemical processes.[3] This text of eight folios unfortunately lacks the beginning.

8. A Latin selection from the alchemical *De Anima* of Avicenna.[4] Both MSS are of the fifteenth century and ascribe the compilation to Roger. It is printed under his name in the little volume *Sanioris Medicine de arte chymiae*. John Dee has appended the name of 'Bachon' to another MS. of extracts from the same work.[5] Roger was certainly familiar with a Latin version of this *De Anima* of Avicenna as he quotes extensively from it.

9. A late hand has attached to a thirteenth century copy of a Latin Commentary, apparently translated direct from the Arabic, on the *De Anima* of Avicenna the title *Liber expositorius precedentis libri Avicennae Inspector dictus Rogeri Baconis.*[6]

10. *Expositio epistole Clementis.* Two fifteenth century copies of a text bearing this title attribute it to Roger. Another copy regards it as a commentary on an alchemical letter from Avicenna *ad Hasen regem.*[7] A copy in the British Museum is anonymous and entitled *Liber de Secretis nature.*[8] Later copies attribute it to Roger.[9] It is a practical work on sulphur and arsenic.

11. A set of Commentaries are appended to an extract of the *Secretum secretorum* and are different from those of the thirteenth century already cited. The Commentaries occur only in a fifteenth century manuscript,[10] where they are definitely ascribed to Frater Rogerus Bacon.

12. *Clavetus.* A work less practical in tone than the others here described. It is anonymous in the fourteenth century version (where it is called a Commentary on the *Tabula Smaragdina*) but is attributed to Roger in one of the fifteenth century copies.[11] It is itself the subject of two commentaries which merely mention the opening words 'Revolvi lapidem et sedebam super eum' without the name of Roger.

13. *Speculum Alkymie*[12] in seven chapters. Anonymous in many manu-

[1] *D.W.S.* 202.
[2] *D.W.S.* 210.
[3] *D.W.S.* 215.
[4] *Little* 19; *D.W.S.* 123 x.
[5] *D.W.S.* 123 vii.
[6] *D.W.S.* 124.
[7] Cf. *D.W.S.* 126 iv and 200 iv.
[8] *D.W.S.* 200 i.
[9] *Little* 59.
[10] *D.W.S.* 31.
[11] *D.W.S.* 212.
[12] *Little* 49; *D.W.S.* 194.

scripts. Some fifteenth century copies attribute it to Roger. It was later translated as his work into both English and French.

14. Another *Speculum Alkymie*[1] bears Roger's name in some of the fifteenth century copies. It is a brief work and gives practical instructions to the working alchemist.

15. *Cedula declarativa.* A short text in a Cambridge MS. giving practical instructions.[2]

16. A fifteenth century text in the Canonici collection of the Bodleian library purports to give practical experiments of Roger 'probata per me fratrem Augustinum ordinis sancti Benedicti.'[3]

The following numbers (17) to (23) are adequately described by their titles. They are all attributed to Roger Bacon in fifteenth century manuscripts.

17. *Septem experimenta Rogeri Baconis in Alkymia.*[4]

18. *Bone operaciones Rogeri Baconis.*[5]

19. *Bacon Libro 2° capitulum primum.*[6] Only two copies of this are known to me, of which one is anonymous.

20. *Brevis tractatus et utilis totum opus in paucis enucleans.*[7]

21. *De Sulphure.*[8]

22. *Diversitates Ignium*[9] (a subject treated in the *De Anima* extract and in the letters to John of Paris).

23. *Opus Ro. Bacon ad rubeum.*[10]

24. A fifteenth century English text, giving directions for alchemical processes, sometimes using symbolic language, is headed 'Bakon.'[11]

25. An English alchemical recipe in a medical collection of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.[12]

26. A very short text in a fifteenth century miscellaneous collection is followed by the rubric 'Explicit Semita recta alchemie secundum Rogerum Bakum.' The scribe is here badly mixed. The title *Semita Recta* belongs to a quite different work occurring earlier in the volume and bearing the name of Albertus Magnus in this as well as in other copies.[13]

27. A curious fifteenth century compilation of extracts from the various alchemical texts attributed to Roger has his name attached only to the seventh of eight paragraphs.[14]

[1] *D.W.S.* 196 *Little* 50 and 52; *D.W.S.* 196.
[2] *D.W.S.* 198. Cf. *Little* p. 413 note 1.
[3] *D.W.S.* 203.
[4] *D.W.S.* 205.
[5] *D.W.S.* 206.
[6] *D.W.S.* 207.
[7] *D.W.S.* 208.
[8] *D.W.S.* 209.
[9] *D.W.S.* 209A.
[10] *D.W.S.* 1111 lxxxvii and Corrigenda 211A.
[11] *D.W.S.* 211.
[12] *D.W.S.* Corrigenda 211B.
[13] *D.W.S.* 1113 vii.
[14] *D.W.S.* 209C.

Coming to the sixteenth century, Roger's fame for alchemy is undimmed. We have already mentioned the strange history of the *Radix Mundi* (p. 82). John Dee (1527–1608) not unnaturally attributed to 'Bachun' a short alchemical text[1] appended to the copy of Geber's *Tres Ordines* which he had also attributed to Bacon.

We have mentioned the little printed volume entitled *Sanioris Medicinae Magistri D. Rogeri Baconis angli de arte chymiae scripta.* It reached three editions.[2] This volume contains the *De Anima* extracts (No. 8 in our list) as well as extracts from *Opus Tertium* and Nos. 2–4 of the practical texts that we have already found in the manuscripts. It is the only authority for Roger's authorship of the *Secretum secretorum nature de laude lapidis philosophorum* of which the manuscript copy (of the fourteenth century) is anonymous.[3]

It may be added that Roger's name is quoted in nearly all those fifteenth century alchemical works that profess to be based on the wisdom of earlier sages.

Tabular Statement of MSS.

(a) Alchemical texts and extracts attributed to Roger Bacon but not included in *Little* are listed in *D.W.S.* under the following numbers: 31; 202; 203; 204; 205; 206; 207; 208; 209; 209A; 209B; 209C; 210; 211; 211A; 211B; 212; 213; 214; 215; 627; 1111 lxxxvii; 1113 vii.

(b) Additional copies listed in *D.W.S.* of alchemical texts attributed to Roger in *Little.*

Little Bibliography.	*D.W.S.* Catalogue
6	30 ii
12	187 iii
18	190 iii
20	191 iv; vi; vii; viii
21	193 ii; iv; vi; ix
22	192 vi
49	194 i; v; vii; viii; ix; x; xi; xiii; xiv; xv
50, 52	196 iii; iv
53	197 ii
54	199 ii; and Corrigenda iia; iii; iv; v; vi; vii
59	200 i; ii; iii; iv; v
60	201

Dorothea Waley Singer,
London

[1] *D.W.S.* 627.

[2] Frankfurt, 1541, 1603 and again as *Thesaurus Chemicus,* 1620.

[3] *Little* 54; *D.W.S.* 199.

THE LATIN TEXT OF WYCLIF'S *COMPLAINT*

In my note 'The Wyclif Manuscript in Florence' in the issue of this review for January 1930, I drew attention to the fact that the Florentine codex contained a Latin version of Wyclif's *Complaint* (printed in *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, ed. Thom. Arnold [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1871] III, 507–523), which he published to be laid before the Parliament in 1382. Dr H. Workman, in his biography of John Wyclif (London, 1928, II, 251) appears to say that the English *Complaint* is in an imperfect condition.

The text which is here printed is as literal as one expects of a Latin version in the fourteenth or the fifteenth century. In structure it is exactly the same as the English text; in a few places, the citation of authorities is condensed, but generally gives the exact reference where in the English text only a general expression like 'popis lawe' has been used. Very occasionally, the English is a paraphrase of the Latin. The common origin of the Latin and the English documents is made evident by the fact that in quoting from *Samuel I.* both misspell *Heli* as *Levi* in one place and both give it correctly in a second.

The *Explicit* of this section: 'Explicit bonus et utilis tractatus secundum magistrum Iohannem' suggests that some at least of Wyclif's followers regarded it even after his death as a summary of his doctrine.

The four articles into which the Complaint is divided are: (1) that members of the recognized religious orders are at liberty to leave their own rule and join that which Wyclif proposes; (2) that secular power may inflict fines and other punishments, even deprivation, on ecclesiastics, and that the latter have no right to resist; (3) that tithes may be withdrawn from the clergy by secular power; (4) that it is legitimate for Catholic pastors to teach the continuance of the substance of bread after the consecration of the Eucharist. These articles, though not necessarily interconnected, do represent Wyclif's quarrel with the Catholic teaching and practice in the early part of the reign of Richard II; therefore there seems no reason to agree with Dr Workman that the *Complaint* is in an imperfect condition.

In the publication of this text, I have adopted the spelling of the original, but have used modern punctuation as well as majuscule letters for proper names and words such as *Ecclesia*, *Apostolus*, and so on. Those words which had to be added to the original text for the sake of the sense are printed in *italic*, and those which, though found in the manuscript, ought to be omitted, are put into square brackets []. There are only a few marginal notes in the MS., indicating the beginning of a new article, e.g., *secundus articulus*. As they are of no importance whatsoever, I have refrained from marking them in the text.

The Latin text contained in *Bibl. Laurent. Flor. Plut. xix cod. xxxiii*, fols. 23^{v}–26^{v}, reads as follows:

Placeat illustrissimo Regi nostro tam Anglie quam Francie ac Domino Duci ceterisque magnatibus Regni Anglicani tam secularibus quam ecclesiasticis viris in parliamento congregatis ad augmentum cultus religionis Christiane, cuius caput et prelatus Jhesus Christus istam sui cordis (cod. *ordinis*) sanguine precioso mundauit sibique lateris aqua diluendo purgauit, infrascriptis articulis tam auctoritate quam racione probatis condescendere pariter et consensum iniungere gloriosum.

In primis, vt omnes (cod.*omnis*) persone priuatarum sectarum quarumcumque libere valeant illam priuatam regulam quam profitentur dimittere, et norme Jhesu Christi Apostolis per eundem tradite tamquam perfecciori iugiter adherere. Huius peticionis racio (cod.*regula*) sic habetur. Jhesu Christi norma Apostolis tradita, et per eosdem (cod.*eisdem*) post assencionem obseruata, est summe perfecta ad obseruandum pro statu viatoris, et quelibet regula secte priuate cuiuscumque est minus perfecta quam illa; ergo licet cuicumque huius professionis(cod.*processionis*) istam dimittere et norme Jhesu Christi tamquam perfecciori iugiter adherere. Ista sequela (f. 24^{r}) est manifesta cum maiori. Et minor sic probatur. Quia quantum patronus patrono tantum regula regule noscitur preualere. Sed patronus religionis Christiane Apostolis tradite infinite excedit perfeccionem patroni cuiuscumque secte priuate. Ergo minor vera.

Secundo ad illus sic: aut Christus potuit, sed noluit regulam talem perfectissimam pro statu viatoris obseruandam ordinare, et tunc fuit inuidus, sicut probat Augustinus. Aut voluit, sed non potuit, et tunc fuit impotens, quod est hereticum. Aut potuit et voluit et nesciuit, quod eciam quia hereticum cuilibet catholico *non minus* est absurdum (cod. *ı̄nus est obsurdum*). Christus ergo tam potuit quam uoluit quam eciam sciuit talem regulam perfectissimam pro statu viatoris obseruabilem ordinare et per consequens ordinauit.

Tercio sic: Christus condendo regulam apostolicam tempore sue composicionis (cod.*compociscionis*), sicut et semper fuit omnipotens et omnisciens et summe benevolens (cod.*benevolans*) ad condendum regulam perfectam. Ergo non solum perfectam, ymmo perfectissimam condidit. Quilibet autem patronus regule priuate fuit impotens (cod.*inpotens*) et impeditus tam in naturalibus quam gratuitis, nec omnisciens, ymo respectu Christi tamquam ydeota, nec adeo benevolus ad condendum regulam bonam et perfectam, sicut Christus. Ergo minus bonam et minus perfectam condidit. Ex quo sequitur articulus in terminis.

Quarto ad idem sic: Apostoli normam seruando a Christo traditam, et eorum sequaces et sic obseruando (cod.*obseruande*) pro ceteris temporibus maximum meruerunt. Ergo singuli catholici tam antiquiores quam moderni, *si* eandem normam in sua puritate obseruassent, merito ipsi[s] in genere possibili maxime meruissent. Non ergo noua secta ab ipsa differens (cod.*defferens*) fuisset inchoanda, sed ipsa prior a sic nouiter (cod.*nouerit*) inchoantibus in sua puritate obseruanda.

Quinto sic: adeo valeret, eciam adeo meritorium foret nunc obseruare normam Jhesu Christi, sicut erat ab inicio, cum norma sua omnibus viantibus condescendat ad salutem, cuiuscumque fuerit complexionis aut etatis. Sed ipsa fuit obseruata a Domino Jhesu Christo cum suis Apostolis et eorum sequacibus per quingentos annos post assencionem sue adinuencionis nouelle plantacionis talis qualiscumque; quo tempore Ecclesia maxime creuit et profecit quasi omnibus (cod.*quasionibus*) se ad martirium disponentibus exemplo Christi. Ergo non solum meritorium sub quocumque gradu ymmo maxime meritorium foret Ecclesie quod sic modo fieret in omnibus et per omnia procedendo.

Sexto sic: tam monachi quam canonici normas relinquentes Benedicti et Augustini, sectas fratrum tamquam perfecciores sine dispensacione amplexantur. Sed norma apostolica est absolute perfectissima; articulus in sua forma.

Septimo sic: papa cum regula cuiuscumque secte priuate potest despensare, dispensauit et de facto despensat. Sed cum norma Christi apostolica dispensare non potest. Ergo norma apostolica Apostolis tradita quacumque norma secte priuate est perfeccior, ymmo omni sequaci est (cod.*esse*) perfectissima. Ex quo sequitur articulus in terminis.

Quod si aduersarii de his priuatis sectis omnino contendant regulas suas regula apostolica perfecciores, quare persone eiusdem professionis quasi [in] innumerabiles de omni tali secta priuata, habita super hoc dispensacione pape, efficiuntur quidam cappellani commensales, quidam honoris, quidam episcopi dotati, quidam nichilenses vocati, ymmo frater cuiuscumque professionis existat ad hoc electus sine pluri statui proprio (cod.*proprie*) renunciando papatum, cardinalatum, patriarchatum, metropolitonatum, episcopatum acceptat; cum tamen dicat Scriptura euangelica, quod nemo mittens (cod.*mittes*) manum ad aratrum et aspiciens retro, aptus est regno.[1] Non ergo magis perfectum pro minus perfecto adipiscuntur, ex quo sequitur articulus in forma.

Item sic: nichil a sanctis detestabile ac reprobatum est ab aliis sub quacumque cautela introducendum. Huiusmodi sunt secte que quidem ex carne nascuntur, vt patet per Apostolum *ad Gal.* quinto.[2] Ergo secte tales non (f. 24^{v}) sunt ad onus Ecclesie introducende, sed a cunctis (cod.*cuntis*) fidelibus penitus abolende, vnitati norme Christi iugiter adherendo.

Forte dicitur pro omnibus istis, quod norma quam profittentur dicte persone a norma apostolica non differat a Christo tradita, sed est omnino eadem cum illa: cuius oppositum est manifeste deducibile per quatuor ultimas raciones superius factas. Tunc conuersando et suadendo tam vnam exemplificasset Christus cum ritibus et ceremoniis (cod.*cerimenis*) suis sicud et aliam, quod non fecit nec in vita nec eciam post resurreccionem suam aut usque ad celos assencionem. Tunc eciam non incepissent secte fratrum circa annum Domini millesimum ducentesimum, cum prius fuissent, ymmo eque primo cum regula apostolica; cuius oppositum patet in chronicis. Sequitur eciam ex eodem, quod Apostoli fuissent monachi, canonici, fratres, accipiendo (cod.*accepiendo*) dictos terminos appropriate pro professoribus talium sectarum priuatarum; quod est manifeste falsum. Item regula apostolica est omnibus sue professionis uniformis, sed regule sectarum priuatarum valde sunt difformes, cum eorum quidam decimas recipiant (cod.*recepiant*) pariter et dotaciones, ut possessionati, quidam vero talibus renunciant ut fratres mendicantes.

Ymmo, ut in particulari magis descendam, quam plures sunt articuli regularum huiusmodi sectarum norme apostolice manifeste contravenientes, cum liceat cuicumque fideli (cod.*filidi*) religionis christiane infidelem conuertere. Sed hoc cauetur in regula fratrum minorum, cum solomodo ministris et non aliis ad suam sectam recipiendi (cod.*recepiendi*) fratres licencia concedatur, non obstante quod oppositum fiat continue inter eos et vbique Christus pecunias recepit; illi autem non per se nec per interpositam personam pecunias recipere deberent. Christus evangelizando tam loca mulierum, ut patet Luce decimo,[3] quam (cod.*quod*) virorum intrauit; illis autem in monasteria monacharum (cod.*monachorum*) simpliciter prohibetur ingressus. Ista glosant predicti fratres contrarium vtrobique agentes. Sed Franciscus eorum

[1] *Luc.* IX, 62.

[2] *Gal.* V, 19.

[3] *Luc.* X, 38 seq.

fundator precepit eis in suo mortis articulo, ut glosas super regulam suam non reciperent. Similiter si eadem foret necessaria hec est et illa, frustra nisi forte ypocrisis detestante (cod. *do testante*) racione, ab hac ad illam quisque transmearet (cod. *trasmearet*). Sequitur et hoc, dato quod adeo perfectum sit per Dei graciam et meritorium Christi normam obseruare, sicut Francisci, Dominici uel alterius cuiuscumque. Similiter si non differant (cod.*defferant*), tunc non deberet regula talis vocari regula Dominici aut Francisci uel alicuius talis, sed Christi. Sic enim magis auctenticaretur et redderetur commendacior, et sic Evangelium, postpositis quibuscumque nouitatibus talibus, nil addito nichiloque subtracto, est ab omnibus catholicis inuiolabiliter obseruandum. Quod si fieret, adeo superfluerent huiusmodi secte priuate, sicut musce degentes in aere (cod.*aiere*). Nec oportuit (cod. *epertuit*) Franciscum uel Dominicum seu quemuis talem circa composicionem regule apostolice, quam fratres false fingunt suam, multum vexari, quoniam illa erat a Christo Deo et Homine condita, ab Apostolis obseruata et per Spiritum Sanctum confirmata, et sufficientissime elucidata per mille ducentos annos antequam Franciscus, Dominicus uel frater alicuius secte talis priuate fuerat in rerum natura.

Secund*us* articul*us* (cod.*Secundo articulo*). Quod irracionabiliter condempnantes regem nostrum ac iniuste et consilium suum uniuersale de errore tam [tam] enormi corrigantur et quod eorum correccio regni incolis publice valeat pervulgari. Huius peticionis *racio* (cod.particionis ideo) sic probatur. Nichil debet dampnari tamquam erroneum nisi quod sapit iniusticie errorem. Sed neque rex neque suum consilium iniuste fecit ex hoc quod possessione*s* (cod. *possessionum*) quorundam prelatorum de[re]linquencium abstulerit, cuius oppositum determinarent fratres publice. Ergo articulo isti est racionabiliter annuendum. Sic enim scripserunt fratres inter ceteros articulos ciuitate Conuentrensi tamquam hereses (cod.*herises*) atque errores condempnatos, videlicet quod sit error dicere quod domini temporales possunt aufferre bona temporalia collata viris ecclesiasticis licite et (fol. 25^{r}) meritorie. Sed cum Christus noster sic fecerit de facto, sicud et alii regis predecessores sui ita fecerint frequenter, legitima causa *cur*rente (cod.*cu*^{c}*rrente*), tamquam pertinens eorum regalie ac de lege communi de consilio magnatum suorum, sequitur quod nedum rex noster iam prius errauerit sed et predecessores sui hoc idem facientes errauerint, et generaliter sui fautores vniuersi, vt domini prelati ac omnes de *grem*io (cod.*gerio*) parliamenti hoc consulendo existentes.

Similiter si istud sit error tangens salutem anime humane, tunc est contra sacram Scripturam, et tunc si aliquis homo sustineat istum errorem, hereticus est. Sed reges quam plurimi, domini, prelati et alii sapientes istud sustinuerunt et adhuc sustinent, tamquam pertinens ad regaliam et de (cod.*do*^{i})[1] lege communi. Ergo omnes isti per eos sunt heretici. Similiter si sit error et istud aperte antiqua consuetudo quam rex, domini et prelati sunt astricti iuramento sustinere, sequitur per eosdem quod omnes isti sunt periuri et heretici. Similiter si istud sit error, tunc licet vnus abbas et totus suus conuentus proditores manifesti conspirantes tam mortem regis quam regi*ne* (cod.*regie*) ac aliorum dominorum, et quid agant ad subuercionem totius regni, rex non potest aufferre ab eis vnum obolum (cod.*obilum*) aut quadrantem aut valorem vnius quadrantis, cum ista sint bona temporalia. Similiter licet prelati et alii clerici mittant inimicis nostris omnes redditus quos habent in terra nostra et quicquid spoliare vel furari legeis (cod.*legibus*)[2] hominibus regis nostri, adhuc non potuit rex noster eos punire per vnum quadrantem seu valoris vnius quadrantis.

Similiter hoc dato licet monachi aut fratres aut alii clerici qualescumque occidant

[1] English text: *and of comune lawe* (Arnold, *loc. cit.*, III, 515).

[2] English text: *stele of the kinggis legemen* (Arnold *loc. cit.*, III, 515).

tenentes dominorum, legeos homines regni nostri, et difflorent uxores dominorum et reginam, quod abscit, aut imperatricem, adhuc non potest punire eos per vnum quadrantem. Sequitur eciam vlterius in ista terra *licere eis* et facere quodcumque peccatum quamcumque perdicionem illis placuerit, et contra, rex non potest punire eos nec in bonis temporalibus nec in corpore, cum si*cut* (cod.*sit*) non possit in minus, non poterit in magno. Eciam licet constituant vnum ex ipsis regem, et sic nullus dominus secularis potest impedire eos quin valeant conquirere totum dominium ciuile in ista terra, et sic possunt interficere omnes dominos et dominas et totam suam consanguinitatem ac affinitatem vniuersam sine punicione qualicumque. Videte, domini, et intelligite quanta merentur animaduersione puniri, qui vos tam inconsulte in premissis condempnarunt. Regi eciam incumbit dominium omnium temporalium quam secularium quam religiosorum ex suo regimine generali. Alioquin rex Anglie non esset sed cuiusdam particule ipsius: istud ergo ab eo nitentes aufferre, vt fratres et eis fauentes in premissis, acriores sunt inimici et proditores qu*am* (cod. *quod*) Gallici seu alie naciones qualescumque.

Regi eciam pertinet temporalia sede prelatorum v*a*cante (cod.*vocante*) sua, ipsis ad suum libitum conferre prelatis, ergo et ab eisdem aufferre [con] in hoc in directo seu legitima causa emergente. Rex non debet a[u]fferre libertatem peccandi sed aufferre, cuius oppositum fieret si viris ecclesiasticis ad hec delinquentibus bona eorum temporalium confiscare non valeret. Item ad *Rom.* 13°[1] omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit, non est enim potestas nisi a Deo: que autem a Deo sunt, ordinata sunt, itaque qui potestati resistit (cod. *recistit*), Dei ordinacioni resistit. Nam principes non timore (cod.*timor*) boni operis sed mali, vis autem (cod. *vinā*) non timere potestatem? Fac bonum et habebis laudem ex illa; Dei enim minister est tibi in bonum. Si autem malum feceris, time, non enim sine causa portat gladium, Dei enim minister est vindex in iram ei qui malum agit. Ideoque auctoritati subditi estote non propter iram, sed propter consciencia m. Ex qua auctoritate liquict vniuersis ipsos regie potestati seu excellenciori de necessitate fore subiectatos (cod. *subiectatis*). Qui enim omnes submittit a subieccione nullum excepit et sic potestas secularis (fol. 25ᵛ) discolos, repelles seu qualitercumque delinquentes cuiuscumque condicionis existant ad viam ducendo correccionis sui gladii digna animaduersione punire debet et tenetur. Et si, quod magis est, flagello corporali sibi subiectos castigare valebit et, quod minus, ablacione temporalium ipsos per eundem posse castigari, nullatenus dubitamus. Licite ergo hoc faciunt domini temporales cum de precepto fiat apostolico ac ordinacione diuina, sicut predict*e* can*unt* (cod. *predictum canit*) auctoritates. Patet ergo ex premissis quod sunt multi casus in quibus possunt domini temporales aufferre bona temporalia collata viris ecclesiasticis licite et meritorie.

Tercius articulus. Quod tam decime quam oblaciones ea intencione conferantur et recipiantur, qua tam iure diuina quam papalia ea statuunt erogari, et eadem intencione auferantur, quia ipsa iura eas volunt alienare. Istud sic suadet intencio conditorum, et maxime diuina, que errare non potest in omni lege est principalius attendenda; ex quo sequitur articulus in sua forma.

Sic enim canunt iura diuina primo *Reg.* (cod. *R.*) secundo[2] quod peccatum filiorum *Heli* (cod.*leui*) erat grande mdo coram Domino, quia detrahebant homines a sacrificio Dei tollentes vi partem sacrificii sacerdoti pertinentem, et infra: loquens,[3] locutus sum, ait Dominus, ut domus tua et domus patris tui ministraret in con-

[1] *Rom.* XIII, 1–5.
[2] *I. Reg.* II, 17.
[3] *I. Reg.* II, 30.

spectu in sempiternum. Nunc autem, dicit Dominus: abscit hoc a me. Sed quicumque honorificaverit me, glorificabo eum; qui autem contempnunt erunt ignobiles. Et ex qua auctoritate liquet aperte quod sacerdoti debita vi et exaccione expeti non deberent, sed libere conferri (cod.*conferre*). Et si ipse sacerdos [conferri] sit a domino reprobatus p*r*opter (cod. papa) peccata, distitui debet, vt Hely, nec sacrificia eidem reddi, sed a[u]fferri) alio fideli, vt Samuele in viis Domini ambulante, qui huiusmodi sacrificia recipiat, substituto. Item Tobie primo[1] sic habetur: sacerdotibus templi pergentibus ad vitulos aureos quos Jerobiam fecerat rex Israel, Tobias primitiva omnia sua et decimas suas fideliter offer*reb*at (cod.offerat), ita vt in tercio anno ministraret proseletis et aduenis omnem deci*m*ationem (cod. *delīacōem*), ipsam a predictis sacerdotibus penitus auferendo. Hoc (cod. h^0), inquit Scriptura, et hiis similia secundum legem Dei p*uer*ulus (cod.*p̃mulus*) obseruabat. Si ergo prelati nostri, aut sacerdotes alii quicumque sunt illi, sacrificiis ydolorum, vtpote auaricie, manifestum est et aliis peccatis, sunt multipliciter intenti, per locum a sufficienti similitudine decime ac oblaciones ab eisdem secundum legem Domini sunt penitus auferende et aliis indigentibus exemplo isto Tobie conferende.

Similiter Paulus ad Themotheum episcopum loquens,[2] ait: habentes alimenta et quibus tegamur hiis contenti s*i*mus (cod. sumus), cui auctoritati allu*dens* (cod. *auctoritatori alluendus*) Bernardus sic inquit: quicquid de altario *sumis* (cod.*simus*) preter simplicem victum et vestitum tuum non est, furtum est, rapina est, sacrilegium est, ex quibus *patet consequenter* nedum simplices sacerdotes uerum ipsos curatos, summos et pontefices ultra victum et vestitum sibi et suis a sue curie commissis exigere non debere, superfluitate qualibet tam familie quam ceterorum (cod. *ceterarum*) penitus resecat*a* (cod.*resecate*). Similiter Christus cum suis Apostolis vixit vitam pauperrimam, sicut patet per totum Evangelium *nihi*l (cod.v^1) exactorie redonando Apostolis, sed ex libere collatis simpliciter, satis et *in* pace victitanto. Qui ergo se profitentur et pretendunt precipuos imi*ta*tores (cod.*imitores*) vestigiorum Christi debent, vt dicit Scriptura, sicut Christus ambulauit et ipsi ambulare, et sic vitam pauperrimam ducere ex libere collatis, quantum requiritur pro vno officio et non vltra, contentati.

Similiter in lege papali precipitur p*r*esb*i*teros (cod.*prisbeteros*)publice fornicarios non accipere partem seu porcionem bonorum Ecclesie, XXXII destinccione capitulo nullus aud*i*at (cod.audeat), et sequenti capitulo,[3] LXXXI distinccione sed qui hii.[4] Patet ergo quod licet parochianis detinere decimas pro publica fornicacione sui c*u*rati (cod.c*a*ti) illas in meliores usus conuertendo, et a forciori possunt et debent eas detinere pro maioribus peccatis publicis, vt simonia que est heresis, vt *patet* 1. *quest.* II *I.* capitulo (cod. *p* 1 *q* 11 *capitulo*).[5] Similiter pro auaricia que est idolorum seruitus ac eciam pro superbia, inuidia, gula, (cod.*inuida quia*) ebrietate, ex (fol. 26^r) quo tam lege diuina quam humana Deus maledicit benediccionibus talium hominum *Malach.*2^{0}et II.q.VII. in grauibus per Gregorium,[6] et hoc dicit Augustinus in multis libris. Similiter vt communiter quando ecclesie huiusmodi parochiales appropriantur viris religiosis, talis appropriacio fit falsa suggestione vtpote quod illi religiosi non habeant sufficientem victum et vestitum, cum tamen in rei veritate

[1] *Tob.* I, 5–8.

[2] *I. Tim.* VI, 8.

[3] *Decretum Gratiani*, Pars I. Dist. XXXII, cap. 5 & 6 (ed. Ae. Friedberg [Lipsiae, 1879], I, col. 117 and 118).

[4] *Ibid.*, cap. 15–18 (*ed. cit.*, I, col. 284–285).

[5] *Decretum Gratiani*, Pars II, caus. I, quaest. I, cap. III (*ed. cit.* I, col. 358).

[6] *Malach.* II, 2. *Decretum Gratiani*, Pars II, caus. III, quaest. VII, cap. V (*ed. cit.* I, vol. 527).

huiusmodi superfluant. Simoniace eciam adquiruntur huiusmodi ecclesie, vt melius ipsimet *sciu*erunt (cod.*venerunt*)[1] soluendo vnam magnam summam pecunie pro tali appropriacione, si beneficium sit p*i*ngue (cod.*pigno*). Sed quis nisi erronice ductus solueret talibus rel*i*giosis (cod.*relegiosis*) taliter adquesita? Ymmo dato quod licite forent adepta, cum sint illis superflua, pauperes Christi deberent adiuuari cum eisdem, vt dicit Jeronimus et lex papalis XVI q.I.Quoniam quicquid.[2] Et ideo fidelis clericus Robertus Gross*e*teste (cod.*groscens*) scripsit[3] pape c*u*idam (cod.*quidem*), quatuordecim et grandium (cod.*g*^{a}*dum*) peccatorum et defectuum, que proueniunt ex malis curatis, fit perpetua confirmacio quando ecclesie parochiales appropriantur viris religiosis.

Similiter in merito magis obligantur curati per Deum et eciam legem ad docendam caritatem verbo et exemplo suo esse comissas[4] pro salute animarum suarum, quam sui filii obligantur *ad* soluendum illis decimas aut oblaciones,[5] ex quo sequuntur (cod.*sequutur*) duo, videlicet, quod si ipsi curati non impleant officium eis iniunctum modo predicto, nec sui fili eisdem decimas aut oblaciones debeant persoluere, cum destructa causa propter quid, destruitur et effectus. Sunt eciam secundo amplius excommunicati (?cod.*ecoicati*) distrahere doctrinam legis diuine ad quam tenentur eciam *per* exemplum bone vite, quam sunt sui parochiales et non soluendo illis decimas et oblaciones.

O Domine Deus, numquid sit racio constringere pauperem populum ad exhibendum mundialem prebiterum aliquando inhabilem (cod.*inahilem*) tam moribus quam sciencia, in pompa, superbia, gula, ebrietate, auaricia, luxuria, cum equis phaleratis et laciniis penulatis, et pati filios suos cum uxoribus, et proximos pauperes perire pro fame, frigore et aliis huius mundi miseriis? O Jhesu Christe, ex quo infra paucos annos homines ad libitum suum conferebant decimas suas bonis et acceptis hominibus ad magnum honorem, comodum et decorem matris nostre Ecclesie militantis, numquid *o*portcat (cod.*aparteat*) mundialem adversari[i] huic tam sancte et approbate consuetudini astringendo homines, vt dimittant istam libertatem vtendo decimas cum oblacionibus, ut pretactum est, in usus penitus illicitos.

Quartus articulus. Quod Christi doctrina de sui corporis sacramento in Evangelio et aliis Scripturis sacris manifesta possit edoceri publice in ecclesiis, alia doctrian huic aduersante penitus annullata. Huius peticionis racio sic colligitur.

Christus, qui mentiri non potuit, istam doctrinam Apostolis tradidit edocendam, dicens:[6] hoc quocienscumque feceritis in mei memoriam facietis, et q*u*elibet (cod. *quilibet*) doctrina huic contraria est heretica, cum heresis sit dogma peruersum Scripture sacre contrarium, pertinaciter defensatum. Ergo dictus articulus et a quolibet fideli sub pena heresis amplectandus. Ista autem doctrina lucet *Math.* XXVI, *Luc.* XXII^{0}, *Marc.* XIIII^{0}, Paulus *ad Corinth.* XI^{0},[7] vbi singillatim sic habetur: Accipiens Jhesus panem in manibus benedixit, fregit et dixit: accipite et manducate, hoc est

[1] English text: *thei witen* . . . (Arnold *loc. cit.*, III, 519).

[2] *Decretum Gratiani*, Pars II, caus. XVI, quaest. I, cap. LXVIII (*ed. cit.*, I, col. 784–785).

[3] R. Grosseteste, *Opuscula quedam* (ed. E. Brown, *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum* [Londini, 1690], II, col. 253–254).

[4] [sic] cf. English text: 'Also, by God and his lawe curatis ben muche more bounden to techen here sugetis charitably the gospel and Goddis hestis, bothe by opin prechinge and ensaumple of good lif, for to save here soulis, thanne here sugetis ben holden to paien hem tythis and offringis.' (Arnold *loc. cit.*, III, 519.)

[5] Cod. add. et expunxit: *debeant.*

[6] *Luc.* XXII, 19.

[7] *Math.* XXVI, 26–28; *Luc.* XXII, 19–20; *Marc.* XIV, 22–24; *Cor.* XI, 23–24.

corpus meum. Item Paulus *ad Corinth.* x⁰:[1] Nonne panis quem frangimus participacio corporis Domini est? Vel igitur panis iste de quo loquitur Apostolus, est panis consecratus vel non consecratus. Non enim est panis non consecratus, quia ille non est participacio corporis Domini. Igitur est panis consecratus qui est participacio corporis dominici, et ita de calice. Simile Actu*um* (cod.actum) 2⁰:[2] Et erant perseuerantes in doctrina Apostolorum et communicacione fraccionis panis omnes, sicut prius. Item in canone misse post consecracionem: Offerimus preclare magistati tue panem sanctum vite eterne et calicem salutis perpetue. Item in historie solempnitatis (fol. 26ᵛ) corp*oris* (cod.*corpus*) Christi tribus locis. Primo, panis angelicus fit panis hominum, dat panis hic celicus figuris †erminum,[3] et alibi: Versus panis filiorum, et in eadem sequentia: Bone pastor, panis vere.[4]

Item Augustinus in quodam sermone corporis Christi: Quod videtis panis est, calix *est* quod autem fides postulat, panis est corpus Christi, calix est sanguis. Item idem Augustinus ponit, et in decretis de consecracionibus distinccione secunda:[5] Non hoc corpus, quod videbitis, manducaturi estis, et bibituri illum sanguinem, quem effusuri sunt illi, qui me crucifigent. Ipsum quidem et non ipsum, inuisibiliter et non ipsum visibiliter. Vnde subditur, si necesse est munus ipsum inuisibiliter intelligi. Item Jeronimus in epistola ad El*vidi*am (cod.*elbedeam*):[6] Nos, inquit, audiamus panem quem fregit Dominus deditque discipulis manducandum corpus ill*ud* (cod.*ille*) Domini saluatoris. Item de consecracione distinccione secunda[7] Ego Berengarius el*ici*tur (cod.*editur*) idem sensus. Istis auctoritatibus sic introductis, arguo sic: iste auctoritates aut sunt vere aut false, aut partim vere et partim false. Si secundum aut tercium detur, sequitur quod magna pars sacre Scripture sit falsa, et ex consequente tota Scriptura. Si vere, dicamus sine ulteriori liti*gio* (cod.*litidio*) cum istis auctoritatibus quod istud venerabile sacramentum est panis verus et corpus Christi similiter.

Explicit bonus et utilis tractatus secundum magistrum Johannem.[8]

I. H. Stein
Berlin

[1] *I. Cor.* x, 16.
[2] *Act.* II, 42.
[3] *Hymnus ad Matutinum Festi Corporis Christi.*
[4] *Sequentia Missae in Festo Corporis Christi.*
[5] *Decretum Gratiani,* Dist. II, cap. XLV (*ed. cit.,* I, col. 1330–31).
[6] *Migne, Patrol. Lat.* XXII, 986.
[7] *Decretum Gratiani,* Dist. II, cap. XLII (*ed. cit.,* I, col. 1328–1329).
[8] After 'Johannem' an erasure which would correspond to: 'Wiclefum.'

A QUICKLY WRITTEN MANUSCRIPT

There is a Latin manuscript of the fifteenth century containing the satires of Juvenal and Persius in the Harvard University Library (*LP 15. 2.3*), which, besides having a text of possible importance, is of especial interest in that it furnishes us with clues as to the time required for writing it. It is an Italian manuscript written upon parchment in a rather hasty humanistic cursive hand. There are 96 leaves to the manuscript, which is

bound in quinions except for the last 6 leaves which form a quaternion with two, however, removed at the very end. The manuscript is twice dated as of the year 1471. At the end of the satires of Juvenal (fol. 81^{r}) the scribe has written the following words: 'Iunii Iuvenalis Aquinatis Satyricorum poetarum facetissimi libri Satyrarum finis, MCCCCLXXI, quarto octobris. Deo gloria, laus, et honor.' Then at the end of the satires of Persius (fol. 96^{r}) the same scribe has written: 'A. persii volaterrani Satyrarum libelli finis foeliciter, VI octobris, MCCCCLXXI. Laus deo honor et gloria, Amen.' Both these endings are at or near the top of the page, so that we may practically disregard two of the ninety-six leaves of the manuscript for our present purpose. If we assume, then, 2 days as the time the scribe took to write the last 14 odd leaves (i.e. 82–96), by a simple process of calculation we arrive at a period of $13\frac{3}{7}$ days for the writing of the whole of the manuscript (inclusive of headings). If we add a little extra time for the rulings of the pages and the illumination of the initial letters of nearly all the satires, which are likewise rather hastily and crudely done, we might reasonably estimate 15–16 days as the approximate time in which the manuscript was written.

The speed of the scribe may be paralleled by a few of the examples given by Wattenbach.[1] Among the examples of fast writing noted there we may cite a few for comparison with the above manuscript: a psalter written in 4 days by St Nilus, who would also write a quaternion daily; the *Philocalia* of Origen containing 89 leaves, written from April 27 to May 12 in the year 1343; a manuscript of the *Gospels* written in the sixth century by St Colomba in 12 days; the third decade of Livy (80 leaves) written in Venice by Foscorin de Pharizeis of Parma in the year 1389 in the remarkably short interval from February 15 to March 15; and a breviary written in one day in the year 1406. 'Doch war natürlich ein grosser Unterschied,' as Wattenbach says, 'nach der Geübtheit des Schreibers und der Art der Schrift.' The time deduced for the writing of the Harvard manuscript, then — 15–16 days — is not to be wondered at, for the manuscript is in a cursive hand, which is capable of being written at a much faster rate, naturally, than a book hand. It may well be that this manuscript was written for a purpose similar to that for which the books of the Aldine Press were published; that is, for informal and practical use, a fact which is attested by the small size of the manuscript and the hasty manner in which it has been written.[2]

C. H. Jones, Jr,
Harvard University

[1] *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, Leipzig, 1896, pp. 289–293.

[2] Some of the initial letters of the satires have not even been ornamented, while few of those that have are to any degree elaborate.

CONTEMPORARY REPORTS ON THE MEDIAEVAL ROMAN CLIMATE

JONES, ROSS AND ELLETT[1] hold malaria responsible for nothing less than the destruction of the art and culture of Greece, and they ascribe the fall of the Roman Empire in great measure to the same cause. The studies of Angelo Celli[2] have shown not only the influence of periodically recurrent malaria on the history of Rome from antiquity to the present day but also the vain attempts of man to defend himself against this malignant enemy.

The struggle was especially dramatic in the later Middle Ages: the 'air of Rome' had a bad name in the whole of Christendom. Yet in those days the Eternal City was the spiritual capital of the world, and its mystic charm fascinated all mankind. From the cliffs of the North Sea and the shores of the Tigris, streams of pilgrims visited the tombs of the Apostles to strengthen their faith and satisfy their curiosity regardless of the danger to health and even to life itself.

It was a fatal ambition of the German kings to be crowned as Emperors in Rome, and to force foreign bishops on the Romans as Popes. Death inevitably surrounded these rulers whenever they ventured to besiege Rome or to remain in the city during the summer months. The followers of Otto I (964),[3] Henry IV (1083),[4] Lothair of Supplinburg (1133),[5] and Frederick I (1155, 1167)[6] were swept away; not even the greatest temporal and spiritual princes were spared. In southern Italy, the same hazard prevailed. The German warriors of King Pipin (801),[7] Henry II (1022),[8] Conrad II (1038),[9]

[1] W. H. Jones, *Malaria. A Neglected Factor in the History of Greece and Rome.* (Cambridge: Macmillan and Bowes, 1907).

[2] A. Celli, 'Storia della Malaria nell'Agro romano' in *Memorie della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, S. VI, I, III. (1925); *id.*, *Die Malaria in ihrer Bedeutung für die Geschichte Roms und der römischen Campagna* (Leipzig: Georg Thieme, 1929).

[3] *Continuatio Reginonis* ed. F. Kurze, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum* (1890), p. 174. *Annales Hildesheimenses* ed. G. Waitz, *SS.R.G.* (1878), p. 22. E. Dümmler, *Kaiser Otto der Grosse* (Leipzig, 1876), p. 365 ff.

[4] *Bernoldi Chronicon* in *M.G.SS.* V, 438. *Annalista Saxo* in *M.G.SS.* VI, 720. Frutolf of Bamberg, *M.G.SS.* VI, 205. *Vita Heinrici IV* ed. W. Wattenbach-W. Eberhard in *SS.R.G.* (1899), pp. 25, 26. G. Meyer v. Knonau, *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reiches unter Heinrich IV u. Heinrich V* (Leipzig: 1890–1900), III, 391, 437, 490, 494, 549. K. Hampe, *Deutsche Kaisergeschichte im Zeitalter der Salier u. Staufen* (3d. ed., Leipzig, 1916), p. 61.

[5] See below p. 93.

[6] See below p. 95 ff.

[7] See below p. 91, n. 3.

[8] *Annales Quedlinburgenses, M.G.SS.* III, 88. *Annales Augustani, M.G.SS.* III, 125. S. Hirsch & H. Breslau, *Jahrbücher des D. R. unter Heinrich II.* (Leipzig, 1875) III, 202, 212.

[9] *Annales Augustani loc. cit.* III, 125. *Bernold, M.G.SS.* V, 425. H. Breslau, *Jahrbücher des D. R. unter Konrad II* (Leipzig, 1884), II, 316.

Henry VI (1091),[1] Conrad IV (1254),[2] fell victims to malaria by scores. The fever did not even spare crowned heads; King Lothair (869),[3] Henry III's young wife (1038),[4] Lothair II (1137),[5] Henry VI (1197),[6] and his grandson Conrad (1254),[7] all most probably were carried away by this fell disease. The foreign popes could not stand the Roman climate. According to their biographers, Stephen IX (Frederick 1057–1058)[8] and Callistus II (Guido of Burgundy 1119–1124)[9] died of the fever; and in all probability Clement II (Luidger, 1046–1047),[10] Damasus II (Poppo, 1048),[11] Leo IX (Bruno, 1049–1054),[12] Victor II (Gebhard Count of Calw, Tollenstein and Hirschberg 1055–1057),[13] as well, or from the consequence of swamp fever. Nicholas II (Gebhard of Burgundy, 1059–1061)[14] and Urban II (Otho of Lagery, 1088–1099)[15] died quite suddenly, and nothing is known of their end. Just as the swords of the Saracens prevented the Crusaders from taking Jerusalem, so the 'air of Rome' made it impossible for foreigners to take possession of the capital of Christendom and make it their permanent residence. Only one German Emperor, Otto III (983–1002) dared to make the experiment.[16] But

[1] *Arnoldi Chronica Slavorum*, v, 6. rec. H. Lappenberg, *SS.R.G.* (1868), p. 152.

[2] *Annales S. Rudb. Salisb., Regesta Imperii* ed. J. F. Böhmer (1891), v, i, 848.

[3] *Annales Fuldenses auctore Meinhardo iii*, ed. F. Kurze, *SS.R.G.* (1891), pp. 67, 68. *Annales Bertiniani auctore Hincmaro iii*, ed. G. Waitz, *SS.R.G.* (1883), pp. 100, 101.

[4] Wiponis *Vita Chuonradi*, xxxvii, *M.G.SS.* xi, 273.

[5] *Annales Stadenses auct. Alberto* ed. H. Lappenberg, *M.G.SS.* xvi, 323. *Annales Magdeburgenses*, cap. 12, *M.G.SS.* xvi, 186. W. Bernhardi, *Jahrbücher des D.R. unter Lothar von Supplinburg* (Leipzig, 1879), p. 785.

[6] Peter da Eboli, *Liber ad Honorem Augusti* ed. G. B. Siragusa, *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia* (1906) pp. 39, 40.

[7] *Chronica Universalis Turicensis* in *Ottonis de S. Blasio Chronica*, ed. A. Hofmeister, (Halle, 1912), p. 112.

[8] Leo, *Chronica Mon. Cassin. ii*, cap. 95, 96, *M.G.S.S.* vii, 694. C. Höfler, *Die deutschen Päpste* (Regensburg, 1839), ii, 273. G. Meyer v. Knonau, *loc. cit.* i, 54.

[9] Pandulphus Aletrinus, *Liber Pontificalis* ed. L. Duchesne (Paris, 1892), ii, 323. U. Robert, *Histoire du pape Callixte II* (Paris, 1891), p. 193.

[10] *Herimanni Augiensis Chronicon*, *M.G.SS.* v, 127. *Annales Romani* ed. L. Duchesne in *L.P.* ii, 332. E. Steindorff, *Jahrbücher des D.R. unter Heinrich III* (Leipzig, 1881), ii, 26.

[11] Leo, ii, 79 *loc. cit.* p. 683. *Annales Romani, loc. cit.* ii, 333. Herim. *loc. cit.* Steindorff *loc. cit.* ii, 52.

[12] Wibert of Toul, ii, cap. 14, ed. L. A. Muratori in *Rer. Ital. Script.* iii, i. 298. *Annales Romani, loc. cit.* ii, 333. Herim., *loc. cit.* v, 133. Steindorff, ii, 265, 266. W. v. Giesebrecht, *Geschichte der Deutschen Kaiserzeit* (5th ed. Leipzig; 1885), ii, 507, 508. O. Delarc, *Un Pape Alsacien* (Paris, 1876), pp. 507, 517.

[13] *Anonymus Haserensis*, *M.G.SS.* vii, 266. G. Meyer v. Knonau *loc. cit.* i, 28 ff.

[14] Leo, iii, 19. O. Delarc, 'Le Pontificat de Nicolas II,' *Revue des Questions Historiques*, xl (1903), 341 ff.

[15] *Peter of Pisa*, ed. L. Duchesne in *L.P.* ii, 294. Ordericus Vitalis, *Hist. Eccl.* x. in *M.G.SS.* xx, 66, xxvi, 26. I. Paulot, *Un Pape Français* (Paris, 1903), p. 503.

[16] K. Hampe, 'Kaiser Otto III in Rom,' *Historische Zeitschrift*, cxl (1929), 516.

death dogged his footsteps. The first to die was the Pope he had installed, Gregory v (Bruno, 999), then Bishop Franco of Worms; Franco's successor died in Rome on the fourth day after his arrival. A pontiff elected in his place succumbed before he could reach the Alps, and Bishop Widerold of Strassburg died suddenly in Beneventum. Otto himself writes to his teacher Bernward that he is sick of the fever.[1] One can hardly wonder, after these terrifying examples, that the German Emperors did not choose Rome for their residence.

Much mediaeval literature has come down to us which treats of 'the corrupt air of Rome' and its world-wide consequences. Few other nations have supplied such exact and conscientious reports as the contemporary English, Scotch, and Irish writers and the chronicles of the foundations of the Irish monks. It is therefore well worth while to attempt a collection of the best known of these writings; in this way, one gains an exact picture of the state of health in Rome from the eighth to the thirteenth century.

Ina, King of Essex, who came to Rome in 728 during the pontificate of Gregory II (715–731), is said to have constructed a small church dedicated to the Virgin Mary and to have founded near it a hospice named *Schola Anglorum* or *Saxorum*.[2] This report is, however, regarded by several historians as legendary,[3] all the more since William of Malmesbury[4] ascribes the foundation of the *Schola Saxorum* to Offa, King of Mercia (?) (757–796), and adds that King Ethelwulf (836–838) restored it during his stay in Rome. It is not known whether this was simply a hostelry or a hospital for the Anglo-Saxon pilgrims. We may assume that it was meant as an asylum for pilgrims sick of the swamp-fever.

The first positive account of the Roman fever in the eighth century is by an Englishman, Alcuin (735–804). He was born in York and educated there in the Cathedral School. At an early age he accompanied his teacher Ælbert to Rome. In 781, he was sent thither once more to fetch the pallium

[1] *Thietmari Merseburgensis Chronicon* IV, 39, ed. J. Lappenberg — F. Kurze in *SS.R.G.* (1889). *Odilo Epitaphium Adalheidae*, *M.G.SS.* IV, 643. *Vita Burchardi episcopi* ed. G. Waitz in *M.G.SS.* IV, 834. W. v. Giesebrecht, *loc. cit.* I, 730. W. Willmanns, *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reiches unter Otto II u. Otto III* (Berlin, 1839), p. 130.

[2] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* ed. B. Thorpe, *Rerum Brit. Scriptores* (1861), XXIII, I, 72 ff.; II, 39. Bede, *Historia Eccl.* v. 7.

[3] Cronin, in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, v, 472.

[4] *Gesta Regum Anglorum* II, 109, ed. W. Stubbs in *RR.BB.SS.* XC, I, 109; 'Ergo anno integro [Romae] moratus Scholam Anglorum quae, ut fertur, ab Offa rege Merciorum primitus instituta, proximo anno conflagraverat, reparavit egregie.' Matthew Paris, (*Chronica Maiora*, I, 360) dates its foundation as previous to Offa: 'in die crastina scholam Anglorum, quae tunc Romae floruit, ingressus dedit sibi ad sustentationem gentis regni sui illuc venientis singulos argenteos de familiis singulis omnibus in posterum diebus, singulis annis.' The foundation of this *Schola* is connected with the institution of Peter's Pence. The controversies regarding its origin and antiquity are probably due to this fact.

for Archbishop Eanbald. On this journey, he met Charlemagne in Parma. Charlemagne knew how to attract learned men of all nations to his court, but was especially friendly to English scholars because it was among them that the new Latin literature flourished. Alcuin imparted his scholarship to Frankish aspirants who afterwards founded schools all over France. He received many favors from Charlemagne,[1] who sent him again to Rome. During his stay there in 798, he fell a victim to malaria, which brought him to the brink of the grave, and continued to attack him for many years. He called it at last his 'Roman comrade.' Indeed, it may have been in large degree the influence of this 'comrade' which caused him in later years to change his outlook on life and, with the image of death perpetually before him, to grow ever more deeply religious. In his letters, he frequently mentions the 'Fever'; this shows how much it still troubed him after he was over sixty![2] A fatal sickness befell King Pipin's army in Beneventum in 801 and swept away many Franks, Magenfried among them. Here again Alcuin mentions the unwholesome air as the cause of the epidemic: 'Scis, optime, quale periculum ibi imminet tibi propter pestilentem illius terrae aerem.'[3] He considerately warns his friends against the Italian climate, and recommends temperance in eating and drinking as a preventive against the danger: 'Italia infirma est patria et escas generat noxias. . . . Idcirco cautissima consideratione videas, quid, quando vel qualiter vel quibus utaris cibis; et maxime ebrietatis assiduitatem devita, quia ex vini calore febrium ardor ingruere solet super incautos.'[4] And again,

> Noli, nate, precor, multo te perdere vino,
> Non escis: ille est quoniam sat pestifer orbis,
> Ex esca et potu morbi generantur amari.[5]

It was by Irish monks (or Scottish, as they were called in the early Middle Ages) that Christianity was first brought to Teutonic countries.[6] Gallus was one of the twelve companions of Columbanus who left their monastery of Bangor to preach on Lake Constance. From the founder's cell sprang the great monastery of St Gall. A pupil of Alcuin's was Abbot there, (Grimald, 841). In later centuries, Irish monks still taught at this monastery, so it is in a great measure due to them that St Gall remained a permanent seat of learning. In the eleventh century, Ekkehard made use of written and

[1] W. Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter* (7th ed., umgearbeitet v. E. Dümmler. Berlin, 1904), I, 186 ff.

[2] Alcuini *Epistolae* ed. E. Dümmler, in *M. G. Epist.* IV. *Aevi Karolini* II, *epist.* 146, 171, 175, 216, 218, 221, 225.

[3] *Ibid.*, 224, 218, *cf.* Erchemperti *Hist. Langob.* cap. 6, in *MG., SS. rer. Langob.* p. 236, n. 3.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 281.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 439, n. 5. *cf. Carmen Alcuini ad Monimagnum* in *Poet. Carol.* I, 260, *vs.* 15–17.

[6] Wattenbach, *loc. cit.* I, 129.

oral tradition for his *Chronicle*.[1] The first part (as far as 883) was written by Ratpert. It is of no importance to us whether the account is always historically exact. We see clearly from the writings that the reputation of the 'unwholesome Roman air' was widespread, and had been so for very many years. The *Chronicle* goes back to the days of Charlemagne:

'Charlemagne wished the hymns of the Roman Church to be taught in the monasteries beyond the Alps. To this end he desired that Romans versed in the art of song should be sent to the land of the Franks. In compliance with the command of the king, Petrus and Romanus, well versed not only in song but in the seven liberal arts, set out on their way to the Church of Metz. But as soon as they reached the Septimer Pass and the Lake of Como, they were affected by the corrupt Roman air, and Romanus suffered so much from the fever that he scarcely reached us alive.'[2]

This story is founded on fact, for only those well acquainted with the symptoms of malaria know that a change of air can bring on such an attack as is here described. 'Saint Landalo, a Subian of noble family, had been brought up and taught by St Gallus. After he became bishop of Treviso, he used to go often to Rome . . . ; but at last, on his way from Rome to visit his friend Gallus, he was taken with the fever, the effect of the "Italian air," reached Rorschach with difficulty and there ended his life in sanctity.' (10. September, 880).[3] 'Once when Ekkehard, on going to Rome to fulfil a vow, was taken into great favor by the Pope and kept there for a time on account of his learning, he was seized with an illness "owing to the air of the country" and kept his bed for six weeks.'[4]

The Scottish Benedictine monk Eadmer, friend and adviser of Saint Anselm of Canterbury (1033–1109), and his biographer described the menace of the Roman air in a very telling way in connection with his journey to Rome with Anselm. In his difficulties with William Rufus, St Anselm insisted on appealing to Pope Urban II (Otho of Lagery, 1088–1099). He was treated with great honor by the Pope, but Abbot John of San Salvatore at Telese sent him an invitation to pass the summer in a mountain village belonging to his monastery. Eadmer tells us: 'Hic itaque agnito patrem suum Anselmum Romam venisse, missis nunciis omni studio deprecatus est, quatinus ad se venire, atque in sua quadam mansione cui salubris aura favebat, ad evitandas Romanae urbis aegritudines instanti dignaretur aestate conversari.' In the letter of Abbot John, we read: 'tamen quia urbis istius aer multis, et maxime peregrinae regionis hominibus nimis

[1] L. Traube in Wattenbach *loc. cit.* I, 267 ff.

[2] Ekkeharti IV, *Casus S. Galli* cap. 47, edited by v. Arx in *MG.SS.* II, 61–147. *Ekkeharts IV. Casus S. Galli*, übers. v. G. Meyer v. Knonau (2d ed. by P. Bütler. Leipzig, 1925), *Geschichtsschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit*, XXXVIII, 83.

[3] *Ibid.* cap. IX, p. 16.

[4] *Ibid.* cap. LXXX, p. 139.

est insalubris, laudo ut eas quo vocaris, ne quod superna dignatio tibi providet negligere videaris.'[1] All modern writers quote these passages as a proof of the 'unhealthy Roman air' during the eleventh century.

William of Malmesbury (1090–1143), the most trustworthy English chronicler, and the best English historian of his time, describes the sanitary conditions of Rome in the fine verses of Hildebert of Tours:

> Longa tuos fastus aetas destruxit, et arces
> Cesaris, et superum templa palude iacent.[2]

In speaking of Anselm's journey he does not omit to mention: 'Sed non fuit animus diu ibi consistere, quod illius urbis aer insalubris peregrinis esset.'[3] We see, therefore, how notorious and how dreaded was the Roman air in those times; yet duty made it necessary to come to Rome and to brave the risks. Many persons of whom nothing is known may well have lost their lives in similar undertakings.

The most convincing proofs of how the fate of men and nations in these centuries was the plaything of the 'bad summer air' is to be found in the *Liber Pontificalis*, written by Cardinal Boso, compatriot and chamberlain to Pope Adrian IV (1154–1159), the only Englishman to ascend the throne of St Peter. Boso, a Benedictine monk of St Albans, was made an officer of the Papal Court in 1152. He died in 1178, having therefore lived long enough in Rome to be perfectly acquainted with the conditions of life there. His political views have nothing to do with his account of the state of the health of the city. In his life of Pope Leo IX (1049–1054), Boso represents him as dying of fever before the Altar of St Peter: 'Post hec beatus Leo reversus est Romam. Set cum beati Petri ecclesiam pro sui officii debito post modicum visitasset, repente febrium languore correptus ante confessionem ipsius apostoli se fecit deferre;'[4] Again, Stephen IX (Frederick of Lorraine, 1058–1059), weakened by fever and feeling himself near death, called together all his cardinals before leaving for Florence, to take counsel as to the measures to be adopted at the election of his successor.[5] Boso praises the sanitary improvements which Callixtus II had carried out in the neighborhood of the Lateran Palace, the residence of the Popes.[6] In his *Life of Innocent* II (Gregory Papereschi, 1130–1143), Boso tells how Lothair of Sup-

[1] *Eadmeri Historia Novorum in Anglia*, II, 4 ed. M. Rule in *RR.BB.SS.* (London, 1884) LXXXI, 96 ff.

[2] *Willelmi Malmesburgensis Gesta Regum Anglorum*, IV, 351, ed. W. Stubbs in *RR.BB.SS.* XC, pars ii, 403.

[3] *Willelmi Malmesburgensis Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, I, 52, ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton, in *RR.BB.SS.* LII, 98.

[4] *L.P.* II, 356.

[5] *Ibid.* II, 357.

[6] *Ibid.* II, 379.

plinburg came to Rome in 1133 to reinstate the rightful Pope Innocent II. The Emperor was encamped with his army by the Church of St Agnes on the Nomentan Way, and the Romans came to do him homage. He succeeded in reinstating the Pope in the Lateran, but himself resided on the Aventine,[1] where Otto III had once held his court, since it was considered the healthiest of the Roman hills. He and his wife Richenza were crowned in the Lateran. Pope and cardinals begged him in vain to drive the rival Pope Anacletus (Pietro Pierleone) out of the Castle of St Angelo and St Peter's; in vain they begged him to wage war against Roger of Sicily. Lothair arranged a compromise with the Pope, and did not attempt to regain the rights of investiture. This failure to comply was due to climatic considerations. The Emperor had reached Rome at the end of April; it was now the end of June: 'Quia vero estivum cauma tunc inminebat, et Romani aeris intemperiem Teutonici non modice formidabant.'[2] In 1137, Lothair entered Apulia in compliance with the Pope's wish, although his first Roman campaign had brought him heavy losses. Norbert (founder of the Premonstratensian Order, archbishop of Magdeburg, chancellor of Italy and chief of the imperial government) fell ill because of the unwholesome air and died after several months of sickness June 2, 1134.[3] The military prowess of the Emperor so much praised by Boso was of small avail.[4] His troops clamored to be led home, a terrible epidemic of malaria broke out on the march, and he himself fell ill and died.[5] The Pope gained a temporary advantage by this

[1] *Ibid.* II, 382.

[2] *Ibid.* II, 382.

[3] *Vita Norberti Archiep. Magdeburgensis*, ed. R. Willmanns, cap. XXII, in *M.G.SS.* XII, p. 703; see also *Leben des heil. Norbert*, ed. G. Hertel-W. Wattenbach in *G.D.V.*, LXIV, 87: 'His strength began to leave him and a sickness took hold of him, partly caused by the exertions of the journey and partly by the corruption of the air. Nevertheless he returned from Italy, and was brought to his city of Magdeburg. There he lay down, was befallen by great weakness for many months, and died June 2, 1134.'

[4] *L.P.* II, 383.

[5] *Annales Magdeburgenses* (*Chronographus Saxo*) in *M.G.SS.* XVI, 186, cap. XII; see also *Jahrbücher v. Magdeburg*, ed. E. Winkelmann (2d ed. by W. Wattenbach) in *G.D.V.* LXIII, 80: 'There in a city called Trana, Bishop Bruno of Cologne was bled on the Wednesday before Whitsun and three days after he died suddenly. . . . The Emperor celebrated the Feast of the Apostles in Melphia, where . . . Archbishop Hugo was bled, died on the fourth day and was buried. Not many days after Adalbert, Bishop of Basel died in the same company. When the Emperor came to Trent he celebrated the feast of St Martin in great joy and there he first fell sick. As he grew worse from day to day and yet would not interrupt his journey the sickness at last grew fatal and he passed from this world in Breturwa, a village on one of the Al ine passes, on December 4. Meingott, Bishop of Merseburg, who fell ill on the same expedition was brought to Suaba, where he died.' (*Annales Stadenses*, in *M.G.SS.* XVI, 323). See also *Die Chronik des Albert v. Stade*, ed. F. Wachter-W. Wattenbach, in *G.D.V.* LXXII, 17: . . . 'as King Lothair was coming home from Italy a great sickness broke out in his army and he himself fell ill and died on December 3.' *Annales Palidenses*, cap. XII, in *M.G.SS.* XVI, 79 speaks of 'Languore correptus;' see also Bernhardi *loc. cit.*, 784; Hampe *loc. cit.* 107.

victory, but the strength of the German army was broken by the fever. Boso, the Pope's friend, is silent as to the tragic ending of the campaign.

The struggle between the Pope and Emperor Frederick I (1152–1190) was decided by the malaria. Barbarossa believed that he could overcome the dangers of swamp-fever as easily as he had conquered the Pope and the Romans. This was a fatal mistake which his great chancellor, Rainald of Dassel, archbishop of Cologne (1159–1167), paid for with his life. The first epidemic swept away many of the Emperor's best troops and weakened the whole army. Boso was an eye-witness of this tragedy and could give an exact description. He had been made cardinal deacon and head of the Apostolic Chamber in 1154. Otto of Freising observes that Rome would have been subjugated by Pope and Emperor if the Emperor's[1] troops had not suffered too much from the summer heat and the dangerous and pernicious diseases (fever) which were its consequence. The army spent August at Ancona, where it was joined by the Greek contingent in obedience to the Pope's wish to see the Emperor go with his army to Apulia. But the German army was decimated and unable to begin a war in Sicily. Boso writes: 'Et quoniam estivus calor iam nimis excreverat et maxima multitudo ipsius exercitus pro intemperie inconsueti aeris vel mortis periculum vel exitialem infirmitatem incurrerat, communis voluntas et instans petitio principum fuit ut imperator ad propria, quod et factum est, sine dilatione rediret.'[2] Pope Adrian was wont to leave the plain during the months when the fever threatened. Anagni, 'where the air is fresh and healthy,' was his summer residence. Here he was stung in the throat by a poisonous fly, and tragically lost his life.[3]

After the death of Adrian, Boso promoted the election of Alexander III (Roland Bandinelli, 1159–1181) and supported him in his fight against Frederick. We may therefore wonder whether he considered the epidemic that destroyed Frederick's army in Rome in 1167 as a divine judgment.

[1] *Ottonis Gesta Friderici* I, imp. ii, 34, ed. by G. Waitz and B. v. Simson in *SS.R.G.* (3d edit., Halle, 1912), p. 142. Otto of Freising thus describes the epidemic. 'The air all around the city is corrupted by poisonous mists rising from the neighbouring marshes, bringing plague and death to all who breathe it. This plague struck down the citizens, accustomed to flee to the hills at this time of the year, and the soldiers in the camp who were unused to such noisome air.' (H. Simonsfeld, *Jahrbücher des D. R. unter Friedrich I.* [Leipzig, 1907], I, 356.)

[2] *Vita Hadriani* in *L.P.* II, 393.

[3] *Burchardi Urspergensium Chronicon*, cap. 7, 8, ed. O. Holder-Egger and B. v. Simon in *SS.R.G.*, p. 39. *Gotifredi Viterbiensis Gesta Friderici*, cap. 12, n. 5, 295, in *M.G.SS.* XXII, 314: 'quia musca volavit in gutture pape, dum ridens ore aperto cachinnatur, et inde moritur papa.' — Eberhard of Bamberg writes: 'qui anginae dolore defecisse dicitur.' — J. M. Wattenbach, *Vita Pontificum Romanorum* (Leipzig, 1862), II, 454; W. v. Giesebrecht *loc. cit.* V, i, 227, continued by B. v. Simon (Leipzig, 1895), VI, 386. A. Celli, 'Roma Vorax Hominum' in *Ricerche Religiose* VI (1930), 142.

The Emperor had despised the Pope's excommunication and with unexampled levity, in spite of the experience undergone twelve years previously, had laid siege to Rome in the height of summer in order to have himself and his wife crowned once more in St Peter's. Alexander III, who was in Rome, had to fly in disguise. Frederick could at least occupy the right bank of the Tiber in order to have the intended coronation consummated by the Antipope. He treated the population with incredible cruelty and even profaned the House of God. At this moment the 'fever' which, according to the King's Chronicle of Cologne,[1] was never absent from Rome, struck him and those with him like a thunderbolt. The flower of the German nobility was stricken and carried off.[2]

Roman fever thus avenged the destruction of Milan, and Frederick was forced to plan a speedy return in order to lead the remainder of his army into a healthier climate. But according to Boso, this withdrawal failed of its purpose. The Emperor left innumerable dead behind him, and was at last able to save his own life only by a retreat closely resembling a flight, for when the news reached Lombardy, the towns there arose and shook off the German yoke. The free Lombard cities thus definitely triumphed over Emperor and knights.

Regardless of the fact that from year to year the fever seemed to rage more terribly in Rome, and it became increasingly dangerous for foreigners to reside there, foreign prelates were still obliged to appear personally at the papal court in order to defend the interests of their convents. This is

[1] *Chronica Regia Coloniensis* ed. G. Waitz in *SS.R.G.* (Halle, 1880), p. 118. *Helmoldi Cronica Slavorum* ed. B. Schmeidler in *SS.R.G.* (Halle, 1909), p. 208, — 'in the month of August, poisonous mists are said to rise in those regions.' See also *Gotifredi Viterbiensis Gesta Friderici metrice scripta* in *SS.R.G.* (Halle, 1872), vv. 625 ff.

[2] *Vita Alexandri III*, in *L. P.* II, 418 ff.) paints the ghastly pest in the darkest colors: 'Inmisit enim tantam subitanee mortis pestilentiam in eius exercitum ut infra VII dierum spatium fere universi maiores ipsius principes qui secum Ecclesie adversabantur morte subitanea corruerent et miserabiliter morerentur. De quorum numero paucos famosiores duximus nominandos: Fredericum Bawarie ducem, H., comitem de Nasove, Borchardum, comitem de Halremont, H., comitem de Lipia, R., cancellarium, ecclesie Coloniensis intrusum, et L., fratrem eius comitem, episcopum Verdensem pertinacem scismaticum. Reliqui vero barones ac milites ac cetera pugnatorum maxima multitudo cum languerent et nullum sanitatis possent remedium invenire, spiritum miserabiliter exhalabant; quorum cadavera usquequaque inhumata jacebant. Quid plura? Tantus subitanee mortis timor universos invaserat ut beatum se crederet qui quomodocumque castra posset exire et ad proprium confugium facere. Tunc idem F. divina se manu percussum fore intelligens, cum Romanis utcumque composuit et VIII idus augusti non sine manifesta confusione recessit. Mortalitatis tamen pestilentia ipsum nichilominus sequebatur; et cum in antea procedere conabatur post se mortuorum stragem cum mestitia relinquere cogebatur. Arma vero et reliquus Teutonicorum pretiosus apparatus perierant simul cum dominis, et omnis gloria eorum fuerat ad nichilum ex judicio divino redacta. Dum autem idem Fredericus cum luctu morientium et infirmorum gemitibus pervenisset Lucam.'

shown most vividly by the reports of Gervase of Canterbury[1] and Thomas of Marleberg. Thomas had come to Rome on November 7, 1204 in order to defend the privileges of his Abbey of Evesham against the Bishop of Worcester. He had been in Rome for five months without having obtained anything, but he and his Abbot had to leave Rome on April 18 'because the air began to grow pestilential.' 'Cumitaque intemperies aeris instaret et moram fecissemus per sex ebdomadas, in crastino octabarum Paschae cum licentia et benedictione domini papae recessimus ab urbe.'[2]

The Abbot returned to England, while Thomas, on the advice of his protector, Cardinal Hugolino of Ostia, remained at Bologna from April until October, and then tried his luck in Rome once more. Thomas was successful in his case, which was decided in February, 1205. He obtained from Innocent III (Lotario de'Conti, 1198–1216) the exemption of Eversham Abbey from episcopal jurisdiction.[3] Weak with fasting, Marleberg fainted for joy, but he had contracted so many debts that he did not know how to pay them. He then wrote: 'cito comperi quod timebant ne morerentur si in civitate morarentur, magis quaerentes vitam propriam salvam facere, quam causam domini sui lucrificare . . . nec moram nec mortem timui cupiens si opus esset animam meam pro causa libertatis ecclesiae meae ponere . . . .'[4] At last his creditors went to England to enforce the payment of the debts; his adversary had also left Rome. But the Pope still kept Thomas in Rome without giving a reason for it. Most probably he did so to force him to present the usual parting-gifts to the Pope and the Cardinals which Thomas saw no possibility of financing.

Thomas was in dispair, he had but one thought left: to leave Rome as quickly as possible 'cum iam inciperet aeris intemperies.' The panic fear of the 'pernicious Roman air' justifies his further conduct. It must be remembered that he was a clergyman who had won a decisive lawsuit against his Bishop and had the independence of his convent guaranteed by the Pope. He accordingly escaped secretly from Rome without taking leave from anybody. But still unwilling to forfeit the papal blessing, he mixed with a troop of pilgrims. Although it was but Mid-Lent (March 12) when he left Rome, the fever had already caught him; in France, during his homeward journey, the infection manifested itself and he was afflicted with a severe attack.[5]

A certain amount of courage was obviously needed during the Middle Ages to fight personally in Rome for good cause.

[1] *Chronica*, ed. F. Liebermann, *M.G.SS.*, XXVII, 305.

[2] *Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham* III, 3, ed. W. Macray in *RR.BB.SS.*, XXIX, 147.

[3] See also G. Cyprian Alston, in *Cath. Encyclop.* V, 648.

[4] *Chronicon Abb. de Evesham*, III, 151.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 4. p. 200. A. Luchaire, *Innocent III, Rome, et l'Italie.* (Paris, 1904), p. 221 ff. M. Spaethen, 'Geraldus Cambrensis and Thomas of Evesham on the Lawsuits carried on by them at the Court.' in *Neues Archiv*, XXXI (1906), 648 ff.

According to Mathew Paris,[1] (1217–1259) his compatriot Robert of Somerset died of poisoning during the conclave of 1241, and he ascribes the death of Celestinus IV to the same cause. But although his chronicle is the chief source for the last struggles of the Hohenstaufens, his story of the conclave is not nearly so probable as that of Nicholas of Calvi: 'The cardinals who were shut up in the Septicionum most probably all fell ill of the fever, including the English cardinal.'[2] A few years afterward, Nicholas III (Giovanni Gaetani Orsini, 1277–1280) and Martin IV (Simon de Brie, 1281–1285) commissioned Hugh of Evesham (Atratus) to find a cure for the 'fever' which wrought such havoc in the city. While in Orvieto, Martin IV created this philosopher and student of medicine (his personal physician) cardinal of San Lorenzo in Lucina. Rome owes to Hugh the rebuilding of this church and of other buildings on what is today the Corso, but not the liberation from her greatest scourge, the malaria. The learned man himself died of the fever while pursuing his researches (1280).[3]

In the course of later centuries, many British and Irish travellers fell victims to the 'Roman fever.' Perhaps the most tragic story is that of the Irish patriots of 1608, the last hope of Ireland, who were one and all swept away by the malaria.[4] English diplomats, authors, clergymen, scholars, and travellers have written often and much about the shocking sanitary conditions of Rome and its surroundings, and it was an Englishman, Ronald Ross, who shed the first ray of light on the transmission of malarial infection. Yet it remains a curious circumstance that a noxious insect was one of the chief facts which protected mediaeval Rome from the agressions of the German Emperors.

Anna Celli-Fraentzel,
Rome

[1] Mathew Paris, *Chronica Maiora* III, ed. H.R. Luard, in *RR.BB.SS.* (1877) LVII, 168, 172.

[2] Nicolaus da Curbio, *Vita Innocentii* in L. A. Muratori *Rer. Ital. Script.* III, p. i, 592a. *Dictionary of national biography.* XVIII, 90.

[3] Tanner, *Bibl. Brit. Hib.*, 418; A. v. Reumont, in *Archiv. Soc. Roman. Storia Patria* VII (1885), 549, A. Potthast, *Reg. Pont. Rom.*, 1795, 1824.

[4] Archivio di Stato Firenze, *Archivio Mediceo* (1608), fol. 3624.

OSBERT OF CLARE, THE SARUM BREVIARY, AND THE MIDDLE-ENGLISH *SAINT ANNE* IN RIME ROYAL

The legend of Saint Anne has special interest for students of English literature, since it was four times treated at some length in Middle English verse. Moreover, the cult of the mother of the Virgin was one which found special sponsorship in England along with the Feast of the Conception of Our Lady, in the establishment of which England took an active part. The latter

feast was certainly observed at Canterbury before the Norman Conquest, as is proved by the fact that it was effaced from the Calendar of Canterbury by Lanfranc (1070–1089).[1] The cult of Saint Anne was slower to gain recognition in the West. Although known in the East from an early date,[2] it is not to be traced in western Europe before the tenth century and references to it are exceptional before the thirteenth. Its expansion really begins in the fourteenth century. Urban v ordered the observance of the feast on the occasion of the marriage of Richard II and Anne of Bohemia in 1382. But as early as the twelfth century England had shown an interest in the saint. Among the private prayers composed by St Anselm[3] is one to Saint Anne, probably not by Anselm but by an imitator of the twelfth century, and at Worcester in the time of Bishop Simon (1125–1150) it was customary to observe the saint's death with an octave. In view of the close association between the veneration of Saint Anne and the observance of the Feast of the Conception, it is not surprising that the sponsorship of the two festivals should proceed from the same sources. The chief sponsors of the latter feast were Anselm, Abbot of Bury and nephew of St Anselm, Eadmer of Canterbury, and Osbert of Clare, Prior of Westminster. The early observance of the Feast of the Conception at St. Albans, Reading, Worcester, and elsewhere was due to the efforts of Anselm of Bury. Consequently, when those at Worcester desired to embellish the service in honor of Saint Anne with new lessons, it was natural that they should apply for the new text to one upon whose interest they could count, namely Osbert.

Osbert of Clare has himself told how he came to write the discourse on Saint Anne for Worcester. In a prefatory epistle[4] he describes his meeting with Bishop Simon and Warin, Dean of Worcester, at the funeral of the Abbot of Pershore. The date is apparently 1137. Osbert was presented to the Bishop by his friend Warin. Bishop Simon embraced Osbert and then and there began to explain how they were accustomed to venerate the mother of the mother of God at Worcester. They wished to enrich the service with new readings. Would Osbert apply himself to the task? Osbert pleaded his shortcomings, but after being reassured by Simon, composed

[1] See on the general subject E. Bishop, 'On the Origins of the Feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary,' reprinted in revised form in *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford, 1918), pp. 238–259, and the bibliography in the *Cath. Ency., s. v.* Immaculate Conception.

[2] For the development of the St Anne legend see P. Charland, *Les Trois Légendes de Madame Sainte Anne* (Quebec, 1898) and *Madame Saincte Anne et son culte au Moyen Age* (2 v., Paris, 1911–1913); W. Lampen, 'Vereering der H. Moeder Anne in de Middeleeuwen,' *Historisch Tydschrift*, II (1924), 221–243.

[3] Wilmart, *art. cit. infra*, p. 2. I have not been able to consult the edition cited by him in *La Vie Spirituelle*, Nov., 1924.

[4] Also printed in *The Letters of Osbert of Clare*, cited below, Letter XII.

the discourse which he is now sending and has added to it a rhythmic prayer. He will also prepare a 'historiam . . . et solemnes ymnos.' The hymns are apparently those which follow the discourse in the MS., but there is no trace of the *historia*.[1] Whether he ever wrote the life of Saint Anne is uncertain, though not impossible considering the other saints' lives which he composed.

Among the Middle-English poems on Saint Anne is one of 658 lines in rime royal which occurs in two MSS.[2] It dates from the fifteenth century and is attributed in one manuscript to Lydgate. Although MacCracken rejects it from the Lydgate canon, it belongs dialectally to the general neighborhood of Bury, where interest in the saint is evident from the existence of a Guild of St Anne as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century.[3] That the poem was connected with the observance of Saint Anne's day is evident from two references in the text:

> Thys day, dere brethern, most specyally
> In honour of thys matrone ferre and nere, . . .
> And in thys day togedyr we byn come (247–251)[4]

Consequently it is natural to inquire whether the writer of the poem was familiar with the earlier discourse of Osbert written for the same occasion. Fortunately the answer which we can give to this question admits of no doubt. One portion of the poem is a close paraphrase of Osbert's text.

But while the English poet was clearly translating from Osbert, he was probably unaware of this ultimate source of his inspiration. For it is apparent that he knew Osbert at second hand. Osbert's discourse was incorporated in part in the Sarum Breviary, where it forms the three *lectiones* of the first Nocturne of Matins for St Anne's day.[5] That the English poet used the text of the Breviary rather than an independent text of Osbert is clear from a number of considerations. In such variations as exist between the two texts he is closer to the Breviary, and one stanza (*ll.* 127–133)

[1] The texts are edited from Brit. Museum *MS. Cotton Vitellius A XVII* (twelfth century) by André Wilmart, 'Les Compositions d'Osbert de Clare en l'honneur de sainte Anne,' *Annales de Bretagne*, XXXVII (1925–1926), 1–33. For a life of Osbert, consult J. A. Robinson, 'Westminster in the Twelfth Century: Osbert of Clare,' *Church Quar. Rev.*, LXVIII (1909), 336–356, reprinted in *The Letters of Osbert of Clare, Prior of Westminster*, ed. E. W. Williamson, London: Milford, 1929.

[2] Recently edited by Roscoe E. Parker, *The Middle English Stanzaic Versions of the Life of Saint Anne*, London, 1928 (EETS., Orig., Ser., 174). The text of this version occupies pp. 90–109. I have introduced a few corrections from the MS.

[3] See Parker, p. xxx.

[4] The other reference is in ll. 106–9, quoted below.

[5] *Breviarium ad usum . . . Sarum*, ed. Proctor and Wordsworth, Cambridge, 1879-86, III. 539-556.

translates a sentence in the Breviary that is not in Osbert's text as we have it. But what puts the matter beyond any doubt is the fact that the English poem continues to follow the text of the Breviary from the point where the parallel with Osbert ceases all the way to the end.

The English poem begins with a prologue of fourteen stanzas justifying the reading of saints' lives and excusing the writer's slender wit. This portion of the poem is clearly set off from what follows by '*Explicit prologus.*' After a single stanza of apostrophe to Saint Anne, the author begins his paraphrase of Osbert (Breviary, *Lectio i.*):

Hodie, fratres charissimi:
beatae Annae matris
sanctae Dei genitricis ac
perpetuae virginis Mariae
festivam celebramus
memoriam: in qua carnis
reliquit ergastulum,

Most dere brethern, thys day to vndyrstond,
As hit apereth by the story,
We halow and worshyp in euery lond
Of seynt Anne chefe the festfull memory,
Whyche ys departyd and ys in glory
And hath forsaken the carnall pryson
Of the body to the soule a dongeon.

et subvecta est venerabiliter ad superos sanctorum obsequiis angelorum. Ad aeternum siquidem patriarcharum ac prophetarum veterum gloriosa et felix pervenit contubernium:

Thys gloryous Anne, happy, full of grace,
Ys caryed vp most worshipfully
To the hyghest of seyntes in that place
With the seruyce of aungelles truly
Vnto the euerlastyng company
Of patriarkes and prophetes old;
She ys comyn with ioyes manyfold.

ex quorum carne carnis contraxit originem, ut per ventris sui fructum populo suo Deus mitteret redemptionem.

Of whom she hath takyn hyr begynnyng
And hyr flesshly habite by trew discent
That god shuld send so by hyr forth bryngyng
Vnto hys peple — thys was the entent
Of the pure godhede sothly by assent —
By the frute of hyr wombe redempcion
And vtterly distroy discencion. (106–126)

The next stanza translates a sentence in the Breviary which corresponds to nothing in Osbert's treatise. Then the poet continues:

Haec est enim illa supernae benedictionis terra, de qua caelestis figulus ollam spei nostrae composuit: quae ex divini roris ymbre conceptum Verbum Dei, humano generi protulit incarnatum.

She ys forsoth that blessyd hygh erthe fyne
Of the whyche the heuynly potter hath made
Of the most swete shoure of hys dewe dyuyne;
The pot of oure hope whiche shall neuer fade
The son of god conceued vs to glade
In oure nature hath brought forth incarnate,
Whyche of the hygh influence was create.

Haec est ille dominicus ager, balsamorum caelestium

She ys the goodly felde circumspect
With floures of the heuynly bames,

floribus circunseptus,
ex cuius suavitate per
omnes fines terrae
diffusus odor emanavit
vitae,

Of whos swetnes the verrey preelect
Diffuse odour clene withouten blames,
Hath wellyd out with hys fragraunt floures
Of lyfe by the costes so louyngly
Of all the world to comfort feythfully.

et in eo sponsus virginum
myrrham suam cum aromatibus
suis miscuit: quia
amaritudinem mortali-
tatis nostrae divinitatis
suae dulcedine temperavit.

And in thys felde the spouse of virgyns all
Hath medled hys myrre most delycious
With hys swete flauoures, whyche byn eternall,
Hath tempred with the swetnes precious
By the infinite power glorious
Of hys most excellent diuinite
The bitternes of oure sore mortalite.

Felix Anna, quae in
operatione redemptionis
nostrae velut radix
videtur in arbore, de
qua caelestis virga
egressa est beatissima
virgo Maria,

Blyssed Anne, whyche in operacion
Of oure redempcion ys gone out
Lyke as the rote hath dominacion
Of the tre and the braunches rounde about,
Of whom the heuynly rodde withouten dout
Ys comen out that most blyssyd virgyne,
Seynt mary, thys derk world to enlumyne;

quae Filium suum divini
floris amigdalum enixa
puerpera genuit: cuius
dulcedinis iocunda
refectio, in caelo et
in terra, angelos et
homines pascit.

Whyche, gret with chylde, hyr owne begotyn son'
The hygh almond of the most dyuyne floure
Hath brought forth to sease oure dyuysion;
Of whos swetnes dayly and euery houre
The ioyfull refeccion and socoure
Ffedeth the aungellys in heuyn aboue
And men in erthe of verrey pure loue.

Ex Bethleem quippe
civitate David, et radice
Yesse oriunda prodiit:
cuius beata soboles Maria
videlicet Christum peperit,
qui captivitatem Iacob
avertit,

Of bethlem, forsoth, that nobyll cyte
Of Dauid Anne ys gone out sycurly
And come out of the hygh rote of Iesse,
Whos blyssyd chyld, that holy seynt mary,
Cryste hath brought forth and borne most perfytely,
Whyche the captiuite had turnyd clene
Of Iacob and all comyng of hys strene;

et parietem veteris
inimicitiae inter Deum
et hominem Homo Deus in
carne sua destruxit.

And also the most harde durabyll wall
Of oure old auncyen enimyte
Betwene god and man clerely ouerall;
And by the mene of hys natyuyte
God in hys manhode of hys gret pyte
Hath distroyed oonly of hys grace
And ordeynyd hath vs to hys hygh palace. (134–182)

In this part of his poem, the English poet has been following his original closely, translating Osbert's text, as found in the Breviary, one clause to a stanza. Osbert now enters on an elaborate metaphor in which Anna is compared to a magnificent palace with pavement of Parian marble and hall adorned with cedar beams and cypress panels. In this comparison the breviary does not follow him although scattered sentences from his discourse are woven into *Lectio iii* and duly appear in the English poem:

O quam gloriosa est mater ista, et quam digna solenni attollenda praeconio: quae matrem nobis nostrae redemptionis attulit, et in illa testamentum supernae hereditatis inclusit.

How gloryous, how worthy and dere,
Ys thys modyr & eke how precyous
To be takyn with hyr solempne prayere,
Whyche hath brought vs a moder most famous
Of oure redempcion verrey ioyous
And in hyr includyd the testament
Of the hygh heritage by consentement;

Vere beata et omni veneratione habenda, et quodam sacro privilegio praedicanda mater huius sacratissimae virginis: quae omnes praecellit matres

Wherfore we ought to preyse thys holy Anne,
Modyr of thys most holy virgine,
With all worshyp that may be had or canne.
And with the holy pryuylege diuine
She hath begoten hyr that ys most dygne,
Wheryn she passeth other moders all—
More happyer and in especiall

in concipiendo et generando eam quae suum et omnium generaret Auctorem. Gaude igitur et laetare, O felix mater, et prae ceteris matribus felicior, quae meruisti tantae prolis gaudere privilegio:

Of suche a chylde to ioy the priuilege
Truly that shuld hyr owne maker begete;
And of all other, the trouthe to allege;
Therfore ioy thow and be glad in thy fete,
Thow happy modyr, before other grete
In conceuyng and bryngyng forth also
Suche oon that hath sesyd all oure wo;

per quam angeli laeticiam, iusti gratiam, peccatores veniam inveniunt in aeternum. Tu autem.

By whom the aungelys haue theyr gladnes,
And the ryght wisemen haue theyr perfyte grace,
And synners foreuer foryeuenes
By meryte of thys modyr in thys cace,
Of the modyr of cryst, owre chyef solace,
Euer styll abydyng virgyn pure and clene,
And euer shall; she ys oure parfyte mene.

Merito, fratres charissimi, mater sanctae Dei ge-

The name of Anne to say hyt ys but grace;
Ffor whyche, dere brethern, ye shall vndyrstond

netricis semperque virginis Mariae Anna dicitur, id est gratia, quia gratia plena est: in qua hereditas patris nostri Iacob magnificentius insignitur.

She ys of grace full of the hyghest place
In whom the herytage most surely doth stond
Of oure fadyr Iacob, lowsyng the bond
By hyr most ennobelyd magnificence,
Puttyng awey clene all vyolence.

Duodecim filii huius Iacob sacri palatii istius, scilicet Annae, fundamenti supportant maceriam: in sublime regiam insigniter erigunt structuram. Ezechias et Iosias, gloriosi reges, et incomparabili sanctitate fulgentes:

The twelue sonnes of Iacob veryly
Support the ground of the fundacion
Of the holy place of Anne truly.
They lyfte hit clene by hygh elacion,
The most noble regale formacion.
Ezechias and Ozias also,
Whyche byn bryght shynyng with other manymo

quasi preciosi lapides immensos vibrant radios, et in regiae genetricis Dei domus artificio fulgore mirabiliter praeminent copioso.

As precious stones incomperabyll
In the felyshyp yeuyng theyr beames;
And in the hous of the modyr stabyll
Regale of god hath sent out hys stremes
With so creftyous shynyng and lemes
No tong can tell how meruelously
Of the hygh influence copiously;

Inter quos Iudas et Levi potissimum praefulgent, ex quibus regnum et sacerdotium eiusdem gentis prodiit: eosque quasi duos parietes lapis Christus angularis in beatae matris Annae celebri formatione colligavit.

Among whom Iudas and Leui do shyne
Before all other there most myghtyly;
Of whom the kyngdom and presthode by lyne
Of the same pepyll ys gon out truly.
The corner stone Cryst hath bound hem surely
Togedyr as two stone walles most sure
In the blyssyd Anne, modyr clene and pure.

Haec est illa praeclara et sublimis structurae maceria: ex quorum propagine Deus Pater gloriosae genetricis unigeniti Filii sui singulare et novum dignatus est fabricare palatium.

In hyr holsom formacion onely
She ys that most clere matere copious
Of the hyghest beldyng to magnyfy;
Of the kynrede of whom god gloryous,
The fadyr all mighty most precyous,
Ffouchesafe to make a syngler place new;
Of the glorious modyr and vyrgyn trew; (183–245)

Here the three *lectiones* of the first Nocturne end and with them the part of the service derived from Osbert's sermon. But *Lectio iiii*, with which the

second Nocturne begins, is followed by the English poet with a fidelity that extends even to the repetitions. Like the *lectio* he again explains the occasion for assembling, etc. It is unnecessary to pursue these parallels further. The poet's method is abundantly clear. With the exception of a stanza about the Jews (*11.* 302–308) and a final stanza embodying a prayer for intercession in the poet's behalf the English poem continues to be a complete and unbroken paraphrase of the nine *lectiones* of the Breviary.

Albert C. Baugh,
University of Pennsylvania

REVIEWS

Francesco Addonizio, *La leggenda di S. Alessio nella Letteratura e nell'Arte.* Naples: P. Leone, 1930. Paper. Pp. 108. Lire 6.

When a reviewer who has published a couple of articles on a subject discovers that a book on the very same subject fails even to mention said articles, he must, of course, in self-protection, tactfully disguised under lofty principles of bibliographical thoroughness, demolish said book! This happens to be the case in reviewing the book by Father Addonizio, in which one would hope to find a thorough study of a legend which had such important and interesting literary developments. This hope, however, is utterly disappointed.

There is in it, to be sure, a thin exposition of the origins of the legend, a rather disorderly and inadequate synopsis of what is amply known through the *Acta Sanctorum* and through the works of Amiaud, Paris, Duchesne, Rajna, etc. The sequence of little chapters which make up this exposition is often interrupted by irrelevant and misplaced material (cf. chap. ix). The manifestations of the legend in Provençal, in old Italian, and in Art are suggested with masterly incompleteness. The bibliography, which is peculiarly placed in the middle of the book (pp. 59–61), shows, perhaps better than any other part, that total freedom from any encumbering ideas of scholarly method which is the chief attribute of this treatise. There are, furthermore, innumerable typographical errors.

One might give this book credit for presenting in Appendix i a transcription of a so far unpublished *Ritmo su Sant'Alessio* from a MS. of the Biblioteca Comunale of Ascoli Piceno, if the *Ritmo* in question were not merely a poor copy of one published twenty-four years ago, with splendid apparatus criticus, by the late Professor Monaci.[1] This transcription is followed by a so-called 'Ricostruzione e traduzione,' which neither reconstructs nor translates, and by a brief glossary, fragmentary and disheveled as the rest of the material. Nor does the reverend author, on the other hand, emphasize the moral message of the legend sufficiently to entice this wicked modern world of ours to imitate the renunciatory proclivities of the blessed Alexius, *buon' anima*!

The time is surely ripe for a complete treatment of the Legend of Saint Alexius, both in its oriental origins and in its literary development in Europe in the Middle Ages. Although the scholar who undertakes this large task may want to glance at the contribution of Father Addonizio, he will then have to proceed methodically, regardless of it. 'Nil actum reputa, si quid superest agendum,' a Lucanian motto, by the way, that seems, with all due respect, singularly applicable to Saint Alexius himself.

Rudolph Altrocchi,
University of California,
Berkeley

[1] E. Monaci, 'Artichissimo ritmo volgare sulla Legenda di Sant' Alessio', *Rendiconti della R. Accad. dei Lincei* (Rome, 1907), pp. 103–132.

PHILIP SCHUYLER ALLEN, *Medieval Latin Lyrics*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. viii+341. $4.00.

THE central issue debated in this finely printed and brilliantly written volume is one which must now be thoroughly familiar to readers of SPECULUM and to students generally of mediaeval Latin or mediaeval German lyric poetry. Professor Allen has concerned himself with it before in 'Mediaeval Latin Lyrics' (*Modern Philology*, vols. v–vi), in which he argued for the German provenience of many songs in the *Carmina Burana;* in the 'Mediaeval Mimus' (*ibid.*, vols. viii–ix), in which he combatted the theory that the Roman mime was the parent of the mediaeval minstrel; and finally in *The Romanesque Lyric*, where he examined the body of Latin poetry written before the eleventh century, rejoicing in every fragment which seemed to carry a note of personal or romantic emotion recognizable as 'modern' and to speak of a native and human rather than a merely imitative and academic origin. The general theory which Professor Allen opposes with all his practiced eloquence is formulated by him at the beginning of the present volume as the theory of 'continuity' and 'connexity.' The 'theory of continuity,' transferring to the products of the human mind the formulae of a 'half-understood Darwinianism,' insists that there can be no gaps in the history of literature and invites research to discover as many as possible of the missing links. The 'principle of connexity' assumes that very close relationships exist between poetic phenomena which on the surface appear to be only distantly related. In the field of the mediaeval lyric, this means that such close relationship exists between Latin amatory verse and the courtly poetry of Provence, France, and Germany. It gives rise to such judgments as those of Gaston Paris and Jeanroy that, because the manuscript of French lyrics precede those of their German congeners, minnesang must therefore have had its 'form and spirit' from France.

Such conclusions Allen stoutly denies. For him individual inspiration, racial background, and the spirit of the times are more important factors than literary tradition. There are jumps and discontinuities in the history of poetry, unaccountable infusions of new life which take possession of and transform the inherited medium. The present volume takes up the story at the point where *The Romanesque Lyric* left it, namely the tenth and eleventh centuries, traversing in more ample fashion the ground already covered by the *Modern Philology* articles (from which considerable portions are here reprinted). It also retraces some of the steps of the earlier volume. The first chapter deals with the origins of minnesang, and undertakes to show that songs which were sung in Germany may be distinctly German even if their dress is Latin. The second concludes that the Latin love songs generally are the product of a 'lyric mood' which was on the eleventh century. The third casts doubt on the proposition that the school

was the workshop where all mediaeval Latin verse was made and exhibits specimens of 'popular' Latin song, which were either 'widely disseminated' (and in that sense popular) or were themselves only reworkings of vernacular songs. The remainder of the volume discusses Irish influence, the social phenomenon of the Goliards, the growth of 'natural' poetry in the Carolingian age, the Mimus, and many other matters, in a 'most admired disorder.'

There can be no doubt that Allen's book makes interesting reading and it is well to be reminded that the patient work of historical scholarship, though it may in a sense satisfy the scientific mind, leaves the evolution of of poetry unexplained. The reviewer is in sympathy with the idea that vitality in artistic creation springs out of human emotion and that this emotion is a product of the life of its own time and place. He therefore welcomes as an engaging spectacle each new sally of this brilliant Don Quixote of the old romantic German generation, who has been exasperated to a new intensity, subtlety, and brilliance by the modern erudite challenge of its findings. The simple weakness of Professor Allen's work is that it no longer gets anywhere. He moves in circles on the same old axis. In the present volume he is not even, as he did in *The Romanesque Lyric*, exploring a relatively unfamiliar field. The hypothesis of native origins remains an hypothesis. The materials and records which would prove its truth do not exist, and Professor Allen reminds us too much at times of the gazer in a crystal sphere who beholds there the floating emanations of his own desire. It is a small matter that the book is entirely unindexed and undocumented. Its purpose, as announced in the Preface, was to be 'more interpretive in character and less the result of dry scholarly endeavor than has frequently thus far been the case.' As such it is in a measure successful. Professor Allen's literary enthusiasm for hitherto unnoticed qualities in Latin verse is contagious. His judgments are stimulating and often sound. But we cannot but experience a sense of relief in turning from this book to sober and systematic studies in the same field, or escape the thought that an unprejudiced descriptive account of mediaeval Latin poetry would in the long run prove more conducive to a proper understanding of its many interests and merits than does the prolongation of this debate.

James Holly Hanford
Western Reserve University

F. W. Buckler, *Hārūnu'l-Rashīd and Charles the Great*. Cambridge: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1931. Cloth. Pp. vii+64. $2.25.

The object of this essay is 'to analyze the relations between the Muslim world and the Frankish kingdom and to make a tentative restatement of the situation in the light of the available evidence and of the political

theory of Perso-Muslim monarchy' (p. 4). Professor Buckler's offering is broader in scope than previous contributions to the designated subject: it takes into account not only the recorded communications of the Carollingian monarchs with the 'Abbāsid[1] Caliphs and the Patriarchs of Jerusalem, but also the Muslim rivalries and Frankish intervention in Spain; and it connects these matters with the contest between Persia and Byzantium and with the politico-religious opposition of the Papacy to Constantinople. The author is persuaded that if the Frankish records — virtually the sole fount of information on the focal points in his discussion — are examined from the 'Abbāsid point of view, they disclose 'a political situation in the Muslim world which would provide the 'Abbāsids with a strong motive for intervening in the affairs of the West and for seeking to make use of the military and naval resources of the Franks'; he believes also that 'the results of the policy reveal, when considered in the light of Perso-Muslim political theory, a development of 'Abbāsid pretensions which culminated in a claim to overlordship over Spain through the medium of Pippin and Charles the Great.' Buckler judges it 'at least conceivable' that Charlemagne received from Hārūnu'l-Rashīd a 'grant of authority over Jerusalem and the Holy Places' (*ibid.*). But while undoubtedly the authority was political rather than moral, it must not be thought of as a 'protectorate' in the modern, technical sense. Charles acquired, perhaps unwittingly, 'a subordinate status within the 'Abbāsid Caliphate'; he was invested by Hārūnu'l-Rashīd with the double office 'of *amīr* of Spain and *walī* of Jerusalem' (p. 31, n. 1, pp. 34, 35). If this be true, then 'Hārūn's triumphs exceeded those of Alexander the Great, for he was lord, not only of the Muslim world, including a large part of Spain, but also of the Roman Empire, for . . . Irene had again acknowledged the tributary status . . . , and Charles had accepted his overlordship' (p. 36). The author ventures the opinion (Preface, p. vi) that 'there are few examples more striking in the relations between the East and the West than this episode, whose dramatic irony culminates in the Pope's doing homage to the accredited deputy of the successor of the Prophet of God!'

The reviewer will not impugn Buckler's formulation of the theory of Perso-Muslim monarchy (p. 32 *et passim*). Perhaps it is true that, according to this theory, the early 'Abbāsids could not have treated with other rulers as with equals. But a thesis resting on the assumption of unswerving adherence to theory seems precarious. Times there surely were when policy or exigency induced even the Sassanian King of Kings to ignore his political doctrine and deal with the Byzantine Emperors upon terms of

[1] For the sake of uniformity in the spelling of Arabic names and terms, the reviewer follows the system of transliteration used by the author.

equality.[1] And though Hārūnu'l-Rashīd reduced the Emperors of Constantinople to the status of vassals and tributaries, as Buckler shows (pp. 14–15, 17, 27, 37–38), it does not of necessity follow that he regarded Charlemagne as his vassal (pp. 32–33). On the contrary, is it not probable that the Caliph's attitude toward the King of the Franks would be very different from his attitude toward the Byzantine Basileus? After all, we find no suggestion that Hārūn ever demanded from Charles the payment of tribute, the two were never at war with one another, and their respective dominions were not contiguous; on the other hand, they did have certain interests in common, and conceivably these might predispose Hārūn to set aside his theories *ad hoc* and treat with Charles on a basis of equality. Einhard, so far from presenting the Caliph as overlord of the Frankish King, tells us that Hārūn 'gratiam eius [Karoli] omnium qui in toto orbe terrarum erant regum ac principum amicitiae praeponeret solumque illum honore ac munificentia sibi colendum iudicaret.'[2] In the terminology of the *Poeta Saxo* we have quite the reverse of 'strong evidence' (p. 33) that Charles was a vassal of Hārūn; for the lines in which the poet describes the Emperor's relations with the Caliph are obviously little more than a simple versification of the corresponding portion of Einhard's *Vita;* and the phrase *devinctus amore precipuo*, which according to Buckler signalizes the position of Charles as a member of 'the inner circle of Hārun's chief vassals,' is in very truth applied to the *Persarum princeps* himself! We seek in vain for evidence in the *Royal Annals*, Einhard's *Vita*, and the account of the Monk of Saint Gall, that Charles received from Hārūn a *vestis praecipua*, or special 'robe of honour,' the presentation and the acceptance of which implied respectively proclamation and acknowledgement of suzerainty (pp. 33–34). True it is that the *Annals* record a gift of *pallia sirica* and that the *Vita* refers to one of *vestes;* but in neither place is it indicated that more significance was attached to these garments than to the Caliph's other gifts presented at the same time; and the statement in the *Annals* that the *pallia* were *multa* as well as *preciosa*, hardly suggests a particular 'robe of honour.' The Monk of Saint Gall, though he informs us that Charles sent *pallia Fresonica* to Hārūn, fails to mention the Caliph's gift of robes; his story, therefore, taken as it stands, in no wise 'establishes . . . the gift of robes of honour to Charles.' Accordingly, when Buckler invokes in behalf of his interpretation (pp. 34–35) Māwardī's (eleventh-century) treatise on Mohammedan public law, he appears to beg the question. For though Māwardī defines an anomalous status in Muslim polity known as the 'imārat of conquest,' and though Buckler believes that this status 'corresponds . . .

[1] For proof, see Karl Güterbock, *Byzanz und Persien in ihren diplomatisch-völkerrechtlichen Beziehungen im Zeitalter Justinians* (Berlin, 1906).

[2] Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni Imperatoris*, c. 16, ed. L. Halphen (Paris, 1923), p. 46.

closely' with the position which he thinks Hārūn accorded to Charles, there is nothing to intimate that a Frankish King was ever invested with an 'imārat of conquest.'

The presentation of the Frankish involvements in Spain seems in part vitiated by the author's effort to bring the facts into harmony with his thesis. One reads with surprise that Muslim governors were retained in the cities of the Spanish March, and that the March itself had the status of a 'Muslim political unit' (pp. 23–24). Disconcerting it is to be informed that when Charles in 812 confirmed a peace with Cordova which unquestionably implied recognition in some sort of the Umayyads (cf. p. 40), he was, in the official view of Baghdād, the recognized champion and protector of 'Abbāsid interests in Spain (p. 24). The document cited as authority for this statement is a letter which Pope Leo III wrote to the Emperor in 813, to inform him, among other things, of a treaty arranged that year between Gregory, Byzantine Patricius of Sicily, and an embassy from Baghdād. While it is true that Charles had previously corresponded with Gregory, and probably had an interest in his negotiations with the Saracens, the reviewer can find no basis for Buckler's allegation that the Byzantine Patricius in concluding the treaty was acting for the Emperor of the Franks (p. 25). Under the influence of this misconception it would doubtless prove difficult to gain a clear understanding of the following passage in the papal letter:

> Ad haec [i.e. the objection of Gregory that no reliance could be placed in covenants made with the Saracens] respondebant ipsi Sarracenorum missi dicentes: 'Pater istius amiralmuminin, qui nunc apud nos regnare videtur, defunctus est, et iste relictus est parvulus. Et qui fuit servus, factus est liber; et qui liber fuit, effectus est dominus; et nullum se regem habere putabant. Sed ecce nunc, postquam omnia quae pater suus habuit sibi subiecit, vult firma stabilitate hoc, quod petimus, pactum servare. De Spanis autem non spondimus; quia non sunt sub dicione regni nostri. Sed in quantum valemus eos superare, sicut vos ita et nos contra illos in mare dimicare promittimus; etsi soli nos non valemus. Nos a parte nostra, et vos a vestra a christianorum finibus eos abiciamus.'[1]

Buckler, having taken the (probably correct) position that the *missi* in question represented the Caliph Al-Mā'mūn, discovers in the words *qui fuit servus* an allusion to Al-Mā'mūn's servile origin! *Relictus*, in the context *iste relictus est parvulus*, becomes a 'curious word . . . , which may well be a literal translation of the word *khalīfah'!* In the statement 'non sunt sub dicione regni nostri,' an area of authority for the Emperor of the Franks is said to be implied; while the sentence 'Nos a parte nostra, et vos a vestra, a christianorum finibus eos abiciamus' 'clearly indicates a sphere of activity handed over to Charles,' and, hence, 'it seems almost certain that Charles

[1] *Leonis III Epistolae*, no. 7, ed. Jaffé, *Monumenta Carolina* (*Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum*, IV, Berlin, 1867), p. 326.

was recognized as the representative of the Khalīfah in the West' (p. 25 and n. 1). It may be observed that if this were true, then the problem of explaining the Oriental historians' silence relative to Charlemagne would be much more difficult of solution than in fact it is — a consideration which Buckler in dealing with this problem (p. 41) seems to overlook.

The view that the Frankish King was appointed to 'the office of *walī* (*praepositus*) of Jerusalem' (p. 30), appears to have no firmer support in evidence than the contentions previously examined. Even if Charles in the year 800 received not only 'claves sepulchri Dominici ac loci calvariae cum vexillo' but, as the older version of the *Royal Annals* has it, 'claves etiam civitatis et montis' — which latter is open to doubt[1] — the fact remains that these emblems had been forwarded, not by the Caliph, but by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who, according to both versions of the *Annals*, sent them *benedictionis causa*. Buckler would reduce the importance of this phrase by limiting its application to what he terms 'the relics,' i.e., presumably (cf. p. 30, nn. 1 and 2), the keys of the Holy Sepulchre and of the place of Calvary — a construction for which the reviewer finds no sanction in the wording of the *Annals*. Withal it is difficult to believe that the Annalist would have introduced the mentioned phrase into his narrative if he had not intended to stress the point it conveys. And this point — that the Patriarch's presentation of the keys and the banner had a religious rather than a political significance — is in no way affected by the fact that Ḥasan, Saracen governor of Huesca, in 799 had sent the keys of his city to Charles, promising that he would yield it up *si opportunitas eveniret;* for Ḥasan, unlike the Patriarch of Jerusalem, did not present keys *benedictionis causa*. . . . Erroneous it is to speak of an 'impression produced on Einhard's mind that Jerusalem was placed within Charles's jurisdiction' (p. 30, n. 3). In that portion of the *Vita Karoli* to which Buckler refers, nothing is said of the city of Jerusalem as such, though it is asserted that Hārūn allowed the Holy Sepulchre to be ascribed to the power of Charles. Except this statement of Einhard, which has engendered suspicion because it lacks corroboration in the *Royal Annals*, we possess no contemporary testimony indicating that jurisdiction or authority or power was granted by Hārūn to Charles. For it cannot be proved that the Monk of Saint Gall drew from 'some first-hand account' (p. 28, n. 5) the (to all appearance spurious) speech in which the Caliph declares that he will give Palestine into the power of Charles and himself be the Emperor's *advocatus . . . super eam*. However much or little this alleged deliverance 'corresponds . . . to the forms of Oriental court practice' (*ibid.*), obviously such correspondence does not *per se* establish

[1] See E. Joranson, 'The Alleged Frankish Protectorate in Palestine,' *American Historical Review*, XXXII (1927), p. 246, n. 22.

the authenticity of the speech. It is a legitimate assumption that if Einhard had known of a grant of Palestine with its revenues (!) to Charlemagne, then he, as biographer and eulogist of the Emperor, would not have reduced the munificent donation to a mere bestowal of power over the Holy Sepulchre. And what reason is there to suppose that the garrulous and fiction-loving Monk of Saint Gall, writing more than two generations after the death of Charles, in this particular matter had access to original sources of information that were unknown to Einhard?

While Professor Buckler's thesis appears to lack the necessary foundation in evidence, his monograph as a whole is not devoid of value. It supplements our reasons for believing that there really were political and perhaps ecclesiastical grounds for the diplomatic exchanges of the Frankish monarchs with the Caliphs of Baghdād, and that (Appendix III) the elephant delivered to Charles in 802 verily was a gift of Hārūn. Both of these points were denied by the Russian scholar Barthold, of whose detailed article on this subject Buckler supplies a useful page-by-page summary in English (Appendix I). In dealing with the difficulties presented by the chronology of Cosmas, Patriarch of Alexandria, the author evinces not a little ingenuity, and the solution he offers seems not unplausible (Appendix II). Ingenious also, if too hypothetical to be fully convincing, is his argument, reprinted in part from a previous publication, that 'the gorgeous *pallium*, in which the monks wrapped the body of Saint Cuthbert in 1104,' was one of the vestments forwarded by Hārūnu'l-Rashīd to Charlemagne (Appendix IV and also p. 42). Save for two or three slips, the bibliography of 135 items has been carefully compiled and it is conveniently arranged. The work contains some typographical errors but they seem not sufficiently serious to be catalogued.

Einar Joranson,
University of Chicago

Casinensia. Miscellanea di Studi Cassinesi Pubblicati in Occasione del XIV Centenario della Fondazione della Badia di Montecassino. Montecassino, 1929. 2 vols. Cloth. Vol. I, viii + 304; Vol. II, 305–614.

In these volumes the fourteenth centenary of the foundation of the Monastery of Monte Cassino is worthily celebrated. Thirty-seven studies, contributed for the most part by Italian, German, and American scholars, reflect the importance of Monte Cassino in the history of mediaeval civilization, and attest a perennial interest in the monastery situated so beautifully on its mountain above the valleys of the Liri and the Rapido.

It is impossible here to describe all the studies in detail. Some of them are not intended as new contributions to our knowledge of the position of Monte Cassino in history; others are concerned with Cassinese history in

the Renaissance and after, though Barone's description of Mabillon's visit to Monte Cassino will attract the attention of mediaevalists. Many of the studies, however, deserve more than the bare mention which must be made of them.

Of the articles on the general history of the monastery, we note Falco's detailed history of Monte Cassino in the eighth and ninth centuries; Carusi's study of the *Memoratorium* of Abbot Bertario, a list of the Cassinese possessions in the Abruzzi at the end of the ninth century; Sthamer's determination of the legal position of the Rocca Janula with regard to Monte Cassino on the one hand and to the Kingdom of Sicily on the other; Sella's analysis of the statute of San Germano of 1285–1288; and Monsignor Angelo Mercati's edition of three documents in the Vatican Archives relating to the election, voided by Pope Benedict XII in 1340, of Giacomo di Piumarola as bishop of Monte Cassino. Of particular importance is Dom Mauro Inguanez' careful examination of the chronology of the abbots of Monte Cassino in the thirteenth century.

Studies in the cultural history of Monte Cassino, on the activity of the scriptorium, on the manuscript treasures now in the library, and on the 'south-Italian intellectual renaissance' of the eleventh century, are more numerous. Noteworthy is Lowe's reëxamination of the question of the date of the Laurentian *MS. 68.2*, which is our 'unique MS. of Tacitus' *Histories* and the latter part of the *Annals*.' He concludes that the MS. was copied at Monte Cassino during the abbacy of Richerius, 1038–1055, who, as a German, was interested in Tacitus, and that the archetype used by the eleventh century copyist was written in Rustic Capitals before 500. Lowe does not mention F. Grat's theory that MS. *Vat. 1958*, fifteenth century, is derived from an archetype of which the Laurentian MS. is another copy, and is superior in value to the eleventh-century MS. Grat's method is, however, according to Professor E. K. Rand, suspect. The manuscript treasures at Monte Cassino receive attention in descriptions by Funaioli, of a fragmentary MS. (eleventh century) of Vergil; by Ussani, of scattered members of a MS. (eleventh century) of the so-called Hegesippus; by Ferretti of the MSS., before the thirteenth century, of Gregorian music; and by Trifone, of a collection of writings on canon and civil law in *MS. 136ZZ* (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries). Bartholomaeis edits two mediaeval French moral poems, preserved in *MS. 379*, thirteenth century, on the symbol of the flowers and on a miracle of the Virgin.

It is well known how much Professor C. H. Haskins has contributed toward revealing the evolution of treatises on the epistolary art. In the present study, he describes the known works of Alberic of Monte Cassino, again points out that Alberic was not the author of the *Rationes dictandi* which Rockinger attributed to him, and shows that, 'whereas to the *dictatores* of

the twelfth century rhetoric meant little more than the practical art of writing letters, Alberic still represents the broader and more humane tradition of other aspects of composition and of the imitation of ancient models of prose and verse.' Haskins thinks that the so-called *Mythographus tertius Vaticanus* may possibly be attributed to Alberic, and edits two prefatory chapters of it in a fifteenth century MS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale. A student of Haskins, Henry M. Willard, describes the *Lexicon prosodiacum* (Cod. *Casinensis 580T*, eleventh century), a handbook for the composition of of metrical poetry, important as 'an interesting sidelight on the subject of the revival of classics as a salient factor in the south-Italian renaissance of the eleventh century.'

Several other studies deserve mention, but of these there is space only for noticing a contribution to the body of mediaeval Latin verse by Amelli, who edits Leo IX's poem, *Oratio rithmica*, composed at Benevento 1053–1054; and Capparoni's description of the MS., in the Vallicelliana, of a student's summary of Alfano's treatise *De quattuor humoribus*, which, he thinks, is pre-Constantinian in that it represents the pure tradition of Greco-Latin medicine in the school of Salerno.

These volumes of *Casinensia*, beautifully printed and adorned with woodcuts, are a revelation of what a small printing establishment — at Sora — can do. But the greatest praise must go to Dom Mauro Inguanez, who modestly refuses to reveal that he edited the studies. Abbot Desiderius might well be proud of the intellectual activity at Monte Cassino in the twentieth century.

GAINES POST,
Harvard University

FATHER CUTHBERT, O.S.F.C., *The Capuchins, A Contribution to the History of the Counter-Reformation.* New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1929. Cloth. Pp. 475.

THIS work deals with an important phase of Franciscan history never yet presented so fully in English. Volume I contains an account of the origin and development of the Capuchin Reform, while Volume II is devoted to the spread and the work of the Order throughout Europe.

Due to differences in the ideal of poverty to be observed by the brethren, the year 1517 found the great Franciscan family divided into two groups, *viz.*, the Conventuals, observing the Rule of St Francis in a mitigated form, and the Observants, professing the Rule with stricter fidelity. Soon, however, even in the body of the Observants, there is noted a spirit of relaxation deemed discordant with the primitive Franciscan ideal. Hence, in 1525, Matteo da Bascio, a zealot for primitive observance, set out from the friary of Montefalcone in the Marches of Ancona with the purpose of seeking an audience with Clement VII in the city of Rome. Convinced that

the spirit of Franciscan poverty and observance was on the decline among the Observants, Matteo hoped for a papal concession whereby he might wear again the primitive Franciscan habit and observe the Rule to the letter. Realizing, however, that were his request granted, he would be an unwelcome exception among his brethren, he further asked for permission to live apart in the practice of penance and in the preaching of the Commandments. The request was granted, but with the proviso that he present himself to his provincial at the yearly chapter.

Unconsciously and unintentionally, Matteo became the inspiration and forerunner of the great Franciscan Reform to be known later as the Capuchin. For scarcely had his privilege become known when two other friars, Lodovico and Raffaele da Fossombrone, one a priest and the other a lay brother, both went to Rome seeking not only a personal privilege like Matteo, but rather permission to establish an eremitical community intent on following the Rule in its primitive strictness. A brief was issued by the Grand Penitentiary, Cardinal Pucci, permitting these two friars the privilege already granted Matteo. But no sooner did they begin their new mode of life than their Father Provincial, Giovanni da Fano, stoutly opposed them. As they had no papal rescript, the provincial treated them as recalcitrants and fugitives. However, the little band of three was not to be dismayed by persecution. Sheltered first by the Camaldolese hermits at Massaccio, they later found a powerful friend and protectress in the Duchess Caterina Cibo. Using her influence as niece to the pope, she petitioned Clement VII to grant the two supplicants permission to live an eremitical life under the Rule of St Francis, to wear the beard and habit with the square hood sewn thereto, and to receive clerics and even religious of whatsoever Order, provided they have asked leave of their superiors. The Bull *Religionis Zelus* granting the request was issued on July 3, 1528. The fraternity was thus established and placed under the protection of the Conventual Friars Minor, but was to be governed directly by a superior from its own ranks having authority similar to that of a provincial. Despite the apostasy of one of its most influential and learned members, Fra Bernardino Ochino, Vicar General in 1538, the fraternity continued to grow so that in 1562, when the Council of Trent resumed its sittings, the Vicar General of the Capuchin Reform was invited to the Council and given a place among the Generals of the Mendicant Orders.

In the papal Bull *Religionis Zelus* the fraternity was styled Friars Minor of the eremitical life — *de vita heremetica.* But the name was not to cling long to them. Distinguished for their long hoods they were soon called *Frati Scapuccini* — hooded friars — and Roman writers also soon adopted that popular name softening it into Capuccini. In English they are called Capuchins.

The new Reform unfolded throughout its history a great activity, especially in furnishing popular preachers at home and apostolic missionaries in pagan lands. For four hundred years the Capuchins have been in demand as popular missionaries and retreat masters, and for well-nigh two hundred years they have had the distinction of supplying the apostolic preacher to the Vatican in Advent, Lent and on certain festivals. Although it was not until 1587 that the Capuchins assumed responsibility for 'missions amongst the infidels,' individuals such as Juan Zuaze de Medina and Giovanni da Troia made the great adventure in Constantinople, Cairo, and other strongholds of paganism.

In the course of its history the Capuchin Order has produced many outstanding men; notably Fra Felice, a lay brother, canonized by the voice of the Roman people at his death in 1587; Le Père Ange de Joyeuse, nobleman of France; St Fidelis of Sigmaringen, missionary to the Protestants of Switzerland; St Lawrence of Brindisi, the learned General of the Order, scholar, preacher, and diplomat. Due notice must also be given to the wealth of Capuchin devotional and polemical literature dealing with the heretical teachings of the day. As a result of crossing the Alps in 1574, the Capuchins came early into direct contact with militant Protestantism and by their fearless preaching and controversial writings contributed much to the Counter-Reformation, thus playing an important part in the religious life of the Reformation period.

The *Capuchins*, as presented by Father Cuthbert, is a good piece of research thoroughly and scientifically done, and the best in English on the subject.

Claude Vogel,
Catholic University of America

Eleanor Shipley Duckett, *Latin Writers of the Fifth Century*. New York: Holt, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xviii+271. $2.50.

This volume represents the work of two years when Miss Duckett, on leave of absence from her professorship at Smith College, held the Ottilie Hancock fellowship for literary research at Girton College; and it is fittingly introduced to the public by the Reverend Eric Milner-White of King's College, Cambridge. The author's foreword comments on the interest of 'the century that saw the Fall of the Western Empire, the hard dying of pagan worship and the growing pains of the Church Catholic in the world as in the cloister,' and on the value of a study of the period which may help to build 'a bridge' between the literature of pagan Rome and that of the Middle Ages. Pages xv–xviii give a list of the chief historical events from the accession of Honorius in 395 through the capture of Ravenna by Theodoric in 493, and the following page lists the important literary dates of the

century. Extensive notes, a short bibliography for each chapter, and a two-page general bibliography are placed at the end of the volume.

The book proper starts with a compact account of the background of the fifth century writings, and then takes up these writings under topical headings, beginning with 'Secular Poetry' and ending with 'Secular Prose,' and inserting between these two 'The Poets of Biblical History,' 'Historical Events in Christian Poetry,' 'Christian Prose,' and 'Monastic Writings of the West in the Fifth Century.' The fixing of definite limits for the book and for its chapters leads to certain illogical features. Claudian and Augustine are included in the volume, since some of the most important work of each falls after 400, but the *Confessions* of Augustine, written before this date, are merely alluded to in passing, and the poems of Claudian written between 395 and 399 are dismissed in two brief paragraphs. And the chapter on 'The Poets of Biblical History' includes (apparently simply on grounds of convenience) a discussion of the prose *Chronica* of Sulpicius Severus.

The main emphasis of the book, as the chapter headings would indicate, is on Christian literature, and the section on the two great religious leaders of the time, Jerome and Augustine, is especially clear and full. The opening pages of the chapter on monastic writings give an admirable sketch of the development of monasticism, and the extracts from Sulpicius Severus and Cassian which follow are chosen with discrimination and made doubly significant by the skill with which they are paraphrased or translated. But secular authors are not neglected; and both Claudian in the first chapter and Martianus Capella in the last receive spirited characterizations.

The book is not easy reading. The allusions to events and people of the fifth century presuppose a detailed knowledge such as few laymen are likely to possess, and 'the hand of rhetoric' which rested on the writers of the fifth century has, perhaps naturally, touched this criticism of them, leaving a style that is difficult but involved. Periodic sentences, a word order that would be clear in an inflected language like Latin but is not so immediately evident in English, and a vocabulary that includes 'watch' in the sense of *vigilare* and 'precious' in the sense of *précieux*, force the reader to proceed slowly and thoughtfully.

But time given to the book is well spent. From the opening page, the reader is impressed with the sound scholarship behind the volume, the extensiveness of the author's reading, both in the Latin writings of the period which she discusses and in modern critical work, English, French, and German. There is a richness of general background, too: the discussion of Victorinus, Avitus, and Dracontius looks back to Vergil and forward to Milton; the account of the influence of Martianus Capella shows a wide acquaintance with mediaeval literature and art. One may disagree with Miss Duckett's conclusions on the much-discussed question of Claudian's pagan-

ism, and one may question a few minor points, such as the statement (p. 254, note 4) that the title *Satyricon*, sometimes given to the *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, was due to the rôle played by Satura in the story (which completely leaves out of account the resemblance of Martianus Capella's work in form to the famous *Satyricon* of Petronius and to Menippean satire in general); but on the whole the reasoning is sound and is amply supported by citations from the authors themselves and from modern authorities. Miss Duckett has been especially generous with quotations from the authors under discussion; these are given in English translation, in prose, blank verse, or rhymed stanzas, depending on the form of the original. With the exception of a few lines of the verse translation, where the expression is so condensed or the word order so involved as to send one to the Latin original for a clearer understanding of the passage, these versions are admirable, and the rendering of Claudian's 'Old Man of Verona' is especially charming.

Cornelia C. Coulter,
Mount Holyoke College

William J. Entwistle *et al.*, edd., *The Year's Work in Modern Language Studies*, Vol. I (Year ending 30 June 1930). Oxford University Press. Pp. xiii+194. Cloth. American price $2.25.

John J. Parry *et al.*, edd., *A Bibliography of Critical Arthurian Literature for the Years 1922–1929*. New York: Modern Language Association, 1931. Paper. Pp. iv+59. $.75.

At a moment when all bibliographical aids are not only extremely welcome but almost a vital necessity if scholars are not to become mere cataloguers and collectors of titles, both the volumes here noticed will unquestionably meet with a hearty reception.

The *Year's Work in Modern Language Studies* has been planned as a serial year-book parallel to the admirable *Year's Work in English Studies;* in view of the great diversity of subject-matter which falls within its scope, it is not to be reasonably expected that the first issue should quite equal its elder brother. It promises, however, a bright future as soon as it has, so to speak, got under way and 'caught up.' The Middle Ages are well represented, and mediaevalists will be gratified to find the volume opening with a four-page report from F. J. E. Raby. Romance (including Italian, French, Provençal, Catalan, Spanish, Portuguese, and Rumanian) looms up very large. Celtic (including Irish, Welsh, and Scottish Gaelic — there is nothing on Breton) has a place. Unfortunate and unforeseen circumstances forced the editors to omit Scandinavian this year; when the Scandinavian section is finally organized it is to be hoped that Modern Icelandic and Faroese will not be passed by and that due attention will be given to studies in the Icelandic scholarly journals. Surely a place will be found in the early future

for Slavic in all its variety, mediaeval and Neo-Greek, and Ugro-Finnish, all of which offer rather more that is interesting than Basque (worked into the Romance section). Frisian is woven into the fabric of Dutch; it would be a convenience to isolate in some way this little field, at the moment almost fashionable. The progress of this latest manifestation of English bibliographical enterprise will be watched with all best wishes.

In their Arthurian bibliography, Mr. Parry and his collaborators have conferred a veritable boon on mediaevalists in general and, of course, on Arthurian specialists in particular, by issuing this splendid current bibliography, which in its way brings Bruce's *Evolution* up to date. Not counting a perfect host of reviews, the list mounts up to the impressive figure of 686 items arranged alphabetically by author. An index of titles of original works and mediaeval authors, together with a few appropriate subject-entries, make the whole easy to use. If similar lists could be printed at intervals of four or five years it might be possible, without inflicting too great a burden on the editors, to give a hint of the character of the less obvious items, especially where these are found in periodical publications not to be got at except in the very large libraries.

Francis P. Magoun, Jr
University of Strasbourg

Joan Evans, *Pattern: A study of Ornament in Western Europe, 1180 to 1900*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1931. Cloth. Vol. I, xxxvi+179; Vol. II, xv+249. $50.

The wide range which the title of this book implies is indicative of its contents. Although the writer explains in her introduction in what manner she has limited her subject, it yet includes as widely different types of decoration as arcades and other structural ornament on the one hand and on the other, illuminated pages, textiles and tiles. The subject is further complicated by the different points from which it has been viewed. The primary interest seems to be interpretative, with attempts to relate the forms of ornament to the conditions of their creation and in this connection there is a large amount of anecdotal detail. But there is also an interest in the more technical aspects of design and considerable interweaving of aesthetic appraisal and philosophic comment.

The first volume is concerned with the mediaeval period; the second devotes one of its six chapters to the renaissance and baroque, another to the Far East, the third and most of the fourth to the eighteenth century and the other three primarily to the nineteenth century. The author is well aware of the low level of decoration at the close of the nineteenth century, as her admirably selected examples show. But it seems a pity that so inclusive a book should come to a close on a Ruskinian note and should devote less than a page to the last thirty years, finding in contemporary decoration

only 'forms austere to bareness' and in our modern appreciation of simplicity only 'the mark of our sophistication.'

Students of art will find the book valuable for its encyclopaedic character, though one notes with regret the omission of some outstanding examples, especially in renaissance ornament; and for the discriminating selection of the subjects for the 435 plates, made from photographs of material gathered from all over Europe. In typographic excellence and binding the book is a fine example of the sumptuous publications for which the Oxford University Press is famous.

Myrtilla Avery,
Wellesley College

H. G. Farmer, *The Organ of the Ancients*. London: William Reeves, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xxiii +185. 15s. 6d.

With his customary erudition, Dr Farmer has rendered a great service to historians of music by making available in English translation descriptions of the organ found in Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic sources. Many of these appear in print for the first time. As a result of his careful scholarship, our knowledge of the mediaeval organ is considerably enlarged.

As Dr Farmer points out (p. xvii), the book is in no wise intended as a connected history of the organ. There is a chapter on the term 'organ,' and another on the invention of the instrument, which completely dissipates Ktēsibios' claim as its originator. There follows a discussion of the *magrephah* and the *hydraulis* among the Hebrews, and a collection of Syrian references to the organ in general. There are appendices on Herōn's *hydraulis* and Kircher's automatic hydraulic organ. The heart of the book is contained in the chapters on the Arabian organ and its place in Europe. These four chapters clarify and amplify much that has appeared before in Dr Farmer's many brochures on Arabian music. Thus, he explains precisely the claim which he makes for Arabian mechanical genius with respect to the Arabian organ in Europe. He does not assert that the Arabs reintroduced the organ as an instrument into Europe. What he does say is that they reintroduced the organ in its most complicated form, namely, the *hydraulis*. While this statement has appeared before in his writings, its confused wording and context have previously led to misunderstanding. Happily, the present exposition is quite clear (p. 150 ff.).

The questions which might be raised may well seem captious in view of the general excellence of the work. Dr Farmer distinguishes three types of organ. He says: 'the term *pneumatic organ* is used in reference to all mechanically wind-fed instruments where the wind supply and wind pressure stabilisation are furnished by bellows or pistons. The term *hydraulic organ* is used for any instrument where the wind supply comes from a hydraulic air

compressor, whilst the term *hydraulis* is reserved for the instrument furnished with a hydraulic pressure stabiliser' (p. 7, n. 1). This is a very clear distinction which is valuable for the reader. For the most part, Dr Farmer is amply justified in assigning particular references to one of the three types distinguished, for the descriptions are sufficient, However, where he deals similarly with the mediaeval organ in Europe, he is not so happy.

As he indicates (pp. 1–6, 147, n. 3), the term *Organum* is capable of several translations. It may mean simply 'instrument' in general, the organ, or even part singing. In most cases, any clues to the precise meaning of a particular Latin reference must be furnished by the context, which is rarely clear. This has led to a decided difference of opinion. A case in point is the reference to *organa* in Fortunatus.[1] Some scholars believe that the poet referred specifically to the organ.[2] Farmer, following another tradition, believes that the allusion is to instruments in general (p. 147, n. 3). Both interpretations are justifiable. Where the context is so confusing that critics are not unanimous in agreeing that the reference is even to the instrument, Dr Farmer's certainty in several cases that the term refers to a specific type of organ is mystifying. It is particularly bewildering when he translates *organum hydraulicum*[3] as *hydraulis* (pp. 143, 148, 149, 156). One wonders whether this was a deliberate attempt to indicate the presence of the *hydraulis* in ninth-century Europe in order that the Arabs might have the honor of reintroducing it.

There is one more detail, a very minor one, which might be noted. Dr Farmer says, 'The credit of having introduced or reintroduced the *organ* into Western Europe belongs to the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Copronymus, who, we know, presented an instrument of this sort to King Pépin in 757' (p. 146). This statement rests on the assumption that the Merovingian references to the word *organum* do not allude to the mechanical instrument, but simply to instruments in general. This is a possible interpretation. But to imply that an instrument widely known since the fourth century B.C. had died out after the fifth century A.D., to be reintroduced in the ninth century A.D., simply because there are no detailed references to it in the Latin sources of the intervening centuries seems somewhat irrational. One of the great difficulties encountered by the historian who

[1] *Carmina* ii, 9 (*Mon. Germ. Hist., A.A.*, xi, 39).

[2] Cf. M. Gerbert, *De Cantu et Musica Sacra a Prima Ecclesiae Aetate usque ad Praesens Tempus* (Saint Blasien, 1774), i, 271, n. a.

[3] The references are to the *Annales Einhardi*, anno 826, (*Mon. Germ. Hist., SS.*, i, 359); Einhard, *Historia translationis beatorum martyrum Marcellini et Petri*, (*Ibid*, xv, 260); and to William of Malmesbury, *Gesta rerum Anglorum*, i, 276. The latter reference is to Gerbert's activities. It is surprising that Dr Farmer should cite the legendary account of the twelfth century of Gerbert's interest in the organ.

tries to reconstruct the life of a bygone era is that many of the most common everyday details are lost to him simply because no one thought them worth recording. Of course, the argument from silence is always dangerous. It is precarious to advance the proposition that the organ lived on in western Europe after the fifth century despite the paucity of references to it. But it is equally dangerous to assume its disappearance. This is particularly true in the case of Dr Farmer, whose great learning and interest in the Arabian genius would naturally lead him to emphasize its contribution to mediaeval life at the expense of mediaeval Europe.

Helen Robbins Bittermann,
Columbus, Ohio

Dorothy Hartley, *The Old Book: A Mediaeval Anthology*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xx+318.

The Old Book shows Miss Hartley's ability to present the life of a bygone age in attractive form. The beautiful paper and print should delight any reader, and Miss Hartley has supplied fifteen full-page illustrations (four of them in color) and a generous number of head- and tail-pieces and marginal sketches, some of which turn up as a happy surprise in the Index. Miss Hartley herself has written a whimsical proem to the volume, and Professor Saintsbury contributes a very appreciative introduction.

The book contains over three hundred selections, ranging in length from two lines to ten pages, and grouped under eight headings: Of the Land; Of the People; Of the Household; Of Travellers' Tales; Of Doctors and Science; Of Beasts; Of Fears and Ghosts; Of Curses and Prayers. Aside from the names that march gaily across the inside cover with a blithe disregard of chronological sequence, there is no general list of sources. A few selections are printed with the name of the author in heading or notes, and in perhaps eight cases a date is given. Items on pp. 4 and 19 are quoted from 'Rogers' — presumably Thorold Rogers' *History of Agriculture and Prices in England.* Certain selections will be easily recognized: Cædmon's story of the creation of Eve, and the lines following the expulsion from Eden; a number of extracts from *Piers Plowman*; Jonah in the whale's belly and Jonah under the woodbine, from *Patience*; parts of *The Parlement of Foules* and *The Nun's Priest's Tale*; several incidents from *The Voyage of St Brendan*; ballads like *The Cherry Tree Carol* and *The Boy and the Mantle*; Froissart's account of the siege of Calais, the battle of Cressy, and the capture of Edinburgh by Sir William Douglas. Other extracts, notably in the section on 'The Household,' are much less familiar, and set the reader to wondering along what bypaths Miss Hartley discovered them.

The treatment of all the texts is free. An incident from Matthew Paris is given in English translation, but with no hint as to who is responsible

for the quaint phrasing (p. 26). Middle English texts like *Piers Plowman* and *The Assumption of Our Lady* are modernized. The story of the roper's wife from *The Book of the Knight of La Tour Landry* is presented in so abridged a form that it almost loses its point (p. 81). Elsewhere lines or stanzas are omitted, a modern word is substituted for an obsolete, and occasionally, it would seem, a change is made in the text simply in the interests of propriety. Misprints are numerous; among the most glaring may be mentioned: *locus clasicus* (p. x); *playright* (p. xxiii); *tha the* (for *that he*, p. 31); *prynate* (p. 119); *rismir* (p. 120); *gramatical* (rhyming with *metuite*, p. 121); *Deo Gracious* (p. 287).

The anthology is clearly not adapted to scholarly work; but if one is content to take it in the mood in which Miss Hartley presents it, as 'the happy muddled drift of ghosts from afar,' bearing 'a roping of lore, a handfull of learning, a song or a toy,' one may pass a number of pleasant hours with it.

Cornelia C. Coulter,
Mount Holyoke College

F. A. Heinichen, *Lateinisch-deutsches Schulwörterbuch*, 10te Auflage, mit Berücksichtigung ausgewählter mittellateinischer Schriftsteller, bearb. von H. Bauer, K. Catholy, H. Walther, u.a. Leipzig: Teubner, 1931. Cloth. Pp. lvi+648. RM 14.

Heinichen's *Dictionary* has been long and favorably known to all classicists familiar with German schoolroom instruction. The latest edition now bears witness to a broadening of the list of Latin texts set before young German students, since it is the first such lexicon to make any attempt toward embodying some portion of the mediaeval Latin vocabulary. The editors were naturally unable to cover the whole mediaeval Latin field, but have recorded the usage of only those authors and monuments of mediaeval Latin which have become current in German school reading during the last decade either as a whole or as excerpted in such collections as Alfers' *Mittellateinisches Lesebuch*, Henze-Schlossareck's *Germania Latina*, and other textbooks of similar scope. In so far as mediaeval Latin has been considered, the new edition of Heinichen thus does not pretend to give more than a cross-section of vocabulary. Specifically mediaeval words are printed in somewhat smaller type than the rest of the contents, and special mediaeval usages of classical words are similarly indicated. No passage references to mediaeval authors are furnished except in the case of Jordanes, but the complete texts of Einhard's *Vita Caroli Magni* and Ekkehard's *Waltharius* have been taken into consideration in preparing the mediaeval word list. The specifically mediaeval usages covered in the new edition include some 13,000 items. In itself an interesting innovation, this new contribution to German classical studies points emphatically to the advisability, not of re-

stricting the study of the classical languages in accordance with certain regrettable features of modern American educational policy, but rather of extending their utility as instruments for increasing effective study of history and civilization.

Samuel H. Cross,
Harvard University

Walther Holtzmann, *Papsturkunden in England.* 1. Band, *Bibliotheken und Archive in London:* I, *Berichte und Handschriftenbeschreibungen:* II, *Texte.* (Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse, neue Folge, Band XXV, 1, 2.) Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1930, 1931. Paper. Pp. 658.

This work was suggested by Dr Paul Kehr, whose conduct, direction, and inspiration of research is resulting in the systematic publication of inedited papal documents issued before 1198. Dr Holtzmann plans to publish the papal letters of this period found in English archives in three volumes. The present volume contains those discovered in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, St Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, Lambeth Palace, St Bartholomew's Hospital, the College of Arms, and the Society of Antiquaries, except certain bulls reserved for collation with copies preserved in archives outside of London. The second volume will include those located in cathedral archives and libraries, and the third those in Oxford, Cambridge, private archives, and the remainder of the archives of London.

The first part of the first volume presents a brief account of the fate of the English monastic archives, short histories of the collections deposited in the archives examined, descriptions of the manuscripts in which papal documents of the period are to be found, and lists of the documents discovered. Each bull listed is identified by the name of the pope, the date, and the opening words of the text. The bulls which have been summarized in Jaffé and Loewenfeld's *Regesta* are indicated. This portion of the volume not only provides a critical apparatus for the documents edited, but also serves as a valuable working-list of the cartularies in the archives reported. The manuscripts containing *papalia* are mainly cartularies, and the editor places in the list many cartularies which include no papal documents written before 1198. The first part thus supplements extensively T[homas] P[hillipps'] *Index to Cartularies now and formerly existing since the Dissolution of the Monasteries* (Middle Hill Press, 1839), and the lists in *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica* (7 vols., London, 1834–1841) and in *A Guide to the Victoria History of the Counties of England* (London, n. d.).

In the second volume, 346 documents are published *in extenso*. Three or four of these are included because they throw light on the papal court or household. The remainder consists entirely of those letters issued by the popes before 1198 which are not recorded in Jaffé and Loewenfeld's *Regesta*,

or which are summarized in that work from incomplete copies. Though many of them have been published elsewhere, a considerable group is edited here for the first time. Forty-one are originals; the others are copies. In many instances the editor has found and collated more than one copy. Only four of the documents are dated earlier than 1100, and of these three are spurious. Three hundred of the documents were issued after 1150. Most of the documents are concerned with monastic affairs. They consist mainly of grants of protection, confirmations of property and rights in which the possessions of the monastery are often enumerated in detail, confirmations of appropriations of churches, delegations of papal authority to try appealed cases, and privileges of various sorts. Only a few, such as the letters dealing with the controversy between Henry I and Anselm, are of broader interest.

The editing appears to have been done skilfully and thoroughly, in accordance with the best canons of modern historical criticism. The critical apparatus is adequate. For the study of papal and English ecclesiastical history in the twelfth century the volume is essential.

W. E. Lunt,
Haverford College

János Horváth, *A Magyar Irodalmi Müveltség Kezdetei Szent Istvántól Mohácsig* (*The Beginnings of Hungarian Letters from St. Stephen to 1526.*) Budapest: Magyar Szemle Társaság, 1931. Paper. Pp. 311.

Professor Horváth's new manual is a significant landmark in the research accomplished of late in the field of mediaeval Hungarian letters. Owing to peculiar circumstances, the Middle Ages lasted longer in Hungary than in Western Europe, and thus the field covered by him extends until 1526, the year which marks the end of Hungary's national independence for centuries to come. Horváth does not call his work a history of Hungarian literature; in view of the scarcity of literary monuments, he had to include a great deal of material which, strictly speaking, is outside the domain of ordinary literary history. To the non-Hungarian mediaevalist, the chief interest of the résumé lies in the author's fine and keen analysis of mediaeval literary *mores* which were in Hungary fundamentally akin to conditions in Western Europe. A literary language had to be created in Hungary as well. Traditions of the Roman world had at all times been alive and active in the West. In Hungary, on the contrary, the written and primitive vernacular of a nomad Shamanistic tribe had to be adapted to literary use, a formidable task, since the structure of this tongue differed organically from the mold to which Romance, Teutonic, and Slavic dialects lent themselves with comparative ease. Language, however, has no autonomous existence; radical linguistic changes do not consist in mere mechanical modifications of the

speech organism — they point to shifts in culture and occasionally to a transubstantiation in the psyche of an entire nation.

Thus, the difficulties with which the anonymous writer of the first Hungarian literary monument in the vernacular — a funeral sermon with a prayer attached, composed and translated *ca.* 1200 — had to grapple, cannot be overstated; aside from the technicalities of writing, which he as a Roman Catholic logically borrowed from Latin to the good fortune of Hungarian letters, his labors may be compared to those of Ulfilas, though on a much smaller scale, to be sure. Before him, only stray words had found their way into Latin law-books, documents, and other miscellaneous writings of the two preceding centuries. The funeral sermon remained the *pièce de résistance* of Hungarian letters until the end of the Árpád dynasty (1301). Scanty monuments of a literary character as well as allusions to the existence of epic and lyrical poetry in the vernacular are encountered until the end of the fourteenth century, but literature in the stricter acceptance of the term did not begin in the Magyar tongue until the fifteenth century.

The objection may be raised that this tardiness must have been due to Magyar antipathy to Western ideals. At any rate, the author attributes it to the fact that literacy, with all the rudiments of culture, manuscripts, and scholars, had to be imported into Hungary from abroad. As late as the fourteenth century, there were still members of the clergy, of no mean rank in the hierarchy of the Church, who had not mastered the elements of writing. Yet even more than in the West, the entire mediaeval civilization of Hungary is to be retraced to the efforts of the Church. It initiated education, chiefly for the benefit of its priests. There was a dearth of books, and first of all, the clergy had to be provided with the consecrated texts of the Roman Church. A considerable part of the Latin literature of mediaeval Hungary was nothing but a reproduction of the official documents of the Church; only its minor portion functioned as a vehicle of the Hungarian mind. It did not produce authors of the rank of a Thomas Aquinas or an Albertus Magnus, for in the atmosphere of mediaeval Hungary, where efforts to overturn Christianity were rampant until the beginning of the fourteenth century, higher theological studies were little pursued. As the laws were codified in Latin, jurisprudence, having a practical value, met with more auspicious circumstances; one of its notable products was a much-quoted *Fürstenspiegel*, from the beginning of the eleventh century, ascribed to St Stephen or St Gerard, in which Charlemagne was extolled as the ideal ruler. More interesting, because more animated with a specifically Hungarian spirit, are the legends of the Hungarian saints, Gerard, Stephen, and Ladislas. The genre, however, in which the national mind received its finest expression, was history. Two historians, one anonymous dating from *ca.*

1150 or 1200, and the other, Simon de Keza from *ca.* 1280, highly educated and courtly abbés, created works which in Hungary took the place of the *Chansons de Gestes*. They combined *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, and found inspiration in the manner of Livy, and in the Gestes of Troy and of Alexander the Great when constructing national history out of the legends of a dim and fabulous past.

Literacy materially increased in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The schools multiplied; three universities were founded. Theology and historiography flourished under the Angevins (1308–1382) but reached their heyday only toward the end of the period. The Franciscan Pelbárt de Temesvár (1430 or 1440–1504), whose sermons, collected in several volumes (*Stellarium*, *Pomerium*), were spread in many editions over all Europe, was a worthy though belated successor to a Vincent of Beauvais, whose *Aureum Rosarium Theologiae* was intended to be the encyclopedia of his day. His sermons, full of motley erudition, are a store-house of examples, fables, and romantic stories; later, La Fontaine, Voltaire and Schiller were to play variations on his themes; he is the salient representative of mediaeval Latin literature in Hungary. Jurisprudence yielded a masterpiece in Stephen Werböczy's *Opus Tripartitum Iuris Consuetudinarii* (printed in 1517), which became one of the source-books of Hungarian law.

These are the high points of mediaeval Latin literature in Hungary. One is amazed to find that Professor Horváth barely touched upon Hungarian Humanism, and yet this Humanism brought forth a poet of the significance of Janus Pannonius (1434–1472), and the *Rerum Hungaricarum Decades* by Antonio Bonfini (1434–1503), a work of paramount importance in mediating between Hungary and Western Europe. The fact that Horváth does not follow the chronological sequence hardly accounts for the lacuna. There is no irreconcilable conflict between the Renaissance and the Middle Ages, as was imagined in the days of Burckhardt, and the work under review would unquestionably have gained by the inclusion of this period, the more so since the author does not fail to discuss the vernacular literature during the reign of King Matthias (1458–1490) and his successors. Humanism was no more universal than the Christian Latin literature of the Middle Ages, and it is to be hoped accordingly that the author will include Humanism also in a second edition of his work.

Vernacular literature could not rise into existence until Latin literature became autochthonic in Hungary. With the expansion of the elements familiar with it, the task of producing a literature national in its language was notably facilitated. Glossaries of the fifteenth century bear witness to the efforts made to create the necessary terminology, and the first attempts to translate the Bible into Hungarian date from this period also; it is a moot question whether this fragmentary translation is due to the Franciscans

or to Hussite priests. Hungarian literature in the vernacular had its first golden age only *ca.* 1500 when the Middle Ages were well over west of Hungary. Though the first printing press had been introduced into Hungary in 1473, the first book in Hungarian was printed as late as 1527. Peculiarly enough, almost half a century after the invention of printing, between 1490 and 1530, a considerable number of Hungarian codices cropped up, about fifty of which have been preserved. By this time, it is already possible to speak of a veritable Hungarian literature, which bears, however, an almost totally ecclesiastical character. It originated in the fifteenth-century disciplinary reforms of the Dominicans and of the Franciscans, and in the fact that the religious orders of women insisted on obtaining edifying reading material in Hungarian, the only language which their members understood. These writings of the convents are largely anonymous, and stand midway between printed and oral literature. Horváth offers a subtle analysis of these productions which holds good for all literature prior to the invention of printing. The relationship of author and public, of copyist and original, was wholly different from conditions brought about by the printing press. Hungarian codex literature is, however, characterized by some additional features in contradistinction to its Western counterpart: it is totally made up of translations, and thus the authors' place was taken by anonymous translators in the eyes of the reader. Legends, liturgic texts, prayers, breviaries, sermons, and visions were the genres of this convent literature. Prose and poetry intermingle in the codices, and the rhythm of mediaeval Latin verse profoundly influenced the evolution of Hungarian metrics. Latin word formation, syntax, and style molded the young literary expression; the formation of Hungarian prose duplicates the genesis of German prose, which had taken place centuries before in the days of Notker. The secular monuments of the period are consequential but exceedingly scanty; a few dance-songs, and some historical lyrico-epic poems, that is all. Not a single prose monument intended for laymen has come down to us from the entire Middle Ages. Reformation and Counter-Reformation gave a new impetus to the development of vernacular literature. In their storms, and in the grave political and military struggles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the literature of the convents sank into oblivion.

Professor Horváth's excellent exposé gives an accurate and clear picture of this evolution. He points out numerous problems to be solved by Hungarian mediaeval philology; a number of his conclusions, however, are of interest to all mediaevalists, who will appreciate his work as a valuable contribution to the study of the mediaeval mind.

Arpad Steiner,
Hunter College

G. Laehr, *Die Anfänge des Russischen Reiches (Politische Geschichte im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert)*. Berlin: E. Ebering, 1930. Cloth. Pp. 147.

The period to which Dr Laehr has limited himself is one which has been so exhaustively treated by an impressive array of the most competent Russian investigators that his book can hardly transcend the character of a summary for the use of scholars to whom the Russian material is inaccessible. At the same time, the work is sufficiently detailed and includes broad enough bibliographical material to offer considerably more than a mere introduction to the first century and a half of mediaeval Russian history from the traditional 'calling of the princes' to the conversion of St Vladimir. In these respects the present monograph constitutes a welcome addition to our Eastern European reference material. At the same time, its utility would have been appreciably enhanced if it had been expanded to include the reign of Yaroslav, the culmination of that evolution which Dr Laehr describes.

In his brief first chapter, under the title 'Vorgeschichte,' Dr Laehr sketches the features of semi-oriental cultures and nomadic movements in South Russia to the eighth century. In this connection the author lays too little stress on the continuity of civilization along the Black Sea littoral from the time of the Scythians, and the consequent fact that the Eastern Slavs were exposed to the influence of superior cultures even before the advent of the Goths. One need only recall Professor Rostovtzeff's observation that commercial centers existed on the Russian watercourses in the third and fourth centuries B.C. and even earlier; Ptolemy records over a score of such settlements on the South-Russian rivers. From the archaeological evidence, the Eastern Slavs were, to say the least, on the periphery of a prosperous commercial civilization even before the beginning of the Christian era, and this situation is amply reflected by the Slavic vocabulary. I am therefore disinclined to accept the author's suggestion 'vielleicht gehen die Anfänge des städtischen Lebens auf germanische Einflüsse in den ersten Jahrhunderten unserer Zeitrechnung zurück'; these urban beginnings, whether Slavic or not, manifestly preceded the Gothic migration. Dr Laehr rightly emphasizes the tenacity with which the Slavic settlers as far east as the Don held their ground against Bulgar, Avar, and Khazar pressure. It may quite well be that their very lack of organization conferred upon them a sort of tough tribal flexibility on which successive nomad onsets made little permanent impression.

Dr Laehr's second chapter, 'Die Normannen in Osteuropa,' and his third, 'Die Gründung des Russischen Reiches,' together with his extensive notes and Excursus I on the sources for the Rus attack on Constantinople in 860, constitute an able review of Varangian expansion, with due attention to both Greek and Arabic sources. The author's definitions are not altogether satisfactory in the differentiation of the terms *Rus* and *Varangian*. Dr

Laehr rightly rejects the fantastic theories of Fritzler's *Das Russische Reich eine Gründung der Franken* (p. 121, n. 15). On the other hand, the derivation of Βάραγγοι from *Vaeringjar* has been accepted heretofore mainly as a *pis aller*, and while, as Dr Laehr asserts, there is doubtless no etymological connection between Φράγγοι and Βάραγγοι, the fact remains that occasional confusion between the two terms is evidenced by the translation of *Vat. Gr., 137* (Istrin, *Georgi Amartol* II, 60): οἱ ἐκ γένους τῶν Φράγγων καθίστανται by 'ot roda Vjarjaželeska suštim' (*ibid.*, I, 567). According to Dr Laehr, 'als die *Powest* im Laufe des 11. Jahrhunderts entstand, war der Name Warjager in Russland tatsächlich zur Bezeichnung für die jenseits des Meeres wohnenden Skandinavier geworden, während man unter den Rus die in Russland angesiedelten Normannen, besonders die um Kiev sitzenden, verstand.' At the end of the eleventh century, when the *Povest* took shape, the term *Rus* refers to the whole extent of Eastern Slavic territory under the sway of the Princes of Kiev, with no reference whatever to the Scandinavian origin of the ruling class, who by this time were entirely Russified. During this century, migrant Scandinavians (and even Icelanders) who took service in Byzantium were known as Varangians, and brought this name back with them into Russia, where it was extended to apply to all Norse peoples because the name *Rus* had lost its Scandinavian connotation. Since the tradition of the Scandinavian origin of the princely family and their retainers was preserved, the compiler of the *Povest* conjectured naturally and correctly that the primitive Rus were a subdivision of the peoples known collectively in his own day as Varangians.

In his Excursus II, Dr Laehr makes out a reasonable case for the apocryphal character of the account of the expedition against Constantinople attributed by the *Povest* to Oleg as of 907, and follows Shakhmatov in regarding the Treaty of 907 as a forgery trumped up on the basis of the longer instrument of 911. From the absence of Byzantine confirmation of Oleg's raid and the obvious legendary character of the whole story, the expedition itself appears rather as an invention of the Chronicler or as a reflex of popular tradition. There is, however, no basic objection to the conclusion of a preliminary *modus vivendi* for Rus merchants in 907 and its amplification by a longer and more explicit understanding four years later; accordingly, there is no probative indication that the agreement of 907 is spurious. It is indeed rather likely that the story of Oleg's alleged expedition of 907 merely constitutes an effort to provide a background for this understanding, the terms of which stamp it as the upshot of entirely peaceful negotiation.

The fourth chapter of this monograph deals with the principates of Igor and Olga. As Pokrovski emphasizes (*Hist. of Russia*, New York: 1931, pp. 12–13), the authority of the earlier Russian princes shows a patriarchal

character which persists well down into the Muscovite period. Along with this patriarchal phase, however, we find the beginnings of an administrative organization in the time of Olga, as soon as the extent of the principality precluded its management directly under the princely eye. Dr Laehr's discussion of Olga's contact with the Eastern Church is particularly judicious. Yet in view of the evidence he adduces from Byzantine sources in favor of Greek missionary efforts in Russia after the Rus raid of 860 upon the capital, it is not so certain that Christian activities ceased entirely in Kiev after its capture by Oleg, especially on account of the proofs of the existence of a considerable group of Christians in Kiev supplied by the Treaty of 944. In Excursus IV, the author offers a useful analysis of the sources dealing with Olga's conversion and her visit to Constantinople in 957, paying special attention to her mission to Otto I (*Cont. Reginon.*, ed. F. Kurze, *ad* 959, p. 170).

In his fifth chapter, Dr Laehr deals extensively with Svyatoslav's campaigns against the Khazars and in Bulgaria. The former are satisfactorily treated; the latter provide no material not readily available in S. Runciman's *History of the First Bulgarian Empire* or in Zlatarski. The chronology of Svyatoslav's Bulgarian campaigns is considered in Excursus V. The final chapter, with Excursus VI, is occupied with Vladimir I and his conversion. Motives of political prestige governed every Slavic princely conversion in the ninth and tenth centuries. Vladimir was no exception: his readiness to aid Basil II against Bardas Phocas arose from a desire to rid himself of his importunate Varangian auxiliaries and to establish his authority not only by eliminating this element of disorder but also by securing recognition of his personal equality with the Greek sovereigns through a marital alliance more exalted than either Carolingian or Saxon Emperor had succeeded in attaining. These facts are carefully disguised in the monastic accounts presented by early Russian sources. In any event, as Dr Laehr emphasizes, the conversion of Vladimir, along with Slavic colonization of the Dnieper basin and the Norse infiltration, is one of the three historical factors which brought the great Russian plain within European intellectual boundaries. It is not too much to assert that the intellectual advance of Kiev under Byzantine influence between 1000 and 1200 was proportionately more intense than that of the Western Slavic peoples under German influence during the same interval. This progress was retarded and finally halted by the strife incident to the rise of Russian feudalism and by the nomadic incursions which culminated in the Tatar supremacy. The present monograph offers a convenient synthesis of the elements leading up to this brief period of Kievan leadership.

Samuel H. Cross,
Harvard University

E. G. Léonard. *Introduction au Cartulaire Manuscrit du Temple 1150–1317 constitué par le Marquis d'Albon,* Paris: Champion, 1930. Paper. Pp. xv+259.

When the Marquis d'Albon died in December 1912, the first volume of his great *Cartulaire Général de l'Ordre du Temple,* containing 600 documents relating to the Temple in the years 1119 to 1150, was in the press, but the greater part of his work remained in manuscript form. When Albon began to collect the documents relating to the Temple, it was his original intention to prepare a general cartulary similar to that of Delaville Le Roulx for the Hospital, and the one published volume included documents from all countries in which the Temple existed. But the immensity of the task of collecting and editing these scattered documents forced Albon to limit his field, and the goal of his endeavor became to collect the documents of the Temple in France.

The manuscript collection which he left, and which was presented by his widow to the Bibliothèque Nationale, contained therefore principally documents relating to the commanderies of the Temple in France with a few scattered documents from the commanderies in other countries. A brief summary of the contents of these manuscripts was published in the 'Nouvelles Acquisitions du Département des Manuscrits pendant les années 1921–1923' in the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes,* lxxxv (1924), 11–16.

The present volume is a study of these manuscripts as materials for the history of the Temple in France. The author, E. G. Léonard, begins his work with a catalogue of the Albon manuscripts, of which volumes 1–4 are collections of Bulls, 5–59 are cartularies of commanderies in France, and 60–71 are collections of documents from other countries, England, Spain, the crusading states, and letters of the Marquis d'Albon to other scholars and archivists who assisted him in collecting the materials. The main body of the work is a study of the commanderies in France, divided into the four main districts of Provence, Aquitaine, France, and Auvergne. The houses of the Temple in each province are enumerated with lists of their officers, masters, preceptors, etc. Bibliographical references are given after each entry. A general bibliography and an alphabetical index of places and persons completes the study.

The work is designed as a guide to the Albon manuscripts and as a check list on the houses and dignitaries of the Order in France. With the exception of a short biographical sketch of the Marquis d'Albon in the preface, the entire work is written in Latin. While not a work of universal appeal, Léonard's book is a valuable reference work for the history of the Temple and should, together with M. Dessubré's recently published *Bibliographie de l'Ordre des Templiers* (Paris, 1928), greatly facilitate the study of the history and the records of that heroic and unfortunate Order.

John L. La Monte,
University of Cincinnati

C. A. Macartney, *The Magyars in the Ninth Century*. Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan, 1930. Cloth. Pp. 241. $6.00.

Mr Macartney's work is the result of an astounding amount of labor which he undertook with laudable courage and enthusiasm. Generations of scholars have attempted before him to make order in the perplexing maze of oriental and western sources relating the early history of the Magyars. Yet a number of problems are still unsolved, and it is doubtful whether the author of the work under review has said the last word on them. Since his study is a welcome disquisition on a subject which has been hitherto well-nigh inaccessible to the English-speaking reader, clarity and concision would have been more than commendable in the discussion of the problems involved. Unfortunately, his method of presentation is diffuse and full of digressions. Four chapters of the work are called excursuses, but the other sections of the treatise are not exempt from similar divagations by the elimination of which the entire work would have benefited. The tone in which rambling digressions are executed is often objectionable (*e.g.* p. 97 ff., in the discussion of the abdication of Levedias, where statements of this sort occur: 'requiring poor Levedias to be a lightning lover before whom Hollywood must grow pale'). More consequential than discordant flippancies is, however, the fact that, whereas the author is informed on the Hungarian research of recent years, his grounding in Hungarian historiography seems to some extent improvised. Had he been more conversant with the immense work accomplished prior to the immediate past, he surely would not have taken pride in and wasted time and effort on specious discoveries of well-known facts. In the treatise, there is no evidence of his acquaintance with a fundamental work on the oldest history of the Magyars, Pauler's *A Magyar Nemzet Története Szent Istvánig* (Budapest, 1900), which B. Hóman, one of the most authoritative students of the period, has lately deemed to be still basic and indispensable (*Östörténet, Törzsszervezet Keresztény Királyság*, n.d. [1929?] p. 424)..

Only thus could it happen that Mr Macartney with great apparatus and much enthusiasm rediscovered on pp. 50–56 that the Etel river was the Don, a fact which has been known to generations of Hungarian historians. Excursus II on Magna Hungaria (pp. 156–173) adds little to our knowledge of the problem beyond the wealth of data supplied long ago by Pauler (*op. cit.*, p. 249). The remark on p. 91 according to which Fehér identified the Χιγγυλούς with the Donetz is incorrect: the identification was made by Pauler (*op. cit.*, p. 140).

In general, the author makes light of the labors of his predecessors. His explanation of the name of Lebedia is ingenious, and deserves serious consideration; still, Pauler's reasoning in favor of the old interpretation, in view of the fact that the name was ephemeral, is not so absurd as would appear

from Mr Macartney's discussion on p. 93, the more so since the traditional form of the Hungarian prince's name may have been *Eleued*. In explaining the term Τοῦρκοι, it would have been first necessary to disprove Pesche's statement to the effect that the Middle Ages meant by Turks nomad races in general. The trifling tone in which Hungarian scholars are misrepresented as tampering with texts in order to suit them to their 'pet' theories is totally unwarranted; Kuun did not tamper with the text in question, as asserted on p. 102, but referred to Anselmus Bandurius. The last Excursus on 'The Bulgaro-Greek War and the Magyar *Landnahme*' is not only meager in new results, but is likewise open to criticism. The author, agreeing with Marczali and Hóman, categorically declares that the 'Magyars . . . entered Hungary late in the year 895.' One of his arguments, however, supporting the ringing finale, does not hold water. Mr Macartney takes no cognizance of the fact that Theotmar's letter, discussed on p. 187, was proved to be a forgery by A. Gombos (cf. A. Steiner's review of the latter's *A Honfoglaló Magyarok Itáliai Kalandozása* (Budapest, 1928), in SPECULUM, v, 1930, pp. 114–115). He is likewise unaware of the significant conclusions drawn by Gombos from a thorough analysis of the Italian expeditions of the Magyars, according to which the Magyars did not leave Etelköz in 896, and reached the territory of Hungary not simultaneously and as a tribal complex, but in groups.

Mr Macartney's treatise is perceptibly marred by inaccurate reference to relevant Slavic sources. He has used G. Paris's translation of the '*Nestorian*' *Chronicle* (Paris, 1834), which was made from a late text and has since been superseded by several other accessible renderings from a better original. His quotation (p. 73): 'After the Avars appeared the Pechenegs, *then the Magyars, who were seen again near Kiev*' should read 'Later the Black Ugrians [usually identified with the Magyars, cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 39] *passed by* Kiev in the time of Oleg.' There is no question of their previous appearance; their passage before Kiev is dated by the *Povest* as *ca.* 898, which is obviously too late. In this connection, Mr Macartney (p. 76, n. 3) is wrong in stating that 6406 = A.D. 894; the *Povest* uses the Byzantine chronology from 5508 as the date of Creation. On the other hand, he is quite right in not taking this date seriously; the fact is that the item concerning the passage of the Magyars comes at the end of a period of 'empty years' (6396–6405 = 888 – 897), indicating that the compiler of the *Povest* had no definite idea when the event occurred.

While the author is correct in the assertion (page 62) that the Russian Chronicles do not refer to the Prince of Kiev as Khagan, this title was actually current in the tenth century, and Hilarion uses it in referring to St Vladimir himself. Indeed, Mr Macartney here confuses the situation prevailing among the Rus on the Upper Volga with that of the Princes of Kiev

a century or more later. It may be added that the Rhos ambassadors of the *Annales Bertiniani* (*sub* 839) did *not*, as Mr Macartney puts it (page 67), come from a 'dignitary whom they described as the *Khakhan Rūs*': they called themselves *Rhos*, and said they were sent by their *rex*, *chacanus vocabulo* (ed. G. Waitz, p. 19). Mr Macartney likewise remarks (p. 73): 'Had the [Russian] Chronicle been accurate, it must have mentioned the Bulgars, who were the nation which actually appeared *after* the Avars.' Actually, the *Povest* (ed. E. F. Karski, col. 11) does mention the Bulgars specifically as the race of nomads *preceding* the Avars, since the former first appeared on the confines of the Byzantine Empire about 482. Mr Macartney's reference to the *Stepennaya Kniga* (p. 73) is of doubtful cogency; in view of the character of this compilation, it would hardly prove anything even if the author's reference were accurate. All the *Stepennaya* says about Askold and Dir (*PSRL*, xxi, 61) is: 'They made war upon the Romanic country, settled the city of Kiev with many Varangians, and abode in it themselves.'

Again (p. 105), Mr Macartney alleges that *Brodniki* (lit. = 'wanderers, nomads') is the characteristic term in the 'Russian Chronicle' for the Pechenegs. Apart from the fact that the author's understanding of 'Russian Chronicle' is not in accord with modern terminology, the appellation *Brodniki*, as far as we are aware, does not appear once in the whole '*Nestorian*' *Chronicle*, or *Povest*. Under 898, the *Povest* characterizes the Magyars as 'chodjašči aki se Polovci' (nomads like the Polovcians) with a completely different term for *nomads*. Indeed, the earliest use of *Brodniki* appears to present itself in 1147 (Hypatian Chronicle, *PSRL*, ii, 30); it occurs again in other texts in items of 1167 (*PSRL*, ii, 96), 1216 (*PSRL*, i, 212; iv^2, 191), and 1224 (*Sinodalny Spisok*, p. 219), but on the whole it is a relatively rare term. As it happens, the Pechenegs suffered a crushing defeat by Yaroslav in 1036, and never again appear as a menace in the rest of the *Povest* to 1113; they are mentioned in this interval precisely once as having made common cause with the Polovcians in 1103. It is therefore likely that only scattered and numerically unimportant remnants of the Pechenegs lived in the Dnieper valley while their more westerly compatriots were stirring up trouble in Bulgaria. In the case of Mr Macartney's quotation (p. 105); 'The Brodniki with their heavy kibitkas and the Torks with their black caps,' not only is his reference wrong (Paris ii, 70 not i, 70), but he has misquoted Paris's translation, which is in itself erroneous. Paris reads: 'De leur côté, les Bérendéens [*not* Brodniki] aux lourds kibitks, et les Torkes, aux cottes noires, commettaient mille désordres' which renders very inexactly the original (*PSRL*, i^1, 143): 'běša bo v to vrěmja priběgli *Berendiči* i s věžami, i Torci, vsi Cernii Klobuci, i veliku pakost stvoriša,' meaning 'for at that time had come up the Berendiches also with their tents, and the

Uzes, all "Black Hoods," and committed much abomination,' the last term referring to a collection of Turkish elements (including the Berendiches and the Uzes) south of Kiev in the twelfth century. The various Russian Chronicles not only do not corroborate the Byzantine writers as to the hamaxobiotic habits of the Pechenegs, but also do not seem to offer any basis for identifying the *Brodniki* with them. As a matter of fact, the *Brodniki* were almost certainly Slavs.

'A strange episode,' says Mr Macartney, 'which has never been wholly cleared up, is the subjection of Russia to the Khazars. The first mention made by the *Poviesti* (sic) is obviously derived direct from Byzantine sources, and refers to the growth of the Khazar power in the seventh century' (p. 110). The brief statement of the *Povest* (col. 11): 'There came from among the Scythians, i.e., from the Khazars, a people called Bulgars' derives from the Byzantine terminology which referred to the Khazars as Scythians (cf. Georgius Hamartolus ed. von Muralt, p. 639). This particular passage of the *Povest* refers to the dispersion of the Bulgars after the death of Kubrat. On the other hand, there is nothing strange or unexplained about the tributary status of the eastern Slavs. The Khazar control of the Crimea and its hinterland was confirmed in 732 by the marriage of Leo the Isaurian's son Constantine to the Khazar Princess Irene. The Khazars were at least allied with the Magyars north of the Don, and their sphere of influence extended westward to the middle Dnieper, where they maintained a by no means onerous contact with the local Slavs. The relative ease with which the Swedish interlopers detached the Dnieprian Slavs from their tenuous Khazar allegiance would also militate against any such theory of far-flung Khazar conquest as is implied by Mr Macartney's conception (p. 111) of a 'campaign against the Slavs which ended in the break-up of the great White-Croatian Empire and the establishment of the Khazar dominion over Kiev as also over the Radimici.' While the high intrinsic interest of the author's analysis of Chapters 39–40 of the *De Administrando Imperio* is obvious, a conclusion can hardly be reached on the White-Croatian question without due consultation of the chief authorities on the subject, viz., Rački, Jagić, and Niederle (especially the last, in his *Slovanské Starožitnosti* II, 244–280, where the whole literature, together with the text of Constantine, is reviewed in great detail). It suffices to remark that the identity of *Wayît* with Kiev is far from certain, nor can the accounts of a supposed White-Croatian kingdom in Constantine and the Arabic geographers be accepted without reserve. Furthermore, it is hardly necessary to point out that the invitation of the Slavs to Rurik (p. 112) is an exploded fiction; even if it were not, the legendary invitation is said to have emanated from the Slavs of the Novgorod area, and can scarcely enter as a factor into Magyar-Khazar relations. Mr Macartney's statement (p. 175)

that the White Ugrians of the *Povest* are usually identified with the Khazars should also be noted with the comment that they are now more correctly regarded as a subdivision of the Bulgars, possibly the Onogunduri.

While Mr Macartney's work constitutes a praiseworthy effort to illuminate a difficult subject, it unhappily presents deficiencies in accuracy which appreciably detract from its general usefulness. The new and valuable translation of the Arabic sources which it embodies forms its most serious claim to the attention of specialists. The bibliography leaves much to be desired, and misspellings of Hungarian names are frequent.

Samuel H. Cross,
Harvard University

Arpad Steiner,
Hunter College

B. Nardi, *Saggi di Filosofia Dantesca*. Milan: Soc. Anon. Edit. Dante Alighieri, 1930. Paper. Pp. xii+380. Lire 16.

The author, well known to Dante scholars and in general to students of mediaeval philosophy, discusses in this book some of the fundamental problems of Dante's scholarship, and with extraordinary wealth of illustrations from the writers of Islam, Greece, and Christendom strives to give us a newer, or at least a clearer, view of the basic political and scientific theories of the poet. The numerous quotations are not presented as sources — the author wisely disclaims any such intention — but rather as elements and constituents of that body of doctrines from which the poet drew his intellectual nourishment. They are, therefore, of interest and value not only for Dante specialists but for students of mediaeval science in general.

The chapters are uneven in merit. The most thorough seem to be the last ones on the political theories of Dante. Controversial though they be, we find in them a systematic and original treatment of Dante's polity and of the changes it underwent. The first chapter, which is a long discussion on Dante's view of the nature of the heavens, amplifies and extends Proto's interpretation of the second canto of the *Paradiso*. The chapter on *Albertus Magnus and Dante* is rather illuminating. The one on the *De Causis* is unnecessarily profuse and seems to contribute very little. The last chapter on 'the myth of Eden' takes up the different views that have been held on the subject of the position of Purgatory and establishes Dante's own belief.

Some of the doctrines advanced by Mr Nardi do not seem to me to be tenable. And since they bear on fundamental problems, and, in part, have been held at other times and by other scholars, I propose to treat a few of them in detail. Mr Nardi seems to misunderstand and to misrepresent Aristotle's reason for the immobility of the earth. He tells us (page 190) that Aristotle, Simplicius, etc., in order to deduce the immobility of the earth from the revolution of the heavens, had erroneously ascribed the properties of an unextended mathematical point to an extended body like the earth.

This criticism shows a hasty reading of the texts concerned. For Aristotle and his commentators state the very opposite, emphasizing the necessity of an extended support and clearly indicating that the problem is not a mathematical one but one of animal kinetics. (See Aristotle, *De Caelo*, 286a 10, and *De Motu Anim.* 699a 12, where he discards the mathematical centre 'quia nullam habet essentiam.' Cf. also Simplicius in his commentary to *De Caelo* 286a 12, where he states 'that if any one were to speak of motion around a centre he would be talking at random, for the centre, being devoid of matter, is not capable of being at rest . . . The centre is not a subsistent thing (*οὐ γὰρ καθ' αὑτὸ ὑφέστηκε τὸ κέντρον*).' St Thomas makes the same remark and is followed by the commentators in general.

In his chapter on *l'Arco della Vita* (p. 123) Mr Nardi indulges in a strange, though not novel practice. He affirms that Dante's image of the 'Arch of Life' and the discussion pertaining thereto were inspired by Aristotle, *De Gen. et Corr.* 336a 17–27. Discovering, however, that the differences far outweigh the resemblances, and that the assumed similarity resolves itself into a patent contrast, he proceeds to blame Dante for not having properly understood his authority. In reality he should blame himself for not picking out the proper source of the doctrine. For if, instead of turning to Aristotle, (who figures here only because, out of the quoted passages [479a, 29], Dante was able to extract the image of the arch) he had looked to astrology and to Ptolemy, all difficulties would have disappeared. The two 'mistakes' of Dante, which consisted in taking the half circle (the arch) instead of the entire one, and of considering the diurnal motion instead of the motion of the planets in the circle of the Zodiac, would then have become two elements of the genethliacal practice. For Ptolemy had insisted upon ignoring all but the *visible half* of the circle of geniture (as Dante says: 'per parte di quello a loro si scuopra') in his often commented rule: *τό τε γὰρ ὑπὸ γῆν πᾶν εἰκότως ἀθετητέον* (*Tetrab.*, III, 12). And as for considering the diurnal motion instead of that of 'accession and recession,' what else did the astrologers do? How else could the circle of geniture be drawn if not in relation to the point (horoscope) that was at a given time emerging on the Eastern horizon *in virtue of the diurnal* motion and moved westward by the same revolution? This picture of the east as birth, of the west as death, and of the middle sky as maturity, must have presented itself early. We find traces of it even among those who included the *entire* circle. So in Manilius, who speaks of the west as 'Ianua Ditis,' and so in the normal 12-house circle, where the *domus* preceding the west was regularly called *ἀρχὴ θανάτου* (mors) even when it did not serve to indicate that final stage. The very image of Dante's semi-circle must independently have suggested itself to many authors. I shall simply give two early examples: The commentary to Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos Syntaxis*, ascribed to Proclus, pp. 68–69 of Wolf's edition,

states that we must take into account only what passes ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ κόσμῳ — just what Dante says — and not what occurs below. Hence, he says, we need only consider: the horoscope (eastern point), which symbolizes early life, the *medium caelum*, which stands for maturity, and the west, which represents old age. The author of Hermippus likewise (II, 6; Kroll, p. 44) compares life to the half circle of the diurnal revolution: 'ὅλως τε ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς οὗτος βίος τῷ ἀπ' ἀνατολῆς ἡλίου μέχρι δύσεως χρόνῳ καὶ τόπῳ ἀπείκασται.'

Our author's obstinate desire to find in Dante traces of Neoplatonic and Arabic doctrines independent of those incorporated by current scholastic philosophy makes him give (page 236) to *Paradiso* XIII, 52–63, a new sense which the text cannot possibly bear. Dante says:

> Ciò che non muore e ciò che può morire
> non è se non splendor di quell' idea
> che partorisce: amando, il nostro Sire
> chè quella viva Luce che sì mea
> dal suo Lucente che non si disuna
> da Lui nè dall' amor che a lor s'intrea
> per sua bontade il suo raggiare aduna, etc.

This passage interpreted according to the traditional view corresponds word for word to the ordinary doctrine of the church. In the first place, Dante asserts that the creation proceeds from the Idea. St Thomas (*Sum.* I, 9.4.7) says 'Filius est universalis causa creaturarum.' Dante calls Christ the 'Idea,' and so do the Fathers (see St Bonaventura, *I Sent.* VI, 1.3). *Lucente* to indicate the father is frequent and natural enough. Christ of course is the *luce* (*lux vera*) and the holy spirit is constantly qualified as *amor*.

Instead of this obvious and orthodox and internally consistent explanation, Mr Nardi brings in Plotinus and Proclus, explains the Trinity as a process of emanations, misunderstands *Splendor* which he refers to the Creator, whereas it is meant to describe the creation; does not see that *amor* and not *splendor* is the third person; confuses, contrary to his own thesis, this *splendor* with *luce*, calls it *anima mundi* (at least here he has hit upon an historical heresy) and identifies them all with the empyrean.

Mr Nardi's interpretation of Dante's Fortuna is surely faulty. While commenting *Par.* VIII, 112–141 and particularly the verses 'Sempre *natura* se fortuna trova Discorde a se . . . fa mala prova,' he defines *fortuna* (page 47) as the 'virtù propria delle sfere celesti' as the 'strumento celeste di quella Provvidenze divina,' with the result that, while Dante has taken pains to contrast *natura* (*circolare*) with *fortuna* (his whole argument depending on this contrast), Mr Nardi candidly obliterates this distinction and confuses *natura* with *fortuna*. What then does fortune mean in this passage? I should say, in conformity with the Aristotelic doctrine, that it is the *causa per accidens* which governs *external conditions* in so far as they affect a human life.

In the *Magna Moralia* II, 9 we read: 'absque *externis* bonis quorum domina fortuna est . . .' and 'Est fortuna in his quae *in nobis non sunt*.' In *Rhet.*, II, 11: 'Fortunam autem appello nobilitatem, divitias, potentiam et horum contraria.' In *Polit.*, VII. 1: 'Bonorum enim quae *extra animam* causa casus et fortuna.' Chalcidius, in his Commentary to the *Timaeus* (Wrobel, p. 204) says the same thing. So does Cicero; so does Servius *ad Aen.* IV, 653: 'Fortuna ad omnia pertinet quae *extrinsecus* sunt.' And the scholastic writers accept all this. Fortuna, moreover, in conformity with Aristotle's doctrine (*Physics* II. ch. 4–6) is a *causa per accidens*. For when *natura circolare* (stellar influence) as a *causa per se*, providentially diversifying the product of heredity (*natura generata*), has produced human beings endowed with the capacities necessary to fulfill the functions of the state (which is a natural aggregate), then the origination of this naturally political animal in one milieu (*ostello*) instead of another cannot be a result of nature. 'Accidit' to a naturally 'martial' man that he is born in a military milieu: it is an *accident* that the naturally 'jovial' child should belong to a kingly dynasty. This accidental cause, or, if we will, this *concursus causarum* is what we call Fortune, which is divinely ordained and providential, even though mysterious (ἄδηλος) to us (*Inf.*, VII. 84.; *De Mon.*, II, 10).

Mr Nardi's interpretation (page 48) of Dante's reference to 'Materia prima' at the beginning of the fourth tractate of the *Convito* seems totally inadequate. In his endeavor to make Dante over into a more or less heretical anti-scholastic, he states that in the sentence: 'io mirava e cercava se la materia degli elementi era da Dio intesa,' the word *intesa* means 'produced directly' and not 'comprehended,' and the whole phrase must be interpreted as expressing the doubt that perhaps not God but the celestial intelligences had produced it. All of which is impossible. For even granting the unusual meaning of *intendere*, the 'directly' on which the claims of the creating angels rest is Mr Nardi's own contribution. If, on the other hand, we give the words their normal meaning, we get without effort a sense which brings the text in close contact with the controversies of the day.

For Aristotle has stated (*Physics*, I, 7) that 'Subiecta materia est scibilis secundum analogiam.' For us mortals, this formless matter is surely unintelligible. But how about God? Does he know it? St Thomas (*Sum.* I, 15. 3.3.) says no. The Franciscans (Duns Scotus, *ii. Sent.*, 12, 1; and *iii. Sent.*, 9, 1) say yes. Dante 'wonders.'

The most classical commonplaces and the most ordinary beliefs of the Middle Ages become for our author recondite bits of Neoplatonic-Arabic lore. His discussion of dreams on pp. 59–61 is a good example of this. He believes that those who speak of the truthfulness of morning dreams have directly or indirectly obtained their notions from Avicenna (p. 61): 'quel che Avicenna aveva detto dei sogni matutini.' And yet Horace (*Sat.* I, 10, 31)

refers to the truthful morning dreams, and Ovid (*Her.*, XVIII, 195) likewise, as well as Moschus (II. 5), and Homer (*Odyssey* IV, 841). A mediaeval writer may have got the idea from Ovid or from Avicenna, or from one of a hundred writers: that is a matter of no importance. What matters is the history of this lore which goes back to pre-classical times. The second feature of Mr Nardi's dream doctrine, namely, the necessity of a detachment from the senses, is also ancient. It suffices to quote St Augustine (*Gen.* ad lit. XII, 13). John of Salisbury (*Pol.*, II, 14) sums up this Pythagorean doctrine in terms very similar to those of Dante: 'contingit ut animus corporis exercitio relevatus in se ipsum liberius redeat et veritatem . . . contempletur.' And the third and last point that we gather from his Arabic quotations, viz., the connection of dreams with stars, also goes back to classical days. Martianus Capella (II, 150) said: 'At infra solis meatum usque lunarem globum secundae beatitatis numina supparisque potentiae per quae temen vaticinia, somniaque ac prodigia componuntur.' Hephaestio (III, 24. *ap.* Engelbrecht, p. 26) discusses at length the influence of the moon on dreams. Ammon (Ludwich, *Maximi et Ammonis Carminum* etc. p. 53) refers to the relation of dreams with the zodiacal position of planets.

The interpretation of Averroes' celestial physics given to us in Mr Nardi's book does not seem to be accurate. In the first place, while discussing (p. 62 et seq.) the explanation of the moon spots given by Peter of Abano, he remarks that, in spite of Abano's assertion to the contrary, 'his (Abano's) view has nothing to do with Averroes' theory.' I should rather say that a proper understanding of both will show them to be identical.

For Averroes (*De Caelo* II, 32; II, 42; II, 49, 1860 Ed.) explains that the varying surface of the moon (which we call its spots) is due to the varying capacity of its more or less dense parts to receive the light of the sun. Which diversity, he says, is not contrary to the nature of the fifth essence, for just as one celestial body is more luminous than another, so can one part of the same heavenly body be more adapted than another to imbibe the rays of the sun. Owing, he explains, to this condition of the moon whereby it has to depend on the sun for its light, Aristotle said that it was similar to the *element* earth (not the terrestrial sphere) in that this fourth element borrowed its light from fire, whereas the other stars which have their own light may be compared to the element fire. Peter of Abano, if we try to get some sense out of the corrupt text that Mr Nardi gives, says *exactly* the same thing. He, too, speaks of the varying capacity of the different parts of the moon to receive the light of the sun: 'secundum illam partem . . .' He too says that this diversity is not inadmissable in the fifth essence where varying luminosity has already been ascertained: 'quod . . . non est in corporibus . . .' And he too clinches the identical argument by quoting the authority of Aristotle in an even more definite way.

My second objection to Mr Nardi's interpretation of Averroes' theory deals with the general nature of the celestial bodies. Mr Nardi says (p. 8) that Averroes, while elsewhere holding that the celestial spheres are identical not only in *genus* but also in *species* (that is, that they are individuals of the same species), in the fifth chapter of his *De Substantia Orbis* says something radically different when he affirms that 'ideo invenitur in eis plus quam unum numero et sunt species et genera.'

Now Averroes may have here changed his mind; that, at least, is the view of the editors who indicate this inconsistency in their marginal notes, from which notes perhaps Mr Nardi took his clue. But this change of view, if it exists, can never be derived from the words quoted above. For the *eis* there refers *not* to celestial bodies but to elemental ones. Averroes states that though the stars must indeed be 'bodies' in that they are endowed with motion, yet being free from alteration and corruption they are not like elemental things here below which are diversified *numero, specie et genere.* It would indeed be strange if Averroes who had refused to introduce specific distinctions in the fifth essence had ended by advocating even generic differences, which moreover would contradict the whole theory of the *De Substantia Orbis.*

The fundamental question of Dante's view of creation and of the relation of the creatures to the creator is not accurately presented by our author. In discussing (p. 47) the poet's statement that what God immediately creates cannot die, he traces this neoplatonic doctrine back to Avicenna. Yet the Greek source (available to Dante) is before our eyes in Proclus' *Institutio Theologica*, 76: 'omne quod ab immobili causa manat immutabilem habet substantiam; omne quod a mobili causa manat substantiam habet mutabilem.' Which doctrine Dante might also have gotten from Chalcidius, who in his commentary to the *Timaeus* (Wrobel, p. 89) says: 'Quod sequitur ut quidquid a Deo fit temporarium non sit . . . et tempus immutationem aetatis, morbos, senectutem occasum invehit. *His ergo omnibus quod a Deo instituitur immune est.*' Or perhaps he may have been inspired directly by Plato's passage (*Tim.*, 41).

And when he studies (p. 18) the fortunes of this theory among Dante's contemporaries, he quotes Tempier's condemnation of the doctrine that 'effectus immediatus debet esse unus tantum et simillimus primo,' and suggests that some Averroist in Paris must have defended this view. This mysterious Averroist will be found to be Albertus himself. For the author of the book *De Causis Universitatis* which Mr Nardi unquestioningly assigns to Albertus, says (1, 1, 10) 'a primo quod est necesse esse *immediate* non potest esse nisi *unum.* Et in hoc quidem iam omnes consenserunt peripatetici licet hoc quidem non intelligentes theologi negaverint.' And he proceeds to support his statement on the authority of Dionysius.

My other objection to the book has to do with the practice of the author to accept and incorporate erroneous and meaningless texts which cannot be defended by the fact that they are taken from standard editions. This point should be emphasized because it is fast becoming a serious one. It seems to be a growing habit on the part of writers to accept long Latin and Greek quotations so replete with blunders that it may be reasonably inquired whether the person quoting them has any idea what they are all about.

For instance, Mr Nardi (pp. 86–87) cites from the not very good edition of Baur of Grosseteste's philosophical works (*Beiträge etc.*, IX) the following: 'Luna autem de natura perspicui densissimi in caelestibus habet *motum* de natura lucis rarissimae inter cetera caelestia minimum, de natura luminosi proprii parum.' It would be interesting to know what sense Baur and Nardi got out of this passage, and how they juggled the *motum* into the context. Of course we should read *multum* instead of *motum*, and then the passage would mean something. The moon has much of the nature of 'perspicuum densum,' a minimum of 'lux rara,' little of self-illumination. Grosseteste had said in the previous page that the moon is made up of *perspicuum* and had quoted Averroes where the latter says that the moon is *densa*.

The blunders of the editions of St Thomas (Fretté and others) are swallowed whole. So the following passage of the *De Causis*, which has been frequently quoted from St Thomas by other authors who did not seem to surmise how senseless it is: 'Et non est factum ita nisi propter suam propinquitatem esse puri et uni et vero, in quo *vero* est multitudo aliquorum modorum.' Here, of course, instead of the *vero*, we need a very strong *non*.

Nor is Mr Nardi disturbed (p. 100) by this other passage from St Thomas (Commentary to Proposition II of *De Causis*): 'Unde et Proculus dicit 191 propositione: omnis anima participans substantiam quidem aeternalem, habet operationem *aliam* secundum tempus,' which is meaningless. Instead of *aliam* we should read *autem* and connect *aeternalem* with *operationem* to mean: 'every participating soul has an eternal substance but an action in time,' which statement is amplified in the sentence of St Thomas which immediately follows. Worse still is the case with quotations from Albertus which are taken from Borgnet and Jammy. On p. 21, Mr Nardi quotes from Albertus: *Summa de Creaturis* III, 12, 3, and gives us a meaningless text not only because he accepts a *mobili* which should be emended into a *nobili* but introduces himself an *immobili* where a *mobili* is demanded. On p. 108, in quoting from Albertus: *De Caelo* II, 3, 14, he accepts the same erroneous reading in: 'quia per ipsam est *mobile* quidquid est,' where *nobile* is needed. And in that same passage he endorses the following: 'necesse est autem quod sphaera quae movetur ab intelligentia primi ordinis habeat operationem unam quoniam forma quam habet est simplex et *determinata*, sphaerae aliae accipiunt formam hanc minus universalem et *minus* determinatam,' where

instead of *determinatam* we need *indeterminatam*, and instead of *minus* we need *magis*. And on page 224, in quoting from *Summa de Creaturis* I, 3, 11a, 2, he again accepts the following senseless statement: 'cum inferiores caeli non sint aeque *mobiles* cum caelo empyreo,' where again *nobiles* should be read.

Of his quotations from Dante, I wish to discuss one which, though sponsored by the editors, should have appeared suspicious to a philosophic mind like that of Mr Nardi. In quoting from the *Epistle* to Can Grande, ch. 20, he accepts the illogical reading of the critical texts which says: 'Omne quod est aut habet esse a se aut ab alio. Sed constat quod habere esse a se non convenit nisi uni, scilicet primo seu principio qui Deus est. Et quum habere esse non arguat per se necesse esse et per se necesse esse non competat nisi uni, scilicet primo seu principio quod est causa omnium, ergo omnia quae sunt praeter unum ipsum habent esse ab alio.'

Dante is here made to say that the 'possession of being from self' (*habere esse a se*) pertains to one alone because 'necessary being through self' (*per se necesse esse*) pertains to one alone (God) inasmuch as the possession of being does not imply 'necessary being through self.' All of which is senseless. For if 'necessary being through self' is posited for one alone, what is the sense of adding that being does not imply 'necessary being through self'? And how do we establish the relation (on which Dante builds his argument) between *habere esse a se* and *per se necesse esse?* One way of remedying the faulty text would be of reading: 'cum (without the preceding et) habere esse a se arguat per se necesse esse' leaving out *non* (*cod. Mediceo*). This at least presents a logical sequence and brings the passage in harmony with the accepted doctrine of the times.

The quotations from the translation of Simplicius' Commentary to *De Caelo* are also unintelligible except by emendations, and so those of Alpetragius, particularly the one on p. 173, where in the phrase 'aliquando corrigi aerem in aliquibus locis *directis*,' should read 'dirutis,' as the sense of the passage demands.

Dino Bigongiari,
Columbia University

Casiano Rojo and Germán Prado, *El Canto Mozárabe. Estudio histórico-crítico de su antigüedad y estado actual.* Barcelona: Biblioteca de Cataluña, 1929. Paper. Pp. 156. 15 pesetas.

In the April, 1928, issue of Speculum Dom Germán Prado, of the Benedictine monastery of Santo Domingo de Silos, published under the title of 'Mozarabic Melodics' the first English account of the music of the Mozarabic liturgy. In this article he promised a fuller treatment of the subject at a later date, which, with the collaboration of the Prior of Silos, Dom Casiano Rojo, is now completed.

The subject is full of interest and difficulties. The Mozarabic liturgy was the national use of Spain, which had grown and developed with the Spanish church, but during the eleventh century as the Cluniac monks gained power in the peninsula, they endeavored to replace it by the normal Roman rite. Spain objected with vigor. Copies of the Mozarabic service books were sent to Rome for scrutiny and approval; they successfully resisted the ordeal of fire, and armed knights fought for their orthodoxy, but the steam-roller of Cluny triumphed, and before the end of the century the use had been abolished except in a few specially privileged places in Toledo. The Aquitanian superposed-point musical notation, which is easily legible, did not come into use until some years after the suppression of the Mozarabic liturgy, and as the Mozarabic neums are practically undecipherable, the accompanying music of the rite has been as good as lost. Padre Rojo and Padre Prado have, by ingenious comparisons, interpreted a part of this group of melodies, and have thus opened a new field in the history of Spanish music.

In the first chapter they sum up what little is known of the composers and singers of this music. Chapter two (pp. 18–39) discusses briefly the twenty-one manuscripts of the Mozarabic liturgy which contain musical notation. Of these seven are from Toledo, eight from Silos, and three from San Millán de la Cogolla. Eleven facsimiles reproduce typical examples of the notation, which is studied in the following chapter (pp. 40–58). In the *Liber Ordinum* of San Millán de la Cogolla — now preserved in the Academia de la Historia in Madrid — the Mozarabic neums have been erased and Aquitanian notation substituted in a certain number of pieces: by comparing these with the Silos *Liber Ordinum*, in which the same melodies appear in Mozarabic notation, a basis for study has been secured.[1] In addition, a Roman breviary from Silos, now in the British Museum (*Add. 30848*), contains a number of well-known Gregorian melodies written in Mozarabic notation: this has also been utilized in comparisons that have thrown light on the character of the Mozarabic neums. Several pages of charts illustrate the neums as they are found in six representative manuscripts. Chapter five discusses the question of key, and chapter six the nomenclature of the pieces that were sung in the Mozarabic Mass and Office.

The most interesting part of the book is the section in which are published the twenty-one authentic Mozarabic melodies from the San Millán *Liber Ordinum*. They can hardly be said to be representative, as they are all from the Office of the Dead — the only part of the manuscript in which the Aquitanian notation has been substituted — yet they give the clearest possible idea of at least a part of the music of the liturgy. Rhythm, expression, the use of the modes, and the singing of the psalms are discussed in the four following chapters.

[1] Cf. 'The Mozarabic *Liber Ordinum*,' Speculum, III, 239.

The second part of the book deals with the history of Mozarabic music after the suppression of the liturgy in the eleventh century. Various attempts to keep the tradition alive were made,[1] but the only one which has survived until the present is that of the chapel of Corpus Christi in Toledo Cathedral. Of the current rendition of the liturgy there it is best to say little: the unseemly roaring of the singers gives no idea of the beauty of the original melodies, but the service books of the chapel, compiled by its founder, Cardinal Cisneros, are of considerable interest. The texts of these *Cantorales* were gathered from various Mozarabic manuscripts of Toledo with considerable care, but many common Gregorian elements were introduced into the music. From these manuscripts P. Rojo and P. Prado have published twenty three melodies (pp. 117–140), which, although they lack the authenticity of those from the San Millán *Liber Ordinum*, still seem to contain definitely Mozarabic elements. Their value may best be compared with a Hellenistic copy of a lost fourth century statue. The Easter *Gaudete populi* (pp. 139–140) is of particular beauty.

The question of Mozarabic music cannot be finally resolved without the help of a manuscript in which more of the melodies appear in a legible notation, but unhappily the existence of such a book seems improbable; certainly, if there is such a manuscript, it is most carefully hidden, and until it is found one cannot go beyond the limits of the present study. P. Rojo and P. Prado deserve high praise for giving us this much of the music of the Mozarabic liturgy.

Walter Muir Whitehill, Jr.,
Research Institute of the College Art Association

[1] Described in Germán Prado, *Historia del Rito Mozárabe y Toledano* (Santo Domingo de Silos, 1928), reviewed in Speculum, v (1929), 231.

Mario Salmi, *L'Architettura Romanica in Toscana.* Milan-Rome: Bestetti e Tumminelli (no date). Pp. 77; 320 Plates.

Mario Salmi, *La Scultura Romanica in Toscana.* Florence: Rinascimento del Libro, 1928. Pp. 142; 130 Plates.

These two volumes fill a gap of long standing. With almost a plethora of material on painting, early Tuscan architecture and sculpture have never been adequately treated as a whole, although much has been written upon various phases of the development.

In the first book, Professor Salmi traces the history of Tuscan architecture to the Gothic period. Diffuseness and a certain fondness for irrelevant detail which have made so many books, especially those which treat of archaeology, burdensome both to hand and brain, have, we may hope, gone out of fashion. From this point of view, Professor Salmi's text is a model of

condensed, informative writing, bringing out only the salient points and never losing the thread of the argument; the notes contain the facts and hypotheses to substantiate his results. Excellent photographs — 320 plates and 110 illustrations in the text — bring before us almost the complete output of the region. The photographs are unusually clear and of sufficient size to study details.

In the preface, we are warned against the conception of Romanesque architecture as a mere evolutionary development and not to neglect the personal equation, as, for example, in the Duomo of Pisa which is 'not the fruit of a stylistic progression maturing through minor monuments, but the creation of the genius of Buschettus, and, as far as the façade is concerned, of Rainaldus.'

Even a brief résumé of all of the material would require a lengthy article. Professor Salmi begins with an examination of the earliest remains, for the most part in minor churches and crypts, leading up to the culmination at Florence, Pisa, Lucca, and Arezzo. His study of the Florentine Baptistery is the most thorough and unbiassed which has been produced up to the present, and his cogent reasoning for dating it in the eleventh century would almost seem to close this vexed question and force us to believe that this consummate example of the purest classical spirit is due, in large part, to some creative genius who was able to revitalize the essential elements of a style, with originality, after a break of centuries. This is almost unexampled as a *tour de force*, and with this point of departure it is easy to explain the subsequent development of the Florentine style and to make Brunelleschi and the other masters of the Quattrocento seem almost inevitable after the brief interlude of Gothic fashion. There is a careful study of the rest of the Florentine buildings. Some will not agree in placing the façade of the Collegiata at Empoli earlier than that of San Miniato al Monte.

A brilliantly concise description of the Duomo of Pisa serves as an exposition of the whole style of the region; the diverse influences which contributed to it as well as the personal creativeness of individual masters. Thus he demonstrates that we owe the façade of the Duomo largely to Rainaldus, and he places it, upon strong evidence, in the second half of the twelfth century — a date of far-reaching importance. With this established, the rest of the work at Pisa falls into a logical sequence, and certain secondary buildings are viewed in a proper perspective. This is followed by a summary of the work at Lucca and Volterra, and the many interesting early churches of the provinces of Sienna and Arezzo. Finally, a brief résumé of civil and military architecture adds a considerable amount of new material to our all too scanty knowledge of the subject and ties it in with the rest of the development.

The notes have condensed the results of much research, and are espe-

cially valuable on account of the many references — often only a line but with the especial significance brought out — to minor Tuscan churches, often in remote country districts which, although they may have little influence upon major developments, are sometimes for themselves alone among the loveliest manifestations of Romanesque art. And of equal importance is the great number of excellent illustrations of these hitherto rather neglected works which enable us for the first time to survey the whole of this output in a proper perspective. Finally, students will find ample bibliographical references in the notes under their respective subjects.

La Scultura Romanica in Toscana, although published separately, really completes the first volume. Taking up first the pre-Romanesque origins of the art, Professor Salmi discusses, in turn, the schools of Sienna, Arezzo, and Florence, the Pisan-Luccan style to the end of the twelfth century, and the later Pisan-Luccan and Lombard masters to the end of the thirteenth century, continuing to the advent of Nicola Pisano. He concludes with an excellent summary of the distinctive features of the Tuscan development as a whole and a brief examination of the origins of Nicola's style.

Much of the work at Pisa, Lucca, and Florence is, of course, already well known, but here again, a whole background of minor works, often of great interest, has been brought before us so that we are able to understand more clearly than before the relative importance of the chief examples in the general evolution of the style.

New attributions of minor works show, on the whole, a keen sense of connoisseurship. We may note that he rightly gives the pulpit in the Duomo of Volterra to Biduino. Bonamicus, the sculptor of the extraordinarily fine capitals in the *pieve* of Mensano is now given adequate prominence and his personality emerges more definitely on account of a series of minor works which may be grouped about him.

One of the chief values in Professor Salmi's work is its balance. His enthusiasm and the detailed knowledge of his subject do not lead him into exaggeration, to minimize Tuscany's debt to outside influences, or to overemphasize the intrinsic quality of the output. His scholarly exposition and the wealth of hitherto little-known material which he has placed before us should do much to give the early art of Tuscany that general recognition which it deserves.

Edgar W. Anthony,
Boston

L. F. Salzman, *English Trade in the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xii+464. $4.50.

From the standpoint of substance and form, as well as of subject-matter and bookmaking, this is a fine book. The specialist in the field will get few or

no general ideas that are new, but he will find fresh instances. The student who wishes to orient himself in the subject of English mediaeval trade could do no better than study this work carefully. Moreover, the book can be read in two evenings. But the reader is likely to come back to it again and again for its concrete examples and for its citations. It is indeed a companion volume to the author's *English Industries in the Middle Ages*, displaying a riper scholarship.

The author has used monographs in plenty but his main reliance is placed upon the primary sources in printed works. At certain points, we suspect a considerable number, he has also consulted manuscript materials, particularly at the Public Record Office. The use of numerous pictorial illustrations is effective, but most of the illustrations come unfortunately from the Continent. In this respect we are reminded of Ashley's method of bringing in a Continental example where no English instance is forthcoming.

The main subdivisions of the book are the tools of trade (money, credit, and weights and measures), the centers of trade (town, market, fair), the law merchant, transportation, and foreign trade. It is explicitly stated that foreign trade is the 'heart' of the subject. It is true that we find most information about this aspect of mediaeval English trade in the available sources, but it does not seem to the reviewer that foreign trade was anywhere nearly so important as local trade.

There are many minor points which are arresting. The author definitely rejects *Easterling* as the origin of *sterling*. There are several alternative explanations such as starling (bird) and star (found on some early pennies). The author thinks that the word comes from *steor*, a steer, and cites the analogy of the Latin *pecunia*. The expression *cum remo*, so frequent in the customs records, means that the ship in question was possessed of a rudder. A ship without a rudder, *sine remo*, was so small that a large oar was used. It paid a lower toll.

The book is not thought-provoking, and is not designed to be. One of the few explanations of larger developments, however, accounts for the decline of the fairs (p. 157). To the reviewer it seems unnecessary to emphasize any factor other than the growth of numerous towns possessing a body of merchants and adequate capital.

Where we get so much as in this book, we hesitate to complain of omissions. It seems a serious matter, however, to leave the Church out of mediaeval trade. Document after document is meaningless if we do not see in it an effort to evade the Church's rules concerning just price or usury. It is also a mistake to deal with the whole period 1066–1558 as though it was a commercial unity. It would have been most helpful to have at least a chapter showing the changes between 1250 and 1450. It is, of course, a well-trod primrose path to regard the Middle Ages as a unity. The author could very

easily have made clear the great changes in organization, knowledge, methods, and the use of capital that took place in trade in the period with which he deals. Further, it is a pity that we must split up trade into its component parts, dealing with each and never seeing how they all fit together. The author does well in his analysis, but he fails to coördinate the parts. To be sure, he shows traders going to both markets and fairs and he has the owners of manors selling their wool to merchants, but he does not go far enough in integrating town and country and one town and another. Much more research should be done along these lines.

N. S. B. Gras,
Harvard University

R. Steele and F. M. Delorme, edd., *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi, Fasc.* x., *Questiones Supra Libros Prime Philosophie Aristotelis* (*Metaphysica* i, ii, v–x). New York: Oxford University Press, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xxxii+360.

It is now nearly eighty-three years since Victor Cousin published[1] his enthusiastic description of Amiens *Ms. 406* in the hope that some younger savant might one day publish the Manuscript itself. Professor Emile Charles, whose monograph,[2] based largely on Bacon's unpublished works, threw such a flood of light on their author some sixty years since, at one time aspired to the task, but he succeeded in giving to the MS. only a brief examination. When the General Committee in charge of the celebration of the seventh centenary of Bacon's birth was organized at Oxford in June, 1914, it proposed as one of its three projects the publication of all the known works of Bacon unprinted at the time. The first, and, I believe, the only result of this determination was the photographing of the Amiens Codex.

In the present fascicle we are again indebted to Mr Steele and Father Delorme for the latest tangible advance in the realization of the General Committee's project and of Victor Cousin's hopes. It is the third fascicle to be devoted to a section of the enterprise, as it is the tenth in the Series which Mr Steele inaugurated a quarter of a century ago and which has enjoyed his impress throughout as either editor, collaborator, or adviser.

A few facts will serve to suggest to those not Bacon specialists the value of the present fascicle and of the Series to which it belongs. In wrestling with a difficult theme, Bacon was never satisfied with less than three or four revisions, any or all of which might finally find their way to the copyist. Bacon himself, moreover, made large use of copyists and carefully corrected the manuscripts thus multiplied. But his copyists did not scruple to make further copies for themselves, their friends and those who would pay the price, and such copies, of course, did not have the benefit of a revision by

[1] *Journal des Savants* (1848), 459 ff.

[2] *Roger Bacon, sa vie, ses ouvrages, ses doctrines* (Paris, 1861).

Bacon. Even without the condemnation of 1277, therefore, the manuscript tradition was almost bound to become chaotic. With the condemnation, the *Scriptum Principale*, which was to have been the *summa* of a lifetime's intellectual effort and the document wherefrom to launch reforms, was abandoned, practically forever, although an unknown number of its treatises were finished at the time and put into manuscript. The condemned Bacon fell swiftly into obscurity and the manuscript tradition became for later ages a muddle; so much of a muddle, in fact, that only recently have its proportions begun to be appreciated.[1] After three centuries of almost unrelieved darkness, he began to emerge, but only into the brilliance of High Renaissance enthusiasms. He has been emerging ever since, as parts of his works have become slowly and increasingly available and as one motive for interpreting him has given way to another in a ceaseless process of correction. We are still a long distance, however, from the true, or rather let us say, the complete Roger Bacon. Our ever-changing estimate of his activity and significance still rests largely on works which he himself considered as unfinished statements of his philosophy. Almost all the manuscripts of him which we now know to exist, post-date his own century; are only copies of the manuscripts which reached back to his times. And whether they are copies of manuscripts written by him, or of copies corrected by him, or of uncorrected copies distributed by unscrupulous scribes. it is one of the pressing tasks of mediaeval scholarship to determine as best it can. Until this is done and until all the works known to be his (especially the remains of the *Scriptum Principale*), or believed to be his, or that are known to have influenced deeply his development, are critically examined and assessed, all studies of the thirteenth century that imply a wide consultation of his works must be tentative, provisional, and subject to radical revision to a degree quite unusual in present-day scholarly experience.

The general value of the Series which Mr Steele edits is indicated sufficiently by its title. He is making available for students the materials which will answer, or help to answer, a multitude of questions about Roger Bacon and his times. Since 1926 he and Father Delorme have been publishing the Amiens *Ms. 406*. Eleven tracts, which may or may not all be Bacon's own, are, with some lacunae, there inscribed. No other copy of any of them is known to exist. Some of them may, perhaps, be parts of the *Scriptum Principale*, as several texts already in the Series are now felt to be.

In the present fascicle, which goes back to Bacon's lectures at Paris *ca.* 1250, the bibliographical description of the Amiens Manuscript, promised in fascicle VII, is printed and a large part of the introduction is given

[1] Cf. F. Picavet, *Éditions faites et à faire de Roger Bacon: Essais sur l'histoire générale et comparée des Théologies et Philosophies médiévales*, Paris, 1913, 209–232.

over to a discussion of the *pecia* as a unit of manuscript measurement and of its use in several treatises of this Manuscript.

The complete publication of the Amiens Codex will illuminate the questions of Bacon's indebtedness to Aristotle and of the teaching in the Faculty of Arts at Paris about the middle of the thirteenth century. And these are only the most obvious gains certain to come from its perusal. With fundamental enterprises like Mr Steele's latest volumes, Roger Bacon progressively loses the gorgeous nomenclature enjoyed at one time and another by his posthumous self; and while it still seems that he was very much of a plague to certain of his contemporaries, he becomes very much less of a plague for the historians of Mediaeval Philosophy.

James Marshall Campbell,
The Catholic University of America

T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England: The Wardrobe, The Chamber, and The Small Seals.* Manchester: At the University Press, 1930. Cloth. Volume v, Pp. xx+440+8 plates and notes.

With this, its fifth volume, the most important contribution made by a scholar of the twentieth century to the study of English mediaeval history reaches an end. An index remains to be issued; when it appears in the near future, the usefulness of the book will be very greatly increased.

The influence of the *Chapters* is bound to be far reaching; that much at least is certain. How soon that influence will make itself felt on the writing of textbooks and in the classroom is quite another matter, for great is the weight of tradition and of the time-honored concepts of constitutional history. What is more, the book is far from being a book for amateurs or hasty compilers of college texts. Like all pioneer books, including that of Bishop Stubbs, it is bound to be revised in part, to be added to, and to be corrected in many details. Professor Tout, were he here, would welcome such modifications and add to the *Chapters*, here a 'long note,' there an appendix, and here a new item to the list of *errata*.

The new volume is somewhat less unified than its immediate predecessors. Professor Tout, with the able assistance of Miss Broome and, in places, of V. H. Galbraeth, saw his share 'substantially completed' before he died. He has carried the history of the privy seal to the close of the reign of Richard II and has told the story of the seals bearing the name of secret, signet, griffin, and signum. Professor Hilda Johnstone writes on the households of the queens of England from the reign of Henry III to that of Richard II. Mrs Sharp describes the organization of the household of the Black Prince. In the case of each of these studies there are useful accounts of the diplomatic of the seals used by royal or other officers.

The story of the privy seal and its Keeper under Edward III is somewhat

elusive. We seem always about to witness the emergence of a new and important secretarial department. Kilsly, Thviesly, and Wykeham were all important men, but it was their personalities rather than the keepership that made them so. Under Richard II, the Keeper and his staff went 'out of court' and the office of privy seal took its place just below that of the chancery as a secretarial department. The Keeper became the third great minister of state. Students of literature will be interested in the use made of Hoccleve's *The Regiment of Princes* in the description of the life of a clerk in the office of privy seal.

During the period when the privy seal was on its way 'out of court,' it lost its value as the personal seal of the King. Its place in royal regard was taken by the secret seal, soon to be known as the signet. The major portion of Chapter XVII is devoted to the history of the new seal. Its Keeper under Richard II was officially the King's secretary, an important officer with clerks to assist him. The griffin seal, despite its picturesque name and form, was affixed only to documents dealing with the reserved lands of the chamber during a part of the reign of Edward III. Of still less importance was the signum, a minor secret seal of Edward III.

The material for the study of the organization of the households of the queens of the later Middle Ages is very scanty at times and never complete, but Professor Johnstone has built an interesting structure upon it. The households of Isabella, erring wife of Edward II, and of Philippa, queen consort of Edward III, were highly organized and, to one with the reviewer's slight knowledge of the needs of queens, expensive. Isabella at the height of her glory in 1327 had an income of well over £13,000.

Mrs Sharp's description of the administration of the household of the Black Prince, though somewhat too discursive, contains a large amount of new and valuable information. Record material is often lacking when it is most needed; nevertheless we have here presented a good working outline of a very complicated machine. It may be noted that the Register of the Black Prince, to which frequent reference is made, has now been published by the Stationery Office.

The appendix contains plates of a number of small seals of the period from Edward I to Richard II.

James F. Willard,
University of Colorado

Aloysius K. Ziegler, *Church and State in Visigothic Spain*. Catholic University diss. (Faculty of Sacred Theology, No. 32), Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America, 1930. Paper. Pp. xiii+221. $3.50.

All scholars interested in mediaeval Spain will be deeply indebted to the Reverend Father Ziegler for the methodical synthesis that he has con-

structed from such lightly worked sources as the *Canons* of the Councils of Toledo, the *Leges Wisigothorum* or *Forum iudicum* (in Zeumer's critical text), and the chronicles of the Visigothic Period. He has carefully investigated the periodical and monograph material, especially on the German side, using Zeumer's valuable articles in *Neues Archiv;* on the Spanish side, he relies heavily upon Pérez Pujol and cites Ureña's textual studies in the Visigothic codes. Perhaps the most notable omission from Ziegler's ample bibliography is the recent *Historia de España* of Ballesteros y Beretta with its exhaustive references (Vol. I, Chs. 10–11 with notes).

Father Ziegler undertakes to show that the relations between Church and State in the Visigothic kingdom were essentially Erastian in nature since the kings appointed bishops, called councils, and enjoyed many other prerogatives in the Church (pp. 43–44, 126–33). Nevertheless, the Church always placed the *kingdom* above the *ruler* (p. 124); nor was the king *legibus solutus*, nor was he possessed of indefeasible right (p. 95); rather he was under the law and held accountable to God for the just administration of his realm (pp. 71–72, 98), besides facing many practical limitations at the hands of his nobles (pp. 18, 22, 40, 46, 123) and the Councils which were a 'mild check upon the royal authority characteristic of the Teutonic peoples' (pp. 36, 108). The Visigothic Code, he terms, 'a gradual and discriminating amalgamation of the written code of Rome with Germanic customary law' (p. 23), and, again, 'not a Germanic code, but Roman, with considerable vestige of German custom' (pp. 88, 75–76, 204) and with 'a distinctly Christian tone' (pp. 88, 54). With these judgments the reviewer agrees cordially. But this dissertation transcends any narrow treatment of its stated subject; it is the most detailed survey of Visigothic Spain available in the English language that goes beyond mere narrative to seek a vital interpretation of events, laws, and institutions. The third chapter on the Visigothic Law and the fourth chapter on the Catholic Kings are of fundamental importance. The documentation is most thorough; the index fairly adequate; and no obvious typographical errors appear.

Floyd Seyward Lear,
The Rice Institute

Maurice Wilmotte, *Le Poème du Gral et ses Auteurs.* Paris: E. Droz, 1930. Paper, pp. 102.

This volume collects in convenient form five papers read before l'Académie Royale de Belgique, and first printed in the *Bulletin* of that Academy. All deal, more or less directly, with the question of the part of Chrétien de Troyes in the composition of the *Poème du Gral.* One after another, scholars have repeated the assertion that his work ended at line 10600 (Potvin's edition), but, as Wilmotte shows, the evidence for this is slight and few have considered the little evidence there is. For the attribution of part of

the poem to Wauchier de Denain the evidence is even more dubious. One manuscript (*Paris* 12,576) contains, at what corresponds to lines 33755–56 of Potvin's edition, a reference to

> Gautiers de Denet, qui l'estoire
> A mis chi apres en memoire . . .

If we change *Gautiers* to *Gauchiers* on the authority of four other manuscripts, and *Denet* to *Donaing* on that of a fifth, we get a statement which may be taken to indicate Gauchier de Donaing's authorship of this part of the poem. But *Donain*, *Donen*, and *Doneng* occur sometimes for *Denain*, and we find a record in another text of an actual *Wauchier de Denain* who wrote some saints' lives; ergo, this part of the poem is by Wauchier de Denain. But, as Wilmotte points out, it is entirely different in tone from the rest of his work. Furthermore, the evidence of the manuscripts is in favor of *Doudain* rather than *Donaing*, and of the nine manuscripts which contain this passage this is the only one which contains the expression *a mis chi apres;* one other has *a mis chi avant* and the rest have *Nos a mis avant en memoire*, which is probably the correct reading. Wilmotte believes that *metre avant* means the same as the German *vorführen* or *vorbringen*, and that the passage is intended as an indication of source rather than of authorship. On the other hand we have the very explicit statement of Manessier who, after telling how he took up the unfinished poem, adds

> Ne puis ne fu des lors en cha
> Nus hom qui ja main i mesist.

This, in conjunction with other evidence, convinces Wilmotte that, except for certain interpolations by later scribes, Chrétien himself is responsible for the poem up to the point where Manessier and Gerbert took it up. The argument, as Professor Wilmotte presents it, sounds convincing; certainly the question of the authorship of the poem must be opened anew.

About this central idea are grouped a number of others of less importance. He believes that the importance of Gawain in the poem as we have it is part of Chrétien's original plan; he holds that the poem must have been written before 1081, and accepts Kiot as anterior to both Chrétien and Wolfram. He suggests that Chrétien has made a ridiculous figure out of the Arthur of Geoffrey of Monmouth in order to ridicule his enemies the English and indirectly their king Henry II, with whose kingdom that of Arthur is made to coincide. He even holds that Chrétien made use of the *Vita Merlini*, although there is little evidence that this work had an extensive circulation, but refuses to admit the possibility that he used Celtic traditions, which assuredly did have. Wilmotte's contemptuous rejection of

'*folkloromanie*' seems to me wholly unjustified, but it does not interfere materially with the value of the study; neither do the printer's errors, although they are sometimes annoying and are more frequent than they need to be.

JOHN J. PARRY,
University of Illinois

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BOOKS RECEIVED

Under this heading *Speculum* will list the titles of all books and monographs on mediaeval subjects as soon as they are received from author or publisher. In many cases the titles here listed will be reviewed in a future issue.

E. Anitchkof, *Joachim de Flore et les Milieux Courtois*. Paris: E. Droz, 1931. Paper. Pp. viii+459.

R. W. Babcock, *The Genesis of Shakespeare Idolatry*. Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. ix+307. $3.00.

C. H. Bell, *Peasant Life in Old German Epics:* Meier Helmbrecht *and* Der arme Heinrich *trans. from the Middle High German*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. 184. $3.00.

H. Bett, *Joachim of Flora*. London: Methuen, 1931. Cloth. Pp. vii+184. £0/6/0.

L. E. Binns, *Innocent III*. London: Methuen, 1931. Cloth. Pp. x+212. £0/6/0.

M. Bloch, *Les Caractères Originaux de l'Histoire Rurale Francaise*. Oslo: A. Aschehoug & Co., 1931. Paper. Pp. xvii+261. 18 plates.

R. and A. Bossaut, transs. and edd., *Le Livre de la Chasse de Gaston Phébus*. Paris: Librairie Cynégétique E. Nourry. Paper. Pp. xxii+256+87 plates. Frs. 100.

A. M. Campbell, *The Black Death and Men of Learning*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. x+210. $3.00.

R. A. Chambers and M. Daunt, edd., *A Book of London English 1384–1425*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. 395. $5.00.

N. Denholm-Young, *Cartulary of the Mediaeval Archives of Christ Church*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xiv+266. $7.00.

J. B. Fletcher, trans., *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri*. New York: Macmillan, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xxii+471. $5.00.

A. Gardner, *Mediaeval Sculpture in France*. New York: Macmillan, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xix+491 +498 plates. $18.00.

S. Gaselee, *The Transition from the Late Latin Lyric to the Mediaeval Love Poem*. Cambridge (Eng.): Bowes and Bowes, 1931. Paper. Pp. 34. £0/2/6.

M. L. W. Laistner, *Thought and Letters in Western Europe, A. D. 500–900*. New York: The Dial Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. vi+354. $4.00.

H. Larsen, *An Old Icelandic Medical Miscellany*. Oslo: Norske Videnskaps-Akademi, 1931. Paper. Pp. viii+328.

W. W. Lawrence, *Medieval Story*. 2nd edit. New York: Columbia University Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xiv+236. $2.50.

J. E. Lloyd, *Owen Glendower (Owen Glyn Dŵr)*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xiv+161. $3.50.

R. A. S. Macalister, *Tara: A Pagan Sanctuary of Ancient Ireland*. New York: Scribners, 1931. Cloth. Pp. 209. $3.00.

V. D. Scudder, *The Franciscan Adventure*. New York: Dutton, 1931. Cloth. Pp. viii+431. $5.00.

D. W. Singer, *Catalogue of Latin and Vernacular Alchemical Manuscripts in Great Britain and Ireland Dating from before the XVI Century*. Brussels: Union Acadèmique Internationale. 2 vols., 1928, 1931. Paper. Pp. xxiii+755.

H. P. Smith, *The Proverbs of Alfred Studied in the Light of the Maidstone Ms.* New York: New York University Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. vii+168.

W. Stach and H. Walther, edd., *Studien zur Lateinischen Dichtung des Mittelalters* (Ehrengabe für K. Strecker zum 4. September, 1931). Dresden: v. Baensch Stiftung, 1931. Paper. Pp. xii+207. RM. 15.

J. Millas Vallicrosa, *Assaig d'Història de les Idees Físiques i Matemàtiques a la Catalunya Medieval*, I. (*Estudis Universitaris Catalans*, Sèrie Monografica, I.) Barcelona: Institució Patxot, 1931. Paper. Pp. xv+349. Pesetas 25.

L. B. Wright et al., edd., *Royster Memorial Studies*. Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. x+329. $4.00.

SPECULUM
A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

PETRARCH'S FIRST COLLECTION OF HIS ITALIAN POEMS

By ERNEST HATCH WILKINS

PETRARCH'S first collection of his Italian poems consists, physically, of eleven manuscript pages written by him chiefly or wholly within the period 1336–1337, and, in content, of the twenty-five poems transcribed thereon (twenty-three composed by Petrarch himself, two by poet-friends of his). The manuscript pages concerned have been much studied, along with others now associated with them, by Petrarch scholars; but the little collection has not previously been studied as a separate unit. It deserves separate study, not only because of its firstness, but because of the existence of certain problems regarding its order, chronology, and contents.

I

Description of the Collection

The manuscript pages in question, together with other pages written by Petrarch, are now grouped, in the Vatican Library, as *V.L. 3196*.[1] The pages in question originally formed parts of four two-leaf sheets. They constitute the whole of the sheet which now bears the leaf-numbers 7 and 8, the whole of sheet 9–10, the first page of sheet 11–12, and the first leaf of sheet 16–15.[2] At the close of the period when Petrarch first used these sheets he left blank fol. 11^{v}, leaf 12, and leaf 15. (In later years he used these pages for other entries.)

The collection was divided into two portions, one for sonnets and one for *canzoni* — a type of separation which prevailed in pre-

[1] Heliotype reproduction: *Il manoscritto vaticano latino 3196 autografo di Francesco Petrarca riprodotto in eliotipia a cura della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Rome, 1895. Diplomatic reproduction in C. Appel, *Zur Entwickelung italienischer Dichtungen Petrarcas*, Halle, 1891. The most serviceable general studies of the manuscript are those of Appel, *op. cit.;* N. Quarta, 'I codici *V.L. 3195* e *3196*,' in his *Studi sul testo delle rime del Petrarca*, Naples, 1902, pp. 48–112; and F. Wulff, 'La prima crisi del Petrarca sulla fine dell' anno 1336 (attestata dai fogli 1, 7–8, 9–10 e 16 del *Vat. Lat. 3196*),' in *Rivista d' Italia*, VII (1904), Part II, 99–112.

[2] In the original state of this sheet the leaf now numbered 16 preceded that now numbered 15. The numbering was done after the leaves had become detached.

Petrarchan collections. The *canzone* portion consists simply of fol. 11r, which contains the first part of the *canzone* which appears as No. 23 in the final form of the *Canzoniere*. The sonnet portion consists of sheets 7–8 and 9–10 and leaf 16, and contains 24 sonnets, as follows (Arabic numerals refer to poems according to their position in the final form of the *Canzoniere;* Roman numerals refer to poems excluded from the final form of the *Canzoniere* according to their position in A. Solerti's edition of the *Rime estravaganti* of Petrarch;[1] the names of Gianfigliazzi and Dietisalvi denote *proposte* by those men; italicization denotes *risposte*):

Sheet 7–8:	fol. 7r	fol. 7v	fol. 8r	fol. 8v
	77	60	41	Gianfigliazzi
	78	36	42	*179*
	44	46	43	45
Sheet 9–10:	fol. 9r	fol. 9v	fol. 10r	fol. 10v
	xvi	34	35	viii
	49	(rest of	Dietisalvi	(rest of page
	69	page blank)	*xxvi*	blank)
Leaf 16:	fol. 16r	fol. 16v		
	64	*xviii*		
	(blank space)	58		
	xvii	(blank space)		

The following marginal notes are contemporary with the transcription of the poems. A note in the upper right corner of fol. 9r reads: '4 novembris 1336 reincepi hic scribere' (I expand abbreviations here and elsewhere). A note opposite No. 49 reads: '13 Februarii 1337 capranice.' A note once legible at the top of fol. 16r read: '1337 Novembris 16 processi hic scribendo.' A note to No. 58, now only partly legible, read: 'die natali mane 1338.' By this last note Petrarch meant to indicate December 25 of the year which we call 1337 — this day being for him the first day of the year 1338.[2]

The script and ink of the sonnet by Dietisalvi are so different from those of the other sonnets as to indicate clearly that this sonnet is an inset — that is, a poem entered at a later time in a space temporarily left blank.[3]

[1] Florence, 1909.

[2] Wulff, *op. cit.*, p. 109; P. de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, 2d ed. (Paris, 1907), II, 289.

[3] Appel, *op. cit.*, pp. 69–70; Quarta, *op. cit.*, pp. 55–56. Cf. E. H. Wilkins, 'On the Transcription by Petrarch in *V.L. 3196*,' in *Modern Philology*, XXIV (1927), 264 and *passim*.

II

The Order of the Sonnets

The question first to be raised is that of the order of the collection. The answering of this question involves the determination of the order in which Petrarch first used the four sheets 7–8, 9–10, 11–12, and 16–15. This problem is itself twofold. It involves, first, the order of the original use of the three sonnet sheets, 7–8, 9–10, and 16–15; and, second, the time-relation of Petrarch's use of the *canzone* sheet, 11–12, to his use of the sonnet sheets.

The question of the original order of the three sonnet sheets is immediately simplified by the fact that sheet 16–15, being the one which was left incomplete, is clearly the last of the three. The question then becomes simply this: did sheet 7–8 precede sheet 9–10, or did sheet 9–10 precede sheet 7–8?

The present numeration of the sheets is relatively modern, and has in any case no significance as to their original order. The order in which the sheets were gathered prior to the modern numeration has been inferred; but that order was quite haphazard and insignificant.[1] No help is to be had from the marginal date notations quoted above, since no one of them occurs on sheet 7–8. No help is to be had from study of the ink. Quarta[2] states that the ink is the same throughout the two sheets (except in the sonnet by Dietisalvi). In the spring of 1930, Professor Mariano Pelaez had the great kindness to examine these sheets (and certain other sheets of *V.L. 3196*) for me in detail in respect to the ink, and his report confirms, essentially, the statement of Quarta. The prevailing color, according to Professor Pelaez, is 'nero slavato (color seppia).' While he notes minor variations, they are none of them such as to indicate any considerable interruption of the transcription, or to clarify the relative order of the two sheets.

The variations in handwriting, however, are significant, despite Quarta's summary statement[3] that the two sheets show the same handwriting (except in the sonnet by Dietisalvi). He states rightly that the handwriting of fol. 16 is different from that of the earlier sheets, being 'grande, asteggiata, frettolosa.' Quarta fails, however,

[1] Appel, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 21, 124–125; Quarta, pp. 49–55.
[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. 55–56.
[3] *Loc. cit.*

to recognize the fact that the handwriting of sheet 9–10 is a middle term between that of sheet 7–8 and that of fol. 16.

In sheet 7–8 the handwriting is relatively compact and precise. In sheet 9–10 the handwriting, as a whole, is less compact and less precise — though No. xxvi shows an exceptional reversion (for which an explanation will be suggested in the next section of this study) to the earlier compactness and precision. (The crowded spacing of the sonnet by Dietisalvi is due to the limitation of the space left for it, and is in any case not significant as to the original order of the sheets.) In fol. 16, as Quarta says, the handwriting is large, dashing, and hasty. The progressive change may be seen by examination of the first three plates. Plate I shows the first and last sonnets of sheet 7–8; Plate II the first and last sonnets of sheet 9–10; and Plate III the first sonnet of fol. 16.[1] Anyone having access to the original manuscript or to the heliotype reproduction can get an excellent idea of the change by placing fols. 7^{r}, 9^{r}, and 16^{r} side by side. The gradual loss of compactness may also be indicated statistically. In sheet 7–8 the average height of the sonnets — the height being measured from the top of the first line to the bottom of the last line, projections being disregarded — is 59 mm.; in sheet 9–10 (disregarding the sonnet by Dietisalvi) it is 64 mm.; and in fol. 16 it is 70 mm. Transition from a more compact to a less compact handwriting as a given series of transcriptions progresses is natural; the more compact handwriting is therefore presumably the earlier.[2]

The handwriting of sheet 7–8 is much more uniform than that of sheet 9–10; there are no such dissimilarities within sheet 7–8 as those between Nos. 35, xxvi, and viii on fol. 10. The writing of sheet 7–8 was therefore more continuous, and is therefore more likely to have been done first.

The fact that sheet 7–8 is complete, each of its four pages bearing three sonnets, whereas sheet 9–10 (like sheet 16–15) is incomplete, spaces being left both on fol. 9^{v} and fol. 10^{v} for later entries, is also an indication that the writing of sheet 7–8 was more continuous than that of sheet 9–10 — and, consequently, that the use of sheet 7–8 preceded that of sheet 9–10.

The foregoing considerations lead me to conclude with confidence

[1] All four of the plates illustrating this article are reduced to *two-thirds* of the size of the original.

[2] Cf. Wilkins, *loc. cit.*, p. 265.

that the writing of sheet 7–8 preceded the writing of sheet 9–10; and that the original order of the sonnet sheets was 7–8, 9–10, 16–15.

Quarta[1] assumes, without argument, that the writing of sheet 9–10 preceded the writing of sheet 7–8. The ideas on which this assumption rests appear to be, first, the idea that the notation in the upper right corner of fol. 9^{r}, '4 novembris 1336 reincepi hic scribere,' constitutes an indication of priority, and, second, the idea that priority of sheet 9–10 to sheet 7–8 is indicated by the fact that of the sonnets contained in these two sheets the one which stands earliest in the final order of the *Canzoniere*, No. 34, appears on fol. 9^{v}. Neither of these ideas is tenable. The very fact that the verb of the notation is *reincepi* rather than *incepi* indicates that the collection did not begin with fol. 9^{r}. Inspection of the table of contents of the sheets in question, as printed above, shows that in making up the final order of the *Canzoniere* Petrarch went irregularly from page to page on his earlier sheets, constructing a quite new order. The order of the final collection, therefore, gives no indication whatsoever as to the original relative order of these two sheets.

In the same general connection Quarta advances the theory that Petrarch before using his sheets for transcription grouped them into four-leaf *quaderni* by placing one two-leaf sheet inside another. This theory concerns not only the sheets which are the object of the present study, but also the other sheets now grouped with them in *V.L. 3196*. This curious idea rests upon the following assumption:

> Nell' angolo superiore destro della prima pagina di ogni quaderno, usava poi scriver la data del giorno che cominciava a servirsene (vedi c. 9^{r}, 16^{r}, 5^{r}, 1^{r}). Questo naturalmente per la trascrizione in netto dei sonetti; chè, quanto a quella delle canzoni od agli abbozzi, non ne era il caso.[2]

It is true that fols. 9^{r} and 1^{r} bear such dates in the upper right corner; and it is true that fol. 16^{r} originally bore such a date at the top of the page.[3] It is not true, however, that such a date appears on fol. 5^{r}; for in this case the date is in the right margin, not in the upper right corner, and refers not to the use of the sheet in question but to the sending to Bernardo of the first sonnet therein contained.

[1] Pp. 55–64.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 59.

[3] Appel, *op. cit.*, p. 108, says: 'Ubaldini las an der Spitze dieser Seite die Datierung: 1337. . . .'

No such date appears on fol. 11^{r}, which contains part of the *canzone*, No. 23; and there is absolutely no reason why a sheet intended for *canzoni* should not have had such a date just as much as a sheet intended for sonnets. Indeed the presumption would be that Petrarch would take even more care with a sheet intended for *canzoni*. Quarta's 'non ne era il caso' simply begs the question. The sheets which may fairly be classified as having been originally intended for neat transcription are 1–2, 4–3, 5–6, 7–8, 9–10, 11–12, and 16–15. Initial date notations were made in three cases (1–2, 9–10, 16–15) and are lacking in four cases (4–3, 5–6, 7–8, 11–12). To draw from these data the conclusion that Petrarch always placed a date notation in the upper right corner of a new external sheet, and that any sheet used for neat transcription and not bearing such a date is therefore necessarily not external, and to build thereon the theory that Petrarch combined his two-leaf sheets into four-leaf *quaderni*, is to place on facts of very doubtful significance the strain of a specific and elaborate interpretation which they cannot rightly be made to bear.

Quarta's idea that sheet 5–6 was originally an external sheet within which another sheet was placed to form a four-leaf *quaderno* in the manner suggested is specifically refuted by the fact that Petrarch's marginal corrections to No. 159, on the inner margin of fol. 5^{v}, extend across to the inner margin of fol. 6^{r1}: it is therefore obvious that when Petrarch wrote No. 159 fols. 5–6 constituted a simple sheet of two leaves which did not have an internal sheet between them.

Wulff[2] asserts: 'Chi guarda e compara le carte 7 *recto* e 11 *recto* . . . non può non ammettere che queste pagine . . . non sieno, tra tutte, le più antiche.' This is right enough, as a recognition of the priority of sheet 7–8 (though not, as the following section of this study will indicate, in its implications as to fol. 11^{r}), but is too slight to be of argumentative significance.[3]

From the conclusion that the writing of sheet 7–8 preceded the writing of sheet 9–10, it follows that the order of the sonnets in the

[1] As noted by Quarta himself, *loc. cit.*, p. 54.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 102.

[3] G. Salvo Cozzo, 'Le *rime sparse* di F. Petrarca,' in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, XXX (1897), 405 ff., expresses the belief that the original order of the sheets was 9, 10, 8, 16, 7; but does not state the grounds for this belief.

little collection is as follows — italicization denoting *risposte:* 77, 78, 44, 60, 36, 46, 41, 42, 43, sonnet by Gianfigliazzi, *179*, 45, *xvi*, 49, 69, 34, 35, sonnet by Dietisalvi,[1] *xxvi*, viii, 64, *xvii*, *xviii*, 58.

This order gives no indication of aesthetic design, and clearly reflects (except in the case of the sonnet by Dietisalvi) the order in which the sonnets concerned were ready for copying into these sheets. These sheets, then, were meant not for publication, but merely as a dignified and convenient place for the preservation of the poems therein contained. The collection, since it lacks a principle of arrangement, cannot properly be considered as a first form of the *Canzoniere.*

III

The Transcription of the *Canzone*

The remaining question of order concerns the time-relation of the first use of the *canzone* sheet, 11–12, to the writing of the three sonnet sheets.

The *canzone* is markedly compact and precise in handwriting. The sonnets which it most closely resembles in this respect are the three on fol. 7^{r}, and No. xxvi on fol. 10^{r} (see Plates I and IV). The script is utterly unlike the hasty script on fol. 10^{v} and fol. 16. The first sonnet on fol. 7^{r} and No. xxvi are almost identical in height (54 and 56 mm. respectively); the first seven lines of script of the *canzone* are 54 mm. in height.

The ink changes after the first two stanzas.[2] According to Professor Pelaez, the ink of the first two stanzas is 'nero slavato tendente al rossiccio o giallo chiaro,' and that of the rest of the page is 'nero slavato (color seppia);' and both inks are a little lighter than those of the sonnets on fol. 7^{r} and No. xxvi.[3] In answer to the question as to which one of the sonnets on fols. 7–10 and 16 the first two stanzas of the *canzone* most resemble in respect to ink Professor Pelaez writes: 'forse al son. *Se Phebo*' — that is, No. xxvi. In answer to the corresponding question for the rest of fol. 11^{r} he writes: 'forse al son. *Se Phebo*, ma è difficile una determinazione precisa.'

It is certainly very probable that the writing of the *canzone* was nearly contemporary either with the writing of fol. 7^{r} or with the

[1] An inset, as has been said, but always present at this point in the intention of Petrarch, as being the *proposta* to which No. xxvi is the *risposta.*

[2] Appel, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[3] Lighter, also, than those of Nos. 45 and xvi.

writing of No. xxvi, the evidence from the ink pointing in the latter direction.

Petrarch was of course much more prolific in sonnets than in *canzoni*. The latter part of this *canzone* was evidently not in satisfactory shape when Petrarch copied the first part of it here. These considerations tend to indicate that the partial transcription of the *canzone* took place relatively late, rather than relatively early, in the process of the formation of the first collection; and tend therefore to confirm the association of the page with the writing of No. xxvi.

The supposition that the writing of the *canzone* was approximately contemporary with that of No. xxvi affords a natural explanation for the exceptional character of the script of No. xxvi, which is more compact and precise than that of any of the other sonnets on sheet 9–10. The use of a calligraphic script for the *canzone* is natural: Petrarch certainly regarded his *canzoni* as poems of a type distinctly other and higher than the sonnet type. In the portion of *V.L. 3195* transcribed by him there is obvious a general tendency toward the transcription of *canzoni* with special care.[1] The sheer limitation of space suggested by the length of a *canzone* makes for compactness. If the transcription of No. xxvi followed soon upon that of the *canzone*, it would be only natural that the compact and calligraphic style of the *canzone* should be carried over into the transcription of the sonnet.

I conclude that the transcription of the *canzone* probably intervened between that of No. 35 and that of No. xxvi.

Wulff, in the sentence quoted above, asserts that fols. 7^r and 11^r are the oldest of all the pages in question. The implication that fol. 11^r is older than all of the pages except fol. 7^r is not borne out by my study of the matter. Wulff in his following sentence states, justifiably enough, but without argument, that fol. 7^r seems to him older than fol. 11^r.

IV

Dates of Transcription

Sheet 7–8, which bears no date notation, is very evenly written in respect to script and ink. Minor variations occur, but they are not sufficiently significant to indicate any considerable interruption of

[1] Wilkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 265–266.

the process of transcription. The character of the first notation on fol. 9^r — '4 novembris 1336 reincepi hic scribere' — and the fact that the height of the first sonnet on that page is considerably greater than that of the last sonnet on fol. 8^v (67 mm., as against 55 mm.) indicate that a considerable interval occurred between the end of work on sheet 7–8 and the beginning of work on sheet 9–10; yet the similarity in script (aside from the spacing) and in ink indicates that the length of the interval, while considerable, was not very great. Reasonable allowance for the minor interruptions in the process of transcription and for the interval just referred to indicates that the transcription of sheet 7–8 began probably not later than September, 1336. The general continuity pointed out above indicates that the transcription of sheet 7–8 began probably not long before that time. The writing of fol. 7^r cannot in any case be prior to 1335; for the first two sonnets on fol. 7^r, relating to the portrait of Laura painted for Petrarch by Simone Martini, must be subsequent to Simone's going to Avignon, for which 1335 is the earliest possible date.[1] It seems safe to conclude that sheet 7–8 was probably written in 1336, though possibly begun in 1335.

The four date notations quoted above indicate that Petrarch transcribed the first sonnet on fol. 9^r on November 4, 1336; the second (No. 49) and the others on sheet 9–10 within the period February 13–November 15, 1337; the first on fol. 16^r on November 16, 1337; the others on that leaf after that date; and No. 58, which is the last of the collection, on or after December 25, 1337.

It is a fair question whether the marginal dates beside Nos. 49 and 58 refer to transcription or to composition. In the case of No. 58 the fact that the sonnet refers to the sending of gifts and that the date entered is that of Christmas day indicates that the date is that of composition. In the case of No. 49 the presence of the place name *capranice* seems also to suggest composition rather than transcription. If the dates do indicate composition, their entry nevertheless makes it probable that transcription followed immediately or almost immediately upon composition.

The sonnet by Dietisalvi is an inset, as has been stated. It is so peculiar in both script and ink that no reasoned inference can well

[1] Marthe Bloch, 'When did Simone Martini go to Avignon?' in SPECULUM, II (1927), 470–472.

be drawn as to the date of its transcription, which may even be subsequent by some years to the making of the collection.

The conclusion reached in the preceding section to the effect that the transcription of the *canzone* on fol. 11^{r} probably intervened between that of No. 35 and that of No. xxvi, both of which appear on fol. 10^{r}, involves, in the light of the date notations just referred to, the conclusion that the transcription of the *canzone* probably took place within the period February 13–November 15, 1337.

The establishment of the fact that sheet 7–8 is the earliest of these sheets, and that it was probably written in 1336, though possibly begun in 1335, gives it special interest as being the earliest autograph of Italian compositions by Petrarch, and the next to earliest extensive specimen of his handwriting.

The earlier extensive specimen is a prayer in Latin prose, presumably Petrarch's own, written by him on June 1, 1335, on the first leaf of his manuscript of Cassiodorus' *De anima* and Augustine's *De vera religione* (now *Par. lat. 2201*). The handwriting of the prayer is in general similar to that of sheet 7–8, but is more compact, more careful, and more beautiful.[1] A list of books on the flyleaf at the end of the same volume may have been written as early as 1333, but may be as late as 1343.[2]

V

Dates of Composition[3]

From the fact that the writing of sheet 9–10 was begun on November 4, 1336, it now follows that all of the sonnets contained on sheet 7-8 — Nos. 36, 41–46, 77, 78, 179 (and Gianfigliazzi's *proposta*) — were composed before that date.

It was shown in the preceding section of this study that the transcription of sheet 7–8 began probably not later than September, 1336. It follows that the composition of the first two sonnets on fol.

[1] L. Delisle, 'Notice sur un livre annoté par Pétrarque (MS. *latin 2201* de la Bibliothèque Nationale),' in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, xxxv (1896), 393–408. The first of the two pages on which the prayer appears is reproduced in Delisle's first illustrative plate.

[2] B. L. Ullman, 'Petrarch's Favorite Books,' in *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, liv (1923), 21–36.

[3] For earlier discussions of the dates of composition of the poems concerned, see Ruth S. Phelps, *The Earlier and Later Forms of Petrarch's Canzoniere*, Chicago, 1925.

7^r — the Simone Martini sonnets, Nos. 77 and 78 — took place probably not later than that month.[1]

Consideration of the position of sonnets on sheet 9–10 and leaf 16 in relation to the marginal notations contained thereon gives the following results as to dates of composition of these poems: No. xvi, on or before November 4, 1336; No. 49, on or before February 13, 1337, probably on that date; Nos. 34, 35, 69, viii, xxvi (and the poem by Dietisalvi), before November 16, 1337; No. 64, on or before November 16, 1337; Nos. xvii and xviii, probably before December 25, 1337; No. 58, on or before December 25, 1337, probably on that date.

The composition of the *canzone* is known, on other grounds, to have taken place as early as 1333 or 1334.

VI

The Content of the Collection

The collection as it stands is obviously incomplete in the omission of the poems for which blank spaces were left, and is perhaps incomplete through loss of one or more other sheets of poems.

There are three blank spaces which were presumably left with the intention that certain poems should be inserted therein; a space on fol. 9^v long enough for two sonnets; a space on fol. 10^v also long enough for two sonnets; and a space on fol. 16^r long enough for one sonnet. The missing sonnet in the third case was doubtless the unknown *proposta* to which Nos. xvii and xviii are *risposte*. For the two other cases I see no basis for a reasoned guess as to the identity of the poems omitted. With reference to the space on fol. 9^v Quarta[2] says: 'sotto il s. "Apollo" per la malattia di L., la carta è bianca, c'è luogo per due ss.: e con due altri ss. sullo stesso argomento lo ritroviamo poi nel *3195*.' Quarta is apparently referring to Nos. 31 and 33,[3] which do refer to Laura's illness; but there is absolutely no evidence in No. 34 itself that it has reference to an illness of Laura, and there is consequently no ground for thinking that Nos. 31 and 33 were the sonnets omitted here.

It seems probable that one or more sheets now lost originally pre-

[1] Miss Bloch, *loc. cit.*, p. 472, refers to me as expecting to show that these two sonnets were composed at least as early as August, and probably as early as July, 1336. The chances are that they were; but I now prefer the more cautious statement made above.

[2] P. 58.

[3] Possibly to Nos. 32 and 33; but No. 32 in reality refers to the wasting away of Petrarch himself.

ceded sheet 7–8. No feature of that sheet indicates that it was in any sense initial in character. In the final form of the *Canzoniere* 26 sonnets (Nos. 1–10, 12, 13, 15–21, 24–27, 31–33) precede No. 34, which is the first of the sonnets of the final collection which appear in the first collection. Every one of these 26 sonnets, with the exception of No. 1, the prefatory sonnet, may perfectly well have been composed before the sonnets extant in the first collection. It is inherently improbable that none of these 25 sonnets were included in the first collection.

It is possible but not probable that a sheet or sheets now lost originally intervened between sheets 7–8 and 9–10, or between sheets 9–10 and 16–15, or in both places. Existence of such an intervening sheet between sheets 9–10 and 16–15 is particularly improbable in view of the close similarity of the handwriting of fol. 16^{r} to that of fol. 10^{v}. The sonnets extant in the first collection range, in the final collection, from No. 34 to No. 69 (if we disregard Nos. 77, 78, and 179, which we know to have been delayed in their admission to the final collection). The series 34–69 in the final collection includes 14 sonnets which appear in the first collection, and 13 (Nos. 38–40, 47, 48, 51, 56, 57, 61, 62, 65, 67, 68) which do not appear in that collection. One of these latter, No. 62, was probably written in 1338, after Petrarch had stopped work on the first collection. Of the others, some may well have been written after 1337, and some, if not written after that date, may have been preserved for a time on casual papers without passing through the stage of inclusion in the first collection. There is no specific reason to suppose that any one of them stood originally in that collection.

Of the 22 sonnets by Petrarch extant in the first collection, 17 passed ultimately into the final collection, and five were ultimately rejected. The 17 include one of the most beautiful of all of Petrarch's sonnets, No. 35 (*Solo e pensoso*), and a few others, such as Nos. 36 and 77, which have been greatly liked; but the general quality of the poems is not high, as measured by the standard of the *Canzoniere* in general. Only one of the 17 poems, No. 179, is a *risposta*. Of the five rejected sonnets, four are *risposte*. No one of the five is of notable beauty.

The group of poems as a whole is marked by an exceptionally heavy freight of specific classic names and references — a particular delight, of course, to the young Petrarch and his friends.

Oberlin College

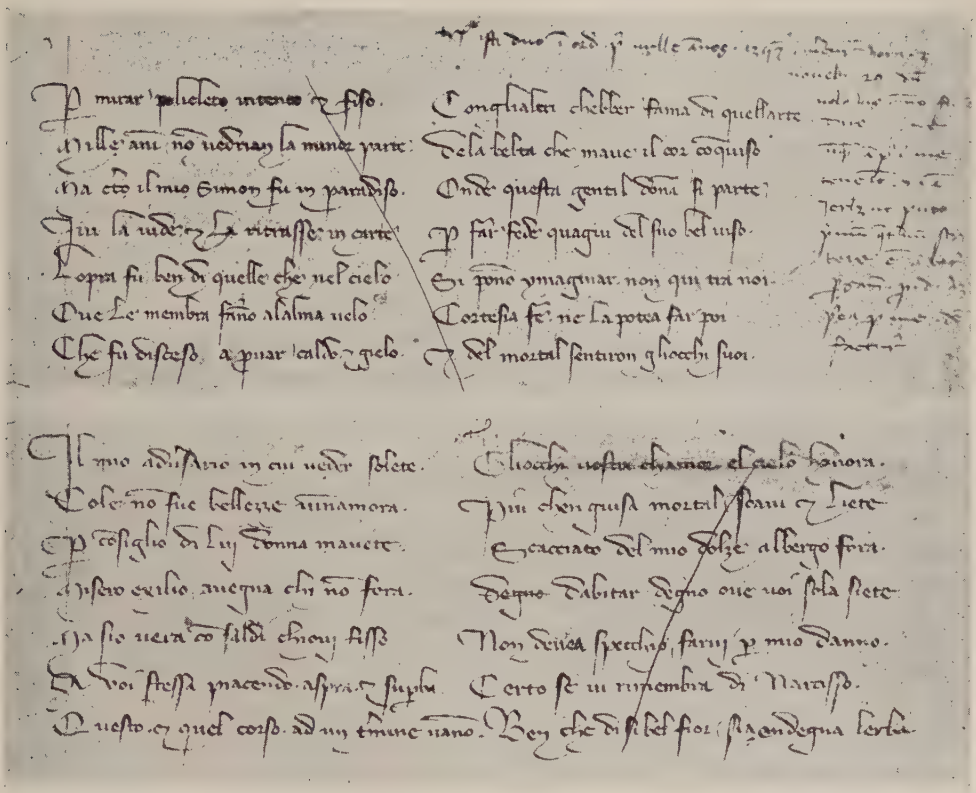

PLATE I

ROME, *V. L. 3196*. FOL. 7ʳ, THE FIRST SONNET;
AND FOL. 8ᵛ, THE LAST SONNET.

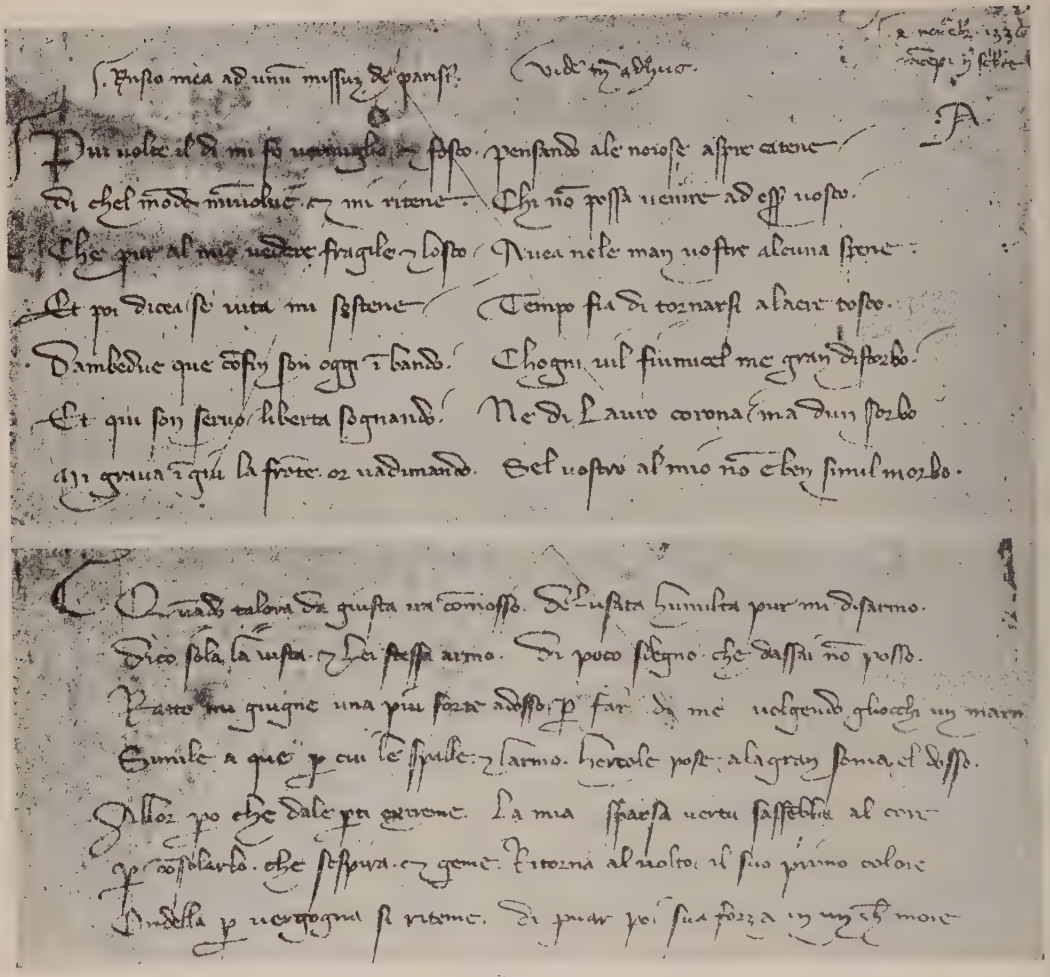

PLATE II

ROME, *V. L. 3196*. FOL. 9ʳ, THE FIRST SONNET;
AND FOL. 10ᵛ, THE LAST SONNET.

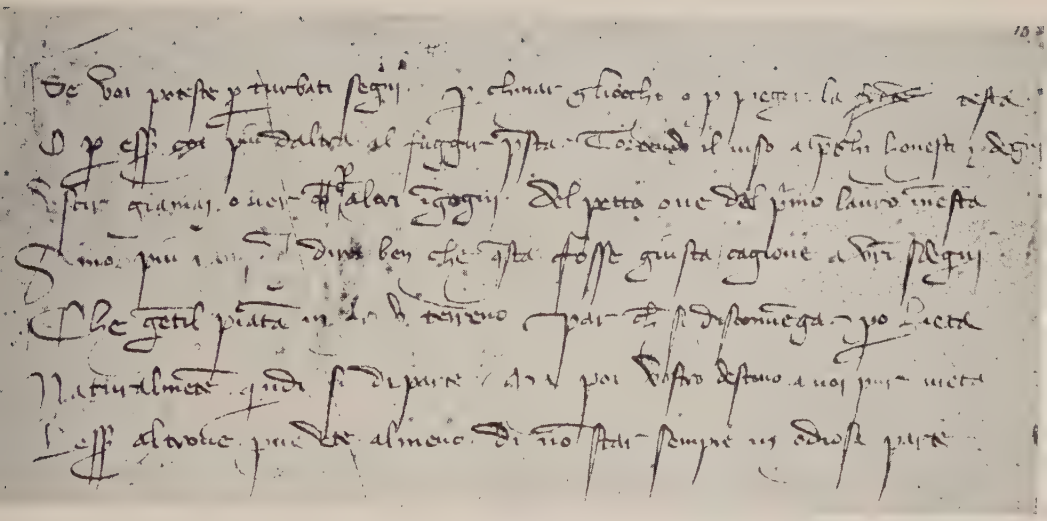

Plate III

Rome, *V. L. 3196*. Fol. 16ʳ, the First Sonnet.

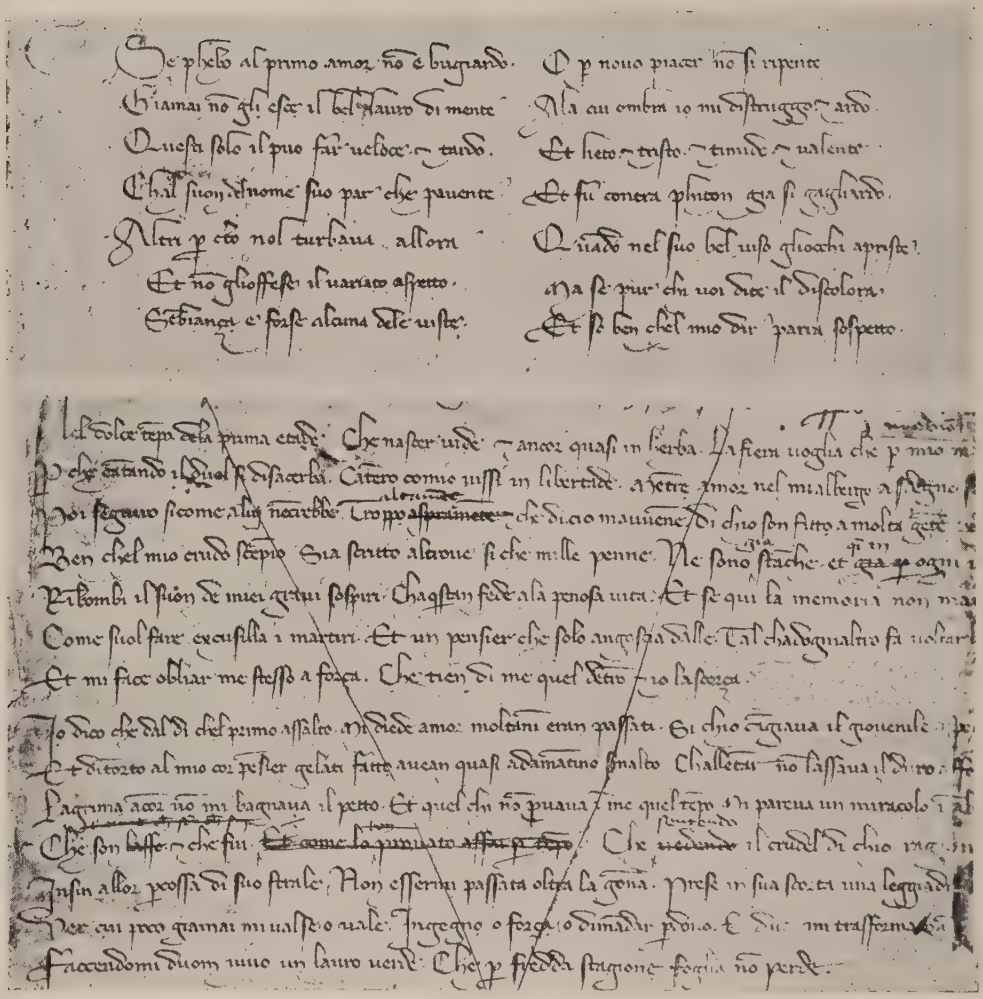

PLATE IV

ROME, *V. L. 3196*. FOL. 10ʳ, THE SONNET *Se phebo;* AND FOL. 11ʳ, THE FIRST TWO STANZAS OF THE *Canzone Nel dolce tempo*.

MASTERS' SALARIES AND STUDENT-FEES IN THE MEDIAEVAL UNIVERSITIES[1]

By GAINES POST

IT IS well known that in mediaeval Universities of secular origin the masters received their income from the students or from communes or princes, and that in universities of ecclesiastical and sometimes in those of secular origin, many of the masters were, as ecclesiastics, provided with benefices. But the whole problem of stipends or benefices in relation to student-fees has been neglected. In the thirteenth century it was generally held that masters who were salaried or held benefices should not demand fees. Hence it has been believed that the masters in universities of ecclesiastical origin did not, if they were beneficed, receive payment from the students.[2] Sufficient evidence, however, is at hand to show that neither stipends nor benefices entirely took the place of fees to make learning free for the students.

The papacy, it is true, attempted to provide free instruction for students in church schools by ordering the payment of salaries to the masters.[3] In the third and fourth Lateran Councils, 1179 and

[1] This paper is a revision of Chapter VIII in my unpublished Harvard Dissertation, *The Papacy and the Rise of the Universities*. For valuable suggestions I wish to thank Professors Charles Homer Haskins and George La Piana, of Harvard University.

[2] G. Manacorda, *Storia della Scuola in Italia* (Milan-Palermo-Naples: Remo Sandron, 1914), I, i, 88 f., 222 ff., and I, ii, cap. i, *passim*, has pointed out the contradiction between the practice of accepting fees and the theory of gratuity, but only with regard to Italy; and he failed to distinguish clearly between the cathedral schools and the Universities, since he assumes that the papal provision of benefices in the former applied as directly to masters who held benefices and collected fees while teaching in the latter (I, i, 88 f., 165). G. Robert, *Les écoles et l'enseignement de la théologie pendant la première moitié du XII^e Siècle* (Paris, 1909), pp. 35 ff., has noted a few instances of student-fees in the schools of Paris in the twelfth century. But so far as I am aware no one has made use of the scattered evidence on the matter of salaries at Paris in the thirteenth century. G. Kaufmann, *Die Geschichte der Deutschen Universitäten* (Stuttgart, 1888), I, 211, asserts that the professors at Paris lived in part on the income from prebends and benefices, but fails to consider student-fees. G. Périés, *La Faculté de Droit dans l'Ancienne Université de Paris* (Paris, 1890), p. 20, notes that students made gifts to their masters, but overlooks *collectae*, which were quite different in nature from *dona*. A. Luchaire, *La Société Française au Temps de Philippe-Auguste* (Paris, 1909), p. 68, even asserts that the masters taught gratis. Angers and Orleans have received no attention on this matter, and I have found no direct evidence relating to Angers. The payment of fees at Oxford, however, has been noted, *infra*, p. 195.

[3] In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, students in the cathedral schools often paid *collectae* or fees; Manacorda, *op. cit.*, I, ii, 9 f., 22–24, 26, 44; Robert, *op. cit.*, pp. 34–36; A. F. Leach, *Educational Charters and Documents*, (Cambridge, 1911), pp. 82, 130; L. Maître, *Les*

1215, Popes Alexander III and Innocent III commanded each cathedral church to employ a master or grammarian to teach gratis the clerks of the church and poor students,[1] and each metropolitan church to employ a theologian to train priests and others '*in sacra pagina*.'[2] The salary, the yield of a prebend, should be provided by the church in which the master taught.[3] Owing to the scarcity of theologians at a time when the 'lucrative sciences' were more popular than the liberal arts and theology,[4] Honorius III, in the famous bull *Super speculam*, 1219, ordered prelates and cathedral chapters to destine promising clerks to the study of theology; to these students, and to teachers in the faculty of theology, the income from their prebends and benefices was to be paid for five years.[5]

Clearly these provisions represent a serious attempt to build up a system of education for priests.[6] But did they, by extension, provide salaries for masters or professors in any of the Universities? One might suppose that Honorius III had in mind any University where there was a faculty of theology,[7] in order that the masters in

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Écoles Épiscopales et Monastiques de l'Occident depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à Philippe-Auguste (Paris, 1866); pp. 203 ff. In a letter to the archbishop of Rheims Alexander III states that because of the withdrawal of benefices from the masters, they 'necessaria victui a scolaribus suis durius forte et gravius exigere compelluntur'; E. Friedberg, *Canones-Sammlungen zwischen Gratian und Bernhard von Pavia* (Leipzig, 1897), *Collectio Brugensis*, tit. xx, c. 3, p. 151. By making learning free the popes satisfied the theory that knowledge was a gift of God, and therefore should be free to all; see the letter of Alexander III, Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, CC, 840; so also Raymond of Peñafort, 'quia scientia donum Dei est, unde vendi non potest,' MS. *Vat. lat. 10270, Summa de Casibus*, fol. 170^{r}; cf. Manacorda, *op. cit.*, I, i, 88 f. Moreover, by providing salaries, the popes might restore the vigor of the church schools. On the decline of the cathedral schools see P. Mandonnet, 'La Crise Scolaire au Début du XIII^{e} Siècle et la Fondation de l'Ordre des Frères-Prêcheurs,' *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, XV (1914), 35 f.

[1] H. Denifle and E. Chatelain, eds., *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* (Paris, 1889–1897), I, Introd., no. 12, and I, no. 22.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, no. 22. Grammar and the liberal arts, the foundation for theology (H. Denifle, *Die Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400* [Berlin, 1885], I, 98–100), and theology, the knowledge useful for orders, were emphasized.

[3] *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, no. 22.

[4] Cf. C. H. Haskins, *Studies in Mediaeval Culture* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), pp. 25, 47–49, 57, 77.

[5] *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, no. 32, p. 91.

[6] On the failure of the papal decrees to restore the vigor of cathedral schools, see Mandonnet, *Rev. d'Hist. Ecclés.*, XV, 39 ff., and his citations of Bernard of Parma (?), Henry of Susa, and St Thomas Aquinas, p. 41.

[7] But faculties existed also in cathedral schools. Honorius III, in a letter to the Chapter of Como: 'Cum . . . magister E. concanonicus vester assidue in ecclesia vestra doceat in the-

the faculty might teach the special students sent to the *studia generalia*.[1] But this does not seem to have been his plan. Instead, the students in question were to study in a higher faculty of theology — Paris was intended in 1219 — so that they might become teachers in the schools of the metropolitan churches.[2] As teachers in the latter, rather than in the Universities, they were to receive for five years the income from their benefices.[3] At Paris, however, professors of theology were probably similarly to be remunerated for teaching the non-resident students.[4] But their benefices were not established by the decree of 1215, for Paris was not a metropolitan see.

In support of this conclusion may be offered later instances of special privileges — not contingent upon, though finding their precedent in, the *Super speculam* — conferred by Gregory IX and Innocent IV upon the masters and students at Toulouse and Narbonne. The case of Toulouse, the first University founded by the papacy,[5] is of particular interest. There the first salaries were paid by the Count of Toulouse to professors in theology as well as to professors in other faculties; the Church itself did not provide the salaries in this University of its own creation, although it did force the Count to pay them.[6] The secular salaries, however, were not all that the

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ologica facultate'; *Reg. Vat. Hon. III*, lib. 2, fol. 280r, ep. 1254; P. Pressutti, ed., *Regesta Honorii Papae III* (Rome, 1888–1895), I, no. 1065. Cf. L. Auvray, ed., *Les Registres de Grégoire IX* (Paris, 1896 ff.), I, no. 2450; E. Berger, ed., *Les Registres d'Innocent IV* (Paris, 1884–1921), III, no. 7482. On the word *facultas* see Denifle, *Universitäten*, I, 71. Honorius III also uses the words 'in scolis' ('docentes . . . dum in scolis docuerint'; *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, 91), but they do not yet apply to any particular kind of institution of learning. Cf. Denifle, *op. cit.*, I, 9; F. M. Powicke, *Stephen Langton* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), p. 27.

[1] By the middle of the thirteenth century it was decided that the five-year dispensation from residence for students of theology applied only to those in *studia generalia*. Cf. Denifle, *op. cit.*, I, 19; and my Harvard Dissertation, Chap. IX.

[2] Referring to the *Super speculam*, a glossator says, 'docibiles, id est, habiles ad docendum, et isti a capitulis debent eligi ut mittantur ut postmodum doceant.' MS. *Borghes. lat. 237, Decret. Greg. IX*, fol. 181v.

[3] So Tancred: 'Hodie generaliter concessum est omnibus docentibus et studentibus in theologia, ut integraliter recipiant omnes redditus suos usque ad quinquennium . . . ut in constitutione Honorii pape . . .' MS. *Vat. lat. 1377*, fol. 221v.

[4] In 1343 Clement VI ordered the fruits and rents of their benefices, in whatever churches held, to be given to masters and students in theology, 'iuxta Constitutionem Honorii III.' *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, II, 537.

[5] H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1895), II, i, 158.

[6] See M. Fournier, *Les Statuts et Privilèges des Universités Françaises* (Paris 1890–1894), I, no. 505, for the treaty of 1229, by the terms of which the Count must pay during ten years 4000 marks of silver to four theologians, two decretists, two grammarians, and six masters

masters received, for Innocent IV in 1245 granted them the privilege of non-residence.[1] In 1247 Innocent IV conferred the same privilege on the *doctores* and *scolares* at Narbonne.[2] Neither at Toulouse nor at Narbonne, then, was the Lateran decree of 1215 applied for the provision of benefices even for theologians. The professors were beneficed not as teachers, but as ecclesiastics; as professors, however, they enjoyed the dispensation from residence,[3] and this not by the *Super speculam*, but by special privileges for *studia* founded for the purpose of combating heresy.[4]

This conclusion is supported again by the opinions of the canonists of the thirteenth century. Tancred, archdeacon of Bologna in the 1220's,[5] in a gloss to the third and fourth Lateran decrees and the *Super speculam*, implies that those of the masters at Bologna and Paris who were ecclesiastics were not, as teachers, provided with benefices.[6] In the same way Raymond of Peñafort distinguishes between the purely ecclesiastical schools of papal legislation and the

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of arts; *ibid.*, I, no. 506, for Gregory IX's confirmation in 1233 of the provisions relative to the University; and nos. 510, 512, 515, 516 for Count Raymond's futile attempt to avoid payment, and Gregory IX's activity in compelling him to pay. Cf. Denifle, *Universitäten*, I, 325 f.; and Rashdall, *op. cit.*, II, i, 160–162.

[1] Fournier, *op. cit.*, I, no. 518; but the Count of Toulouse must continue to pay the regular salaries.

[2] 'Nos igitur . . . universitati vestre auctoritate presentium indulgemus ut eisdem privilegiis et immunitatibus in percipiendis vestrarum ecclesiarum redditibus gaudeatis, quibus gaudeant scolares in studiis generalibus commorantes,' *Reg. Vat. Inn. IV, 21*, fol. 393v, ep. 719; Berger, *Reg. Inn. IV.*, I, no. 2717.

[3] The same conclusion holds for the situation in the University of the Roman Court, founded in 1244–1245 by Innocent IV. Here the masters probably received in absence their ecclesiastical revenues, although the foundation bull grants non-residence, as in the case of Narbonne, explicitly only to the students. E. Friedberg, *Corpus Iuris Canonici* (Leipzig, 1879–1881), II, *Liber Sextus Decret.*, lib. v, tit. vii, cap. 2; Fournier, *op. cit.*, II, no. 1559; Denifle, *op. cit.*, I, 302, note 326; Rashdall, *op. cit.*, II, i, 28.

[4] In his privilege for Narbonne Innocent IV says: 'ut cum tanquam lucernas super candelabrum in ecclesia Dei viri refulgeant litterati per quos hereticorum perversum dogma confunditur'; *Reg. Vat. Inn. IV, 21*, fol. 293v, ep. 719; Fournier, *op. cit.*, II, no. 1564, reads 'vivi' for 'viri'.

[5] Cf. J. F. von Schulte, *Die Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des Canonischen Rechts von Gratian bis auf die Gegenwart* (Stuttgart, 1875–1880), I, 201.

[6] 'Patet ex hoc capite et duobus sequentibus quod magister cui certum beneficium est constitutum pretium pro doctrina vel docendi licentia petere non debet. Sed quid dicemus de magistris qui docent bononie vel parisius? Numquid licet eis collectam vel pretium accipere, utique cum non habeant beneficium ad hoc deputatum?' MS. *Vat. lat. 1377*, fol. 82v; MS. *Borghes. lat. 264*, at the same decretals.

Universities of Paris and Bologna.[1] Similarly Geoffrey of Trani and Johannes (de Deo?) except masters of Bologna and Paris (Geoffrey of Trani adds Naples) from the obligation to teach gratis, since they did not hold benefices through the force of the papal decrees.[2] But to what masters in *studia generalia* could the Lateran decrees and the *Super speculam* have applied? Apparently to none, for not a University in England, France, Spain, or Italy fulfilled the conditions for classification as a metropolitan cathedral school,[3] and thus the papal decrees could hardly be intended for ecclesiastics teaching in the *studia generalia*. The glosses leave the impression, however, that possibly the masters of theology at Paris or Naples (Bologna is out of the question, for no faculty of theology existed there until 1352)[4] were regularly beneficed by the *Quia nonnullis* of 1215 and the *Super speculam*. Indeed, Tancred says that all students and teachers of theology could in his day receive their rents for five years.[5] But Tancred evidently has in mind only the papal privilege of dispensation from residence. For the rest, metropolitan chapters would hardly have consented to support several masters of theology in a University[6] when each chapter was ordered to provide for only one theologian in its own school.[7] Hence the glossators seem to refer only

[1] MS. *Vat. lat. 10270, Summa de casibus*, lib. I, tit. iii, *De magistris*, fol. 170^{r}: after referring to the cathedral schools directly affected by the papal decrees, Raymond asks whether masters in the schools of Bologna and Paris could collect fees, as if they were not given benefices by the provisions for masters in church schools, 'Sed . . . nunquid magister in scolis parisius vel bononie potest licite facere collectam?'

[2] MS. *Vat. lat. 10269, Summa Gaufredi de Trano de Titulis Decretalium*, lib. v, tit., *De Magistris*, fol. 134^{r}. The gloss of Johannes is in MS. *Casanatense lat. 223*, fol. 277^{v}, and in MS. *Borghes. lat. 257, Decret. Greg. IX*, lib. v, tit., *De Magistris* (the folios are unnumbered). Cf. *infra*, pp. 189–191.

[3] The University of Naples was located in a metropolitan city, but it was by no means a church school. It had a faculty of theology which was controlled by the Dominicans, but the king provided the salaries; *infra*, p. 193.

[4] Rashdall, *Universities*, I, 252; Denifle, *Universitäten*, I, 207, gives the date 1360. For a long time many other Universities had no faculty of theology: Montpellier, Salamanca, Orleans, Coimbra, Lérida; cf. Kaufmann, *Deutsche Universitäten*, I, 7. Theology was taught at Oxford and Toulouse; Paris will explain the situation at Oxford; for Toulouse, see p. 183.

[5] MS. *Vat. lat. 1377*, fol. 221^{v}; MS. *Borghes. lat. 264*, at the same decretal. This gloss refers to a letter of Innocent III to the bishop of Auxerre on non-residence for study; cf. Friedberg, *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, II, *Decret. Greg. IX*, lib. III, tit. iv, c. 12.

[6] There were eight or nine secular masters of theology at Paris in the thirteenth century; *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, nos. 5 and 27. Paris was in the archdiocese of Sens; naturally the Chapter of Sens was not asked to support eight theologians at Paris.

[7] Even for masters in the cathedral and metropolitan schools few benefices were actually provided; the papal decrees were not enforced. See Mandonnet, 'La Crise Scolaire,' *Rev. d'Hist. Ecclés.*, XV, 41–47.

to those masters who taught in local church schools as beneficed or salaried by the Lateran decrees.

If, however, papal legislation did not provide salaries, Honorius III by the *Super speculam* probably granted the dispensation from residence to the masters of theology in the University of Paris, and the popes frequently conferred benefices on them and even on other professors in the Universities.[1] As we have seen, all the masters at Toulouse by the privilege of Innocent IV enjoyed the use, in absence, of their ecclesiastical revenues, and the professors at the University of the Roman Court also received their rents.[2] Individual theologians at Paris were particularly favored in this respect.[3] Such favors seem to have increased until Pope John XXII in 1316–1317 commanded the prelates of the Church to provide the students and masters of Paris with benefices, in order to counteract the decline of the *studium*.[4] Provisions by papal authority reached their climax when deputations of masters from Paris began to carry to the Roman Court a *rotulus nominandorum* containing 'the names of graduates to whom the Pope was invited to give provisions or expectative graces to benefices in ecclesiastical collation.'[5] About 1322 the University of Oxford petitioned John XXII for the same favors which he had conferred on '*doctores tam philosophos quam theologos*' at Paris.[6] In the fourteenth century many of the other Universities sent their *rotuli* to the Holy See;[7] and in 1371 Gregory XI granted

[1] I shall refer only to the masters who were actually teaching when they received benefices. Many other masters, however, some of whom may have been teaching, although the papal letters may not say so, received benefices from the popes. Cf. H. Baier, *Päpstliche Provisionen für niedere Pfründen bis zum Jahre 1304* (Münster i.W., 1911), pp. 70, 75.

[2] *Supra*, p. 184, note 4; Denifle, *Universitäten*, I, 302, and 303, note 327.

[3] Alexander III permitted Gerardus Puella to enjoy, in non-residence, his rents for four years if actively teaching; *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, Introd., nos. 10 and 11. Innocent III granted three years' absence for teaching theology at Paris to a dean of the Chapter of Sens (Migne, *P.L.*, CCXV, 1277, ep. 185); and desiring to favor his former master at Paris, he ordered the Chapter of York to admit Peter of Corbeil to a prebend and archdiaconate; *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, Introd., no. 17; Migne, CCXIV, 443, ep. 478 and 480; cf. H. F. Délaborde, ed., *Œuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton* (Paris, 1882), I, 146. Honorius III commanded the church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois to pay to Jean de Barastre his rents as a professor of theology; *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, no. 44, and note 1. A further possible example is that of Jean d'Abbeville; *ibid.*, I, no. 26, and note 1.

[4] *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, II, no. 729, p. 185; cf. nos. 728, 728a, 738, 739.

[5] Rashdall, *Universities*, I, 533 f.

[6] *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, II, no. 818.

[7] For Cambridge, see W. H. Bliss, ed., *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers* (London, 1893–1921), II, 423. For other examples see Denifle, *Universitäten*, I, 269 (Orleans), 274 (An-

to all ecclesiastical persons in the University of Bologna the right to receive the rent from their benefices.[1]

In Castile, while the kings took the initiative in founding Universities and in providing salaries, the papacy coöperated in the payment of the teachers. Honorius III in 1220 confirmed King Ferdinand's assignation, for the masters' salaries at Palencia, of a '*quarta tertiarum*' of the property of each church in the diocese of Palencia for five years.[2] The salary was to be paid to a theologian, a decretist, a *logicus*, and an *auctorista*. In addition, the Cardinal-Legate Jean d'Abbeville in the Council of Valladolid (1228) ordained that all masters at Palencia should enjoy for five years the revenue from their benefices.[3] In 1245 Innocent IV granted to the masters at Valencia the same privilege.[4] These privileges, like those of Innocent IV for Toulouse and the University of the Roman Court, were dispensations from residence for teachers who were beneficed. Such privileges did not constitute salaries, but simply special favors in addition to the regular salaries paid, in the case of Toulouse, by the count, and, in the cases of Palencia and Valladolid,[5] by the dioceses as ordered by the king. At Salamanca the king of Castile, Alfonso X, furnished the salaries.[6] Indeed, in Castile the Crown paid the masters in any *studium generale*,[7] but often used to that end the *tertia ecclesiarum*, which the kings collected with or without the consent of the papacy.[8]

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gers), 338 (Toulouse), 355 (Montpellier), 379 (Valladolid), 493 (Salamanca), 506 (Lérida), 532 f. (Lisbon-Coimbra).

[1] *Chartularium Studii Bononiensis* (Imola, 1907 ff.), II, 241, no. 214.

[2] *Reg. Vat. Hon. III*, lib. V, fol. 32r, ep. 153; Pressutti, *Reg. Hon. III*, I, no. 2742. In 1225 Honorius III extended this provision for another period of five years. *Reg. Vat. Hon. III*, lib. IX, fol. 40r, ep. 227. Cf. Denifle, *op. cit.*, I, 475 f.

[3] V. de la Fuente, *Historia de las Universidades, Colegios, y demás Establecimientos de Enseñanza en España* (Madrid, 1884–1889), I, 83.

[4] But the time is indefinite, for the duration of the master's activity in teaching; Berger *Reg. Inn. IV.*, I, no. 1375; La Fuente, *op. cit.*, I, 293, no. 4; cf. Rashdall, *op. cit.*, II, i, 100.

[5] In the fifteenth century; Rashdall, *op. cit.*, II, i, 84.

[6] Denifle, 'Urkunden zur Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Universitäten.' *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1885–1892), V, 172, no. 7; cf. Rashdall, *op. cit.*, II, i, 74 ff.

[7] *Los Codigos Españoles. II. Codigo de las Siete Partidas* (Madrid, 1848), Partita Segunda, tit. XXXI, ley iii: 'E los salarios de los Maestros deuen ser establescidos por el Rey.' In 1304 Ferdinand IV provided salaries at Valladolid; Denifle, *Universitäten*, I, 376. In Aragon the city of Lérida paid the salaries in the University founded in 1300; Rashdall, *op. cit.*, II, i, 89.

[8] In 1301 Boniface VIII granted the right to collect the *tertia ecclesiarum* to Ferdinand IV, who decreed that the salaries at Salamanca should be paid from this source; Denifle, *op. cit.*, I, 488 f.; La Fuente, *op. cit.*, I, 312–314. On the temporary withdrawal of the thirds by Clement V see Rashdall, *op. cit.*, II, i, 76.

In Portugal the Abbot of Alcobaça and other prelates in 1288 petitioned the pope for permission to use the rents and other revenues of their monasteries and churches for paying the salaries of the masters in the projected *studium generale* of Lisbon-Coimbra.[1] Nicholas IV in 1290 confirmed the new University and the ecclesiastical provision of salaries.[2]

Evidently, then, the papal legislation establishing benefices for masters in church schools was not extended, except in the form of dispensations from residence,[3] to the masters in the Universities. But what was the nature of the livelihood of those masters at the more famous Universities for whom no benefices or salaries were provided? Or if theologians and canonists or other masters held benefices, did they have a further source of income from their students?

It has been observed that the papacy in theory believed in the gratuity of teaching, and in practice tried to provide free instruction for poor students in cathedral schools. The reformers among the clergy held the same ideal to be desirable in the University of Paris. When the schools of Paris were developing in the twelfth century, John of Salisbury, attacking the champions of the dialectic movement, scorned the Cornifician who 'credulos auditores suos, multa mercede conductus, et multo tempore aerem verberans, docuit nihil scire.'[4] To St Bernard and some of the preachers teaching for money was shameful.[5] Hence, although the *Quia nonnullis* and the

[1] F. Brandão, ed., *Monarchia Lusytana* (Lisbon, 1650), v, 317, Escritura XXI; M.E. da Motta Veiga, *Esboço Historico-Litterario da Faculdade de Theologia da Universidade de Coimbra* (Coimbra, 1872), pp. 17–19.

[2] *Monarchia Lusytana*, v, 320 f., Escrit. XXIV. This was really a dispensation from residence to men who were already beneficed. Cf. da Motta Veiga, *op. cit.*, pp. 21 ff.; Denifle, *op. cit.*, I, 523; T. Braga, *Historia da Universidade de Coimbra* (Lisbon, 1892), I, 80 f.

[3] The dispensation from residence was at first granted, except in the case of Paris, to the Universities which were in need of some artificial encouragement, and it was granted to the theologians at Paris in order to stimulate the study of theology. In the fourteenth century the papacy granted it temporarily to still other Universities: to Orleans, 1350 (Fournier, *Statuts et Privilèges*, I, no. 147); to Angers, 1363 and 1366 (*ibid.*, I, nos. 387 and 389); to Siena, 1408 (Denifle, *op. cit.*, I, 450). In Italy the canonists at Bologna probably all held benefices and of course lived in absence from their churches; on Bologna see G. Zaccagnini, *La Vita dei Maestri e degli Scolari nello Studio di Bologna nei Secoli XIII e XIV* (Geneva, 1926), p. 49. Johannes de Deo held a benefice in Portugal while teaching canon law at Bologna 1247–1253; Schulte, *Quellen und Literatur*, II, 94, and II, 108 for another example.

[4] J. A. Giles, ed., *Opera Omnia Joannis Sarisberiensis* (Oxford, 1848), v, *Metalogicus*, p. 15; C. C. I. Webb, ed., *Ioannis Saresberiensis Episcopi Carnotensis Metalogicon* (Oxford, 1929), p. 9. On the Cornificians see Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), pp. 98, 356.

Super speculam were not intended for the Universities,[1] the canonists themselves spent some effort in defining and interpreting the papal decretals relative to free instruction. It will be well to state their opinion, and then to observe the actual practice in the Universities.

It was not questioned that masters should have some means of a living.[2] But, whether or not a benefice or salary was provided, could not a master collect fees from his students? Referring to the decrees of 1179 and 1215, and to the *Super speculam*, Tancred states that the masters at Paris and Bologna could, when not beneficed, accept *collectae*.[3] Later glossators continued to discuss the question, always distinguishing between the church schools on the one hand and Paris and Bologna on the other. Being for the most part canonists and trained also in civil law, they are at pains to decide whether professors of law in particular, and others in general, may demand fees. Ideally, they all say, the true philosopher, 'exemplo Socratis,' should reject money, for 'knowledge is a gift of God, and therefore cannot be sold.'[4] But at Bologna, Paris, and Naples,[5] or at any *stu-*

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[5] St Bernard, *In Canticum Sermo XXXVI* (Migne, *P. L.*, CLXXXIII, 968): 'Et sunt item qui scire volunt ut scientiam suam vendant; verbi causa, pro pecunia, pro honoribus: et turpis quaestus est.' In one of his sermons Maurice of St Victor says, '. . . sapientiam quaerunt non propter sapientiam, sed ut venalem prostituant, vel pro laude humana, vel pro pecunia. Unde, sapientia indigni, ipsam in veritate non inveniunt.' Hauréau, *Notices et extraits*, III, 39. For a condemnation of masters who lectured even on Sundays for money, see Haskins, *Studies in Mediaeval Culture*, p. 55.

[1] Manacorda, whose thesis is that the Italian Universities had their origin in cathedral schools, naturally finds one of the 'anelli di congiunzione fra scuola vescovile ed Università' in the 'gratuità dell'insegnamento per gli allievi della diocesi.' (*Storia della Scuola in Italia*, I, i, 165.) And, although he qualifies this gratuity at Bologna by pointing out that fees were collected from the 'scolari forestieri' (p. 226), he assumes that the papal legislation for church schools applied to Bologna and other Universities. But there is nothing to show that instruction in Bologna was free for students living in the diocese because of the papal regulation of cathedral schools, although it was sometimes argued that students who were citizens of Bologna should be exempted from the payment of fees.

[2] Vincentius Hispanus, in a gloss to the Lateran decree of 1179: '. . . et quilibet debet habere salarium secundum dignitatem et scientiam suam, sicut advocati . . . ' MS. *Vat. lat. 1377*, fol. 82^{v}.

[3] 'Sed quid dicemus de magistris qui docent bononie vel parisiis? Numquid licet eis collectam vel pretium accipere, utique cum non habeant beneficium ad hoc deputatum?' MS. *Vat. lat. 1377*, fol. 82^{v}; MS. *Borghes. lat. 264*, at the same place.

[4] So an anonymous gloss: '. . . Numquid ergo de divitibus licite possunt petere collectas? Videtur quod non, quia si vult dici phylosophus prohiciat peccuniam exemplo Socratis. . . . Item scientia donum Dei est, ergo vendi non potest;' MS. *Vat. lat. 1377*, fol. 309^{v}; MS. *Borghes. lat. 237*, fol. 181^{v}. Raymond of Peñafort relates that Socrates 'magnum pondus auri abiecit, videns se non posse simul virtutes et divicias possidere;' MS. *Vat. lat. 10270*, *Summa de Casi-*

dium generale, the professors evidently were not expected to be as careless of wealth as Socrates. For, asks one glossator, do not lawyers sell their advice? Do not witnesses freely give their testimony, bishops freely consecrate churches, and judges freely decide cases, and yet demand their expenses?[1] Why, then, should not all 'philosophantes' — among whom are to be counted professors of civil law — even though an exaction of money be contrary to their profession,[2] demand fees for their livelihood? The example of Sabinus, professor of law,[3] prevailed over the example of Socrates. But the general practice of accepting fees must be in some measure reconciled with the theory of gratuity; therefore, the canonists agree, professors already provided with benefices or salaries must not exact, they may only accept, fees from their auditors. Professors, however, who lack ample means[4] may legally exact *collectae*. Such is the opinion of the decretalists of the thirteenth century, of Raymond of Peñafort, of Geoffrey

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bus, lib. I, tit. iii, fol. 170[r]; cf. *supra*, p. 181, note 3, for his statement that knowledge is a gift of God. Geoffrey of Trani likewise is familiar with the idea of the gift of God and with the example set by Socrates; *Summa de Titulis Decretalium*, lib. v, tit., *De magistris*, MS. *Vat. lat. 10269*, fol. 134[r].

[5] Raymond of Peñafort, like Tancred, asks if a master in the schools of Bologna or Paris may not collect fees; MS. *Vat. lat. 10270*, fol. 170[r]. Geoffrey of Trani adds Naples and other *studia generalia* to Paris and Bologna: 'Queritur autem de magistris aliis [he has been discussing the masters in cathedral schools] regentibus parisius vel bononie seu neapolim vel aliis locis, an licite collectam exigant a scolaribus'; MS. *Vat. lat. 10269*, fol. 134[r].

[1] 'Item cum iuris peritus potest vendere iustum consilium, . . . quare non potest magister vendere iustam doctrinam? Nec obstat si dicas quod gratis debet docere; et tamen potest petere peccuniam. Nonne testis gratis fert testimonium, et tamen petit sumptus . . . ; nonne episcopus consecrabit ecclesiam, et tamen petit sumptus . . . ; et iudex gratis iudicat, et tamen petit sumptus?' MS. *Vat. lat. 1377*, fol. 309[v]. The examples of the *advocatus*, witness, and judge are repeated by Johannes (de Deo?), MS. *Casanatense lat. 223*, fol. 277[v]; after 'Nec obstat . . . docere,' this gloss reads, 'quia nichilominus potest petere laboris sui mercedem, sicut testis . . . .'

[2] Geoffrey of Trani: 'Item doctores philosophantes, inter quos iuris civilis professores, si pecuniam exigerint, contraria erit professioni eorum exactio'; MS. *Vat. lat. 10269*, fol. 134[r]. But Geoffrey proceeds to refute this; *infra*, p. 191.

[3] Tancred: 'Et etiam Sabinus legis doctor a suis auditoribus sustentabatur'; MS. *Borghes. lat. 264*, Third Compilation, lib. v, tit., *De magistris;* MS. *Vat. lat. 1377*, fol. 82[v]. Sinibaldo Fieschi (Innocent IV): 'Sabinus legum doctor a suis scolaribus sustentabatur'; *Apparatus* (Venice, 1481), lib. v, tit. *De magistris*. And Henry of Susa (Hostiensis): '. . . quod cum Sabinus non haberet amplissimas facultates, ab auditoribus suis plurimum sustentatur'; *Summa Domini Henrici Cardinalis Hostiensis* (Lyons, 1542), lib. v, tit. *De magistris*, p. 235, col. 2.

[4] Since Sabinus did not have '*amplissimas facultates*,' says Henry of Susa, he was supported by his students; *Summa*, p. 235, col. 2; see the preceding note.

of Trani, of Henry of Susa;[1] and Geoffrey of Poitiers, one of the masters who represented the University of Paris at the Roman Court during the settlement of the troubles of 1229–1231,[2] decides that masters may receive from their students — but not from the sons of thieves or usurers, if such are among the students — remuneration for teaching anything but matters related to morals.[3]

From these opinions the conclusion is obvious that the regent masters at Bologna, Naples, Paris, or any *studium generale* could demand fees if no adequate benefices or salaries were provided, and could, even if beneficed or salaried, accept spontaneous offerings from their students. Thus if the papal decrees affected directly only the ecclesiastical *studia particularia*,[4] they were also of indirect value

[1] Raymond of Peñafort: 'Item professores iuris, etsi honeste sponte oblata recipiant, tamen inhoneste petunt. . . . Item potest magister vendere doctrinam sicut et iuris peritus consilium'; MS. *Vat. lat. 10270*, fol. 170r (cf. Manacorda, *Storia della Scuola in Italia*, I, i, 89). In his *Summa de Penitentia* Raymond gives his solution: '*Solutio.* Dico cum Lau. et Io. quod si sua non sufficiunt ei competenter et honeste, potest licite exigere moderate, alias nichil debet exigere, sed sponte oblata poterit recipere . . . ;' MS. *Casanat. lat. 1094*, fol. 8r. Geoffrey of Trani: 'Scolares etiam, non quas minimas possunt, sed pro facultatibus et dignitate natalium mercedes preceptoribus suis constituant. Circa hoc dico quod si doctori sua [in the MS. *suo*] non sufficiunt, licite et honeste potest [doctor] a scolaribus exigere pro expensis. Si vero sufficiunt, non exiget, sed sponte oblata recipere potest . . . et hoc intelligo in hiis qui apti sunt et ydonei ad docendum'; MS. *Vat. lat. 10269*, fol. 134r. Henry of Susa: 'Dico si magister pauper sit vel obligatus sive percipiat salarium sive non licite recipit collectam. . . . Si vero magistro nulla necessitas immineat et habet salarium quod sufficit ad victum et vestitum nihil debet exigere. Idem dico si percipiat beneficium de quo debeat sustentari et possit poterit tamen gratis oblatum recipere . . . '; *Summa*, p. 235, col. 2. A gloss earlier than these is also positive; 'magister licite petit collectam cum ei sua plenissime non sufficiunt;' MS. *Vat. lat. 1377*, fol. 309v. One final gloss may be cited: 'Si vero beneficium nullum super hoc constitutum est doctoribus sicut bononie, licite exigunt collectam, quia suis sumptibus hoc facere non coguntur'; MS. *Casanat. lat. 223*, fol. 277r.

[2] See Gregory IX's bull, May 6, 1231, recommending Geoffrey of Poitiers and William of Auxerre to King Louis IX; *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, no. 90. On the conflict of 1229–1231, cf. Rashdall, *Universities*, I, 335–341.

[3] Geoffrey refers chiefly, it seems, to masters in cathedral schools; but if he grants them as much latitude, he would probably grant masters — even of theology — in the University of Paris more; B. Hauréau, 'Notice sur le Numéro *3143* des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale,' *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, XXXIV, ii (Paris, 1895), 191, 196, and 197.

[4] Even in cathedral schools, it was admitted, the beneficed masters could accept, but not exact, fees; so Innocent IV, *Apparatus*, lib. v, tit., *De magistris*, on the decree of 1179: 'sed et si habeat beneficium potest recipere sed non exigere.' The canonists assert that benefices in cathedral schools were founded for the poor; hence the masters could always collect from the rich: Innocent IV, *Apparatus, loc. cit.*, on the decree of 1215, 'A divitibus enim licet accipere cum propter eos non habeat praebendam'; and Henry of Susa, *Summa*, p. 235, col. 2: 'Et tales magistri clericos eiusdem ecclesie et etiam pauperes extraneos gratis docere debent; sed

for the Universities in resulting in the general agreement that teaching should be made free for the poor. From the wealthier students even masters in theology could accept fees, although they were beneficed either as canons given leave of absence from their churches, or as learned men specially favored by the popes. Could they, and other masters similarly beneficed, demand fees? If their income sufficed, they could not, though in any case they could receive gifts. But who was to judge whether they had sufficient means of livelihood, and who was to define sufficiency? And if, as Geoffrey of Trani states,[1] students were expected to donate according to their rank and wealth, how poor must a student be to escape the obligation of payment? Custom, not the papacy, determined the solution of these questions, and we shall find that custom decided for *collectae*.

While the evidence furnished by the canonists is more or less indirect, and fails to distinguish clearly between theologians and lay masters in medicine and civil law, their resolution of the question of gratuity reflects the practice in the Universities. In the case of the Italian schools we have ample proof of the prevalence of fees until — and to some extent after — salaries were provided by the communes or by royal authority.[2] For Bologna Odofredo is an excellent witness.[3] He complains of students who are 'mali pagatores,'[4] envies profes-

ab aliis id est extraneis divitibus possunt collectam levare;' more fully, a gloss in MS. *Casanat. lat. 223*, fol. 277^{r}, 'Potest dici quod iste cui competens beneficium constitutum est a divitibus potest petere collectam, et hoc non prohibetur ex ista littera [*Quia nonnullis*]; sed a clericis eiusdem ecclesie et a pauperibus nihil exigere debet, sed gratis docere, quia propter illos constituitur beneficium et non propter divites. Sed si ex honestate gratis omnibus serviret, honeste facit et laudandus est; alias divitibus gratis laborem suum impendere non tenetur.'

[1] *Supra*, p. 191, note 1.

[2] When salaries were paid by a public authority fees in theory could not be collected. Besides the statements of the canonists on this matter (*supra*, p. 191, note 1), cf. F. C. von Savigny, *Geschichte des Römischen Rechts im Mittelalter* (2d. ed., Heidelberg, 1834–1851), III, 257, and his citation, p. 257, note i, of Henry of Susa. In 1274 the commune of Padua decreed that no professor salaried by the city should collect fees; A. Gloria, ed., *Monumenti della Università di Padova 1222–1318* (Venice, 1884), p. 170. But gifts could be made, and by custom were almost obligatory, to salaried masters. Master Terrisio of Atina, a professor at Naples, where the king paid the salaries (*infra*, p. 193), commends gifts made in Lent; cf. F. Torraca, 'Maestro Terrisio di Atina,' *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane*, XXXVI (1911), 250; Haskins, *Studies in Mediaeval Culture*, p. 135; Manacorda, *Storia della Scuola in Italia*, I, i, 228.

[3] On Odofredo see N. Tammasia, 'Odofredo,' *Atti e Memorie della Reale Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Provincie di Romagna*, Serie 3, XI (1894), 183–225, XII (1895), 1–83, 330–390.

[4] *Atti e Memorie*, XI, 216 f.; cf. XII, 82, note 7: 'Scholares non sunt boni pagatores, quia volunt scire sed nolunt solvere iuxta illud: "Scire volunt omnes, mercedem solvere nemo." '

sors who gain twice the amount of his own income,[1] and, explaining how two scholars collect the fees for the professor,[2] protests against the students' habit of refusing to pay the lecturer through these *procuratores*.[3] But examples of fees and contracts on fees drawn up between students and masters at Bologna are numerous, and need not be cited in detail.[4] In the statutes of 1317–1347 a rubric was devoted to the fixing of the amount of each student's fee.[5] At other secular Universities in which professors were not at first salaried, at Arezzo[6] and at Padua,[7] fees were by custom, later by statute, collected from the students.

The schools of Bologna developed without being founded, and at first the masters depended on student-fees. But when a commune, envious of the material advantages a great center of learning brought to Bologna, or a king, desirous of founding a state University, established a *studium*, liberal stipends were often promised to attract famous professors. Thus in 1224 Frederick II promised dignities and *donaria* for learned men who came to his new foundation at Naples;[8] and later the Angevine kings were liberal in providing salaries for the professors.[9] The Italian communes were not far behind the emperor in treating with famous masters. Salaries were of-

[1] *Ibid.*, XI, 217, note 3.

[2] Later it was the bedels who collected the fees; cf. Manacorda, *op. cit.*, I, i, 226; G. Zaccagnini, 'L'Insegnamento Privato a Bologna e altrove nei Secc. XIII e XIV,' *Atti e Memorie . . . di Romagna*, Ser. 4, XIV (1924), 257; *idem*, *La Vita dei Maestri e degli Scolari*, pp. 28, 131.

[3] *Atti e Memorie*, Ser. 3, XII, 82, note 8.

[4] Cf. Savigny, *op. cit.*, III, 238, 240, 254–261, 263; Denifle, *Universitäten*, I, 197–199; Kaufmann, *Deutsche Universitäten*, I, 204 ff.; Rashdall, *Universities*, I, 210 f.; Zaccagnini, *La Vita dei Maestri e degli Scolari*, p. 52, and p. 206 for a student's letter to his father asking for money with which to pay his master; Manacorda, *op. cit.*, I, i, 228.

[5] Denifle, 'Die Statuten der Juristen-Universität Bologna von J. 1317–1347,' *Archiv*, III (1887), 385 f., Rub. ciiij, De collectis doctorum.

[6] L. Guazzesi, *Dell' Antico Dominio del Vescovo di Arezzo in Cortona* (Pisa, 1760), p. 107; Savigny, *op. cit.*, III, 314.

[7] Gloria, *Monumenti*, p. 170; Savigny, *op. cit.*, III, 296–299; Denifle, 'Die Statuten der Juristen-Universität Padua vom Jahre 1331,' *Archiv*, VI (1892), 472.

[8] J. L. A. Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia Diplomatica Friderici II* (Paris, 1852–1861), II, 450; F. Torraca, 'Le Origini. L'Età Sveva,' *Storia della Università di Napoli* (Naples, 1924), pp. 4, 5, 14.

[9] See the list of professors, 1267–1428, and their salaries, G. M. Monti, 'L'Età Angioina,' *Storia della Università di Napoli*, pp. 78–87. Charles of Anjou ordered the payment of twelve ounces of gold annually to the Prior of the Dominican Convent, to be used as a 'subsidium expensis' for St Thomas Aquinas, who lectured in theology at Naples in 1272–1274; *ibid.*, pp. 88 f.

fered by Vercelli in 1228 (among the masters is a theologian),[1] by Siena in 1250 (to Petrus Hispanus — later Pope John XXI — doctor 'in fisica')[2] and in 1262,[3] by Modena in 1250–1260,[4] by Padua in 1260–1262,[5] and by Vicenza in 1261.[6] Bologna itself had finally to offer stipends to some of the professors,[7] either because the commune must counter the competition from other communes employing famous masters, or because it wished to make the University more dependent on itself than on the foreign students.[8] These salaries, however, did not supplant fees, which were sometimes paid even to

[1] Rashdall, *op. cit.*, II, i, 12 f.; Denifle, *Universitäten*, I, 278 f.

[2] D. Barduzzi, 'Di un Maestro dello Studio Senese nel Paradiso Dantesco,' *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria*, XXVIII (1921), 419. Cf. R. Stapper, *Papst Johannes XXI* (Kirchengeschichtliche Studien, IV, iv; Münster i.W., 1898), p. 9.

[3] L. Zdekauer, *Il Constituto del Comune di Siena dell' Anno 1262* (Milan, 1897), p. 410, note a; cf. E. Armstrong, 'The Sienese Statutes of 1262,' *English Historical Review*, XV (1900), 15.

[4] Gloria, *Monumenti*, p. 169 (for Azzo, 1250); L. Frati, 'L'Epistola *De Regimine et Modo Studendi* di Martino da Fano,' *Studi e Memorie per la Storia dell' Università di Bologna* (Bologna, 1907 ff.), VI (1921), 21 (for Martino da Fano in 1255); cf., for another salary in 1260, E. P. Vicini, 'Profilo Storico dell' Antico Studio di Modena,' *Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di Giurisprudenza . . . di Modena*, Num. 10 (1926), p. 15; Denifle, *op. cit.*, I, 297.

[5] Gloria, *Statuti de Comuni di Padova dal Secolo XII all' Anno 1285* (Padua, 1873), p. 378, nos. 1251 and 1252; Denifle, *op. cit.*, I, 285, 805; *idem*, *Archiv*, VI, 424 f.; Savigny, *Geschichte des Römischen Rechts*, III, 291 f., 296–298, who holds, however, that the salaries at Padua were paid by the students. But the communes salaried only the more famous professors.

[6] Denifle, *Universitäten*, I, 299.

[7] Before 1219 Raymond of Peñafort was given a salary by the city because he refused to accept fees from his auditors, and because the city wished to retain such a famous master (Denifle, *op. cit.*, I, 198, note 534). The communal statutes of about 1270–1280 refer to salaries; A. Gaudenzi, 'Gli Antichi Statuti del Comune di Bologna intorno allo Studio,' *Bullettino dell' Istituto Storico Italiano*, No. 6 (1888), pp. 134 ff., Rub. xvi and xvii. From 1279 examples occur of contracts at first between the students, then between the commune, and a few professors of civil or canon law (cf. Savigny, *op. cit.*, III, 240; Sarti-Fattorini, *De Claris Archigymnasii Bononiensis Professoribus*, 2d edn. (Bologna, 1888–1896), II, 191, 200; Zaccagnini, *La Vita dei Maestri e degli Scolari*, p. 29; Manacorda, *Storia della Scuola in Italia*, I, i, 169, who dates the first communal salary in 1282; Rashdall, *Universities*, I, 212, places the first salary in 1280). By 1289 the city of Bologna was generally providing the salaries of illustrious professors (Zaccagnini, *op. cit.*, p. 29; Kaufmann, *Deutsche Universitäten*, I, 205). For salaries in the fourteenth century see C. Malagola, *Statuti delle Università e dei Collegi dello Studio Bolognese* (Bologna, 1888), pp. xi, 36–38; Denifle, *Archiv*, III, 304. It is interesting to note that in 1371 Gregory XI provided two hundred florins for a professor of civil law; *Chart. Studii Bononiensis* II, 249, no. ccxxi.

[8] In 1282 the *podestà* was trying to control the license to teach and thereby the professors (Sarti-Fattorini, *op. cit.*, II, 66, no. 40), and about the same time the commune began to pay the salaries. But one must not insist upon this coincidence.

salaried masters, as the statutes of the fourteenth century clearly show.[1]

In the Italian Universities, then, student fees, or salaries paid by secular authorities, or both, were the principal sources of the masters' income. Looking elsewhere, we find that fees were customary in the French and Spanish Universities which were secular or half-secular, half-ecclesiastical, and in which the masters enjoyed the dispensation from residence or received their salaries from the king or local ruler. At Montpellier as early as 1220 the Statutes of the Faculty of Medicine provided for cases of disputes between masters and students over the payment of salaries;[2] but here no outside authority was responsible for supporting the professors. At Toulouse, however, where the masters were salaried by the count and given the dispensation from residence by Innocent IV, fees were paid at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and probably earlier, since the statutes usually confirm usage.[3] And in Castile, where the king paid the salaries from the *tertia ecclesiarum*, the opinion of the canonists, that masters might receive fees when they had no benefices, or accept gifts if they already had a sufficient income, passed into the *Siete Partidas*.[4]

Most of the Universities of England and France had their origin in cathedral schools, or were subject to ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Yet in them also the custom of fees was prevalent. At Oxford, fees were compulsory in the fourteenth century, and doubtless had been customary in the thirteenth.[5] In France, Orleans and Paris are of particular interest because of their development from cathedral schools. Orleans, famous for the classics in the twelfth century, a *studium generale* of civil law after about 1235, remained under the

[1] *Supra*, p. 193, note 5; Zaccagnini, *op. cit.*, p. 28; Denifle, *Archiv*, III, 386, note; Sarti-Fattorini, *op. cit.*, II, 191, no. 34.

[2] Fournier, *Statuts et Privilèges*, II, no. 882, p. 5. In 1242 a similar provision was decreed by the bishop of Maguelone — the above provision was confirmed by the Cardinal-Legate Conrad — for masters and students in grammar and logic; *ibid.*, II, no. 886, p. 9. Cf. Savigny, *op. cit.*, III, 396 f.; Denifle, *Archiv*, III, 386, note 1.

[3] Fournier, *op. cit.*, I, no. 542, pp. 465 ff.; Statutes of the Faculty of Arts, 1309.

[4] *Los Codigos Españoles*, II. *Las Siete Partidas*, Part. I, ley X, tit. XVII.

[5] S. Gibson, *Statuta Antiqua Universitatis Oxoniensis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931), pp. 22, 23, 47; H. Anstey, ed., *Munimenta Academica* (London, 1868), I, 86, 128; for the fifteenth century, *ibid.*, I, 256 f., 303, II, 427 f.; Rashdall, *Universities*, II, ii, 460; H. C. Lyte, *History of the University of Oxford* (London, 1886), p. 98; C. E. Mallet, *History of the University of Oxford* (London, 1924–1927), I, 199.

jurisdiction of the bishop. In a form of a letter addressed to the students, the supposed bishop notes the complaint that the masters have been extorting money from the scholars 'pro discendi licentia,' and thus depriving poor clerks of the opportunity of learning. He decides that he cannot and ought not to force the masters to teach freely, but absolves poor students from the payment of the fees demanded by the masters.[1] Evidence of fees is again at hand in a formulary from the beginning of the thirteenth century, when Orleans was still renowned for classical studies. Students from Flanders, wishing to hear lectures on the 'actores,' assert their disappointment in their masters, who were not properly instructing them. They therefore had contracted 'sub certo precio' with a certain scholar for lectures on Ovid; but this lecturer failed to satisfy the zealous Flemings, and a 'contentio' ensued. Accordingly the students request 'talis magister' (perhaps the *magister scholarum* of Orleans) to decide the case in their favor.[2] These two letters again reveal the prevalence of fees and the influence of the papal decrees on the attempt to relieve poor students, but offer no proof of the provision of benefices as salaries.[3]

On the problem of gratuity as opposed to fees the evidence relating to the University of Paris is of the greatest interest. It was the most famous *studium generale* for the liberal arts and theology, and more than any other University it was favored and protected by the popes. Did the papacy enforce here the theory of free instruction? Robert has noted examples of fees in the twelfth century,[4] and the custom of *collectae* is reflected in the passages cited above from St Bernard and John of Salisbury.[5] But the evidence from the end of the twelfth and from the following century has been neglected. Stephen

[1] Haskins, 'Orleanese Formularies in a Manuscript at Tarragona,' SPECULUM, v, 414 f. The bishop seems to refer to students and masters in civil law, since he speaks of a 'temporal' science and of the lack of any source of income except from student-fees; yet the form of this letter dates 1216–1223 (*ibid.*, v, 413).

[2] Haskins, *Studies in Mediaeval Culture*, p. 186.

[3] In the Statutes of 1307 there is a provision on the bedels' procedure 'contra scolares, pro defectu solutionis talliarum et collectarum quarumcumque' (Fournier, *Statuts et Privilèges*, I, no. 23, §25). At the same time the masters seem to have enjoyed the dispensation from residence; in 1306 Clement V granted them all the privileges possessed by Toulouse, one of which was the dispensation from residence (I, no. 19).

[4] *Les Écoles et l'Enseignement de la Théologie*, pp. 34 f.; cf. Hauréau, *Notices et Extraits*, III, 218.

[5] *Supra*, p. 188, notes 4 and 5.

of Tournai advises against sending a certain youth '*ad Parisienses secularium scolas et venditores verborum.*'[1] Stephen probably refers to the masters of arts; but theologians also are condemned for learning in order to sell their knowledge, condemned by Praepositinus of Cremona, who was chancellor of the University in 1206–1209.[2] Several decades later, about 1270, Robert of Sorbon asserts that the students pay their masters, among whom, probably, were the secular — that is, secular priests as opposed to the theologians belonging to the religious Orders — masters of theology.[3] In 1283–1284 the masters of arts are apologizing to the pope, in defense of themselves against the accusations of the chancellor, for demanding money for lectures.[4] From the fourteenth century, to note a last bit of evidence, a letter of '*Licet non credas*' perhaps applies to Paris in including the nonpayment of salaries among the offences committed by student

[1] *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, Introd., no. 42, p. 43.

[2] Hauréau, *op. cit.*, III, 166: 'Quid dicam de theologis, quorum plures discunt ut sciant, quod est curiositas . . . , vel ut vendant, quod est simoniaca pravitas, et, quod deterius est, ut veniant ad magnos honores.' On Praepositinus see G. Lacombe, *Prepositini Cancellarii Parisiensis (1206–1210) Opera Omnia.* I. *La Vie et les Œuvres de Prévostin* (Bibliothèque Thomiste, XI; Kain, 1927), pp. 36–46.

[3] F. Chambon, ed., *Robert de Sorbon, De Conscientia et De Tribus Dietis* (Paris, 1902), p. 26: 'Item nota quod scolares dant precium, et, aliquando, expensas et vestes magistris suis. Dominus autem, tanquam magister optimus, cibum dat scolaribus suis.' Gautier de Château-Thierry, chancellor 1238–1244, says that some masters would lecture for money even on Sundays and holy days; Haskins, *op. cit.*, p. 55, note 6.

A further indication of fees paid to theologians comes from the complaints of the secular masters of theology during their struggle with the Dominicans over the number of chairs in theology possessed by the religious. (On this conflict, 1252–1259, see Rashdall, *Universities*, I, 345–392.) The secular masters based their fear of an increased number of chairs for the Dominicans and other religious partly on the belief that twelve chairs or more — the secular masters had eight or nine (*Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, nos. 5 and 27) — could hardly be maintained 'propter scolarium apud nos in theologia studentium raritatem' (*ibid.*, I, 253 f.). To prevent the loss of their students and, probably, income, they had forbidden the students to attend the lectures of the Dominicans (so states Innocent IV, *ibid.*, I, no. 222; cf. Rashdall, *op. cit.*, I, 379). Thomas de Cantimpré speaks as if the secular theologians taught for money: 'et id quod per se non poterant, non sufficiente pecunia, in evacatione bursarum innocentiae puerilis, multorum copijs obtinerent'; *Bonum Universale de Apibus* (Douai, 1627), p. 182. But Thomas, a Dominican, was no impartial critic of the secular theologians!

[4] *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, 609; 'Et dico quod nostri magistri pro lectura nichil plus recipiant quam de hoc recipiebatur in retroactis temporibus.' Cf. the statute of the Faculty of Arts, 1289, 'ut solum studium [scolares] insequentes et erga magistros tam pro lectionibus ordinariis quam cursoriis, ut moris est et statutum, debite se habentes et eis condignam recompensationem facientes si super hoc a suis propriis magistris fuerint requisiti, privilegiis et libertatibus facultatis et Universitatis gaudere valeant . . . ' (*ibid.*, II, 36); and the statute of the French Nation, 1306 (*ibid.*, II, 119).

clerks.[1] Taking into consideration the passages from the sermons and the statutes, and other scattered material, we may safely conclude that student-fees were an important source of income for all the masters at Paris,[2] including, though possibly to a less extent, the secular masters in theology.[3] But it is impossible to say whether all the students paid fees. Probably the poorest students were given free instruction, though again possibly they paid *collectae*, since the clerks studying in theology enjoyed the income from their benefices, and many of the poor students were cared for in the colleges.[4]

The conditions at Paris reflect the results already obtained from the examination of the other Universities in the thirteenth century. The papal legislation for church schools, in the matter of benefices as salaries, applied neither to the secular nor to the ecclesiastically controlled Universities. If special benefices were occasionally — or frequently at a later time — conferred by the popes on the masters, such benefices did not constitute salaries; nor did they prevent the payment of *collectae* by the students. But the papal legislation for church schools did exert some influence: the ideal of free knowledge for poor students was everywhere proclaimed, though how far it was practiced cannot be determined; and the interpretation of the canonists that beneficed masters could accept, but not demand, gifts, seems to be reflected in the Italian theory that fees should not be taken by salaried masters. In spite of the theory, however, little distinction was made between *dona* and *collectae*, and the ideal that knowledge as a gift of God should be imparted freely was not completely nor consistently realized in practice.

Harvard University

[1] In the Formulary of Benedict XII; Haskins, *Studies in Mediaeval Culture*, p. 59, note 1: 'Quod olim in diversis terris, locis, et studiis generalibus vel aliis fuisti . . . nec non doctoribus, magistris, bedellis et bacallariis salaria statutis terminis non solvendo.' Denifle, *Archiv*, IV, 207, edits a slightly different text in which Paris is named as the *studium generale*, but only the failure of the clerk to pay salaries to the bedels is mentioned. The bedels, however, probably collected the fees for the masters, as at Bologna. See the statutes of the Faculty of Arts of 1245 (the masters agree to forbid competition in renting lecture halls, as if some were competing for more students and higher profits; *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, 177); of the English Nation, 1252 (*ibid.*, I, 230); and the complaint of the masters of arts in 1259 that the faculty was suffering 'propter defectum pecunie' because of the superfluous distribution of money to the bedels and other 'supervenientibus' (*ibid.*, I, 376 f.).

[2] Rashdall, *op. cit.*, I, 509, notes that the students paid fees, but concludes that the masters who received fees were not beneficed. But it has been shown that beneficed masters could collect fees.

[3] The Dominican professors of theology were salaried or given their livelihood by the Order; B. Jarrett, 'The Dominicans and their University Education,' *Miscellanea Dominicana* (Rome, 1923). pp. 172, 179. The theologians of other Orders were similarly salaried.

[4] On the colleges see Rashdall, *op. cit.*, I, 478–514. The college students paid fees; *ibid.*, I, 510.

THE *SCHEDULA* OF THEOPHILUS PRESBYTER

By DANIEL V. THOMPSON, Jr

AN UNBROKEN line of copies, excerpts, commentaries, and editions links the *Schedula diversarum artium* of Theophilus Presbyter with the present day. Two manuscript copies from the twelfth century are extant;[1] one complete copy[2] from the thirteenth century, and two partial ones;[3] from the fourteenth century one copy survives,[4] and many excerpts.[5] A copy of Book I of the *Schedula* has come down from the early fifteenth century[6] among the collection of manuscripts on painting assembled in and before 1431 by Jehan LeBègue, Greffier de la monnoye at Paris. No sixteenth-century copy of the text is known, but the comment of Henricus Cornelius Agrippa, who called it, in 1531, a 'pulcherrimum librum,'[7] the observation of Agrippa's note by Conrad Gesner[8] in 1545, and the extension of it by Josias Simler[9] in 1555, carry on the pedigree.

[1] *Wb* and W^1; and extract, also, in the twelfth-century Edinburgh University *MS. 123*, fols. 154v–155. See D. W. Singer, *Catalogue of Latin and Vernacular Alchemical Manuscripts in Great Britain and Ireland dating from before the XVI Century* (Brussels: U. A. I., 1928–1931), II (1930), p. 593, *sub* 'No. 871, §2.'

[2] Strictly none of the known Theophilus manuscripts should be called complete: see under *V*, pages 213–214 below.

[3] L^2 and *C*.

[4] *Lp*.

[5] As in the *Liber diversarum artium*, the so-called Montpellier Manuscript, published in the *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements*, I (Paris, 1849), pp. 739–811. A very large number of manuscripts contain passages found in Theophilus; as examples may be mentioned the following: *Schedula* (ed. Ilg), Lib. I, Cap. XXVII appears not greatly modified, in the *Liber diversarum artium*, fol. 96r, col. 2, and also in the *Liber de coloribus illuminatorum siue pictorum* from *Sloane MS. No. 1754* (my edition in Speculum I [1926], pp. 280–307 and 448–450) in section XIV, p. 302. W. Wackernagel, *Die deutsche Glasmalerei* (Leipzig, 1855), p. 136, note 111, mentions the existence at Kloster Neuburg of a manuscript from about 1400 containing chapters I, II, and XVII of Book I; and, pp. 172–176, note 123, prints from Breslau University *MS IV.8°.9* some passages very freely transcribed in the fifteenth century, chiefly from Book II. (The material found in L^1 at the end of Book III, after Chapter LXXX, is subject to repetition by tract-writers, though not found in any of the other manuscripts of the *Schedula*.)

[6] *P*.

[7] H. C. Agrippa, *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum* (Antwerp, 1531), Cap. 96, *in fine*. It should be observed that Agrippa's enthusiasm was confined to the section dealing with the art of working in glass, that is, to Book II; the rest of the *Schedula* may have been unknown to Agrippa, as Guy Loumyer, *Les traditions techniques de la peinture médiévale* (Brussels, 1914), p. 45, note 2, points out.

[8] C. Gesner, *Bibliotheca universalis sive catalogus* . . . (Zürich, 1545), fol. 614r.

[9] J. Simler, *Appendix bibliothecae Conradi Gesneri* (Zürich, 1555), fols. 99v–100r.

Two complete seventeenth-century copies are known,[1] and in 1699 a partial manuscript of the *Schedula* was transcribed by the hand of Humphrey Wanley.[2]

A new interest began in the eighteenth century with the fortunate discovery by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, fresh from the *Laocoön*, of the earliest surviving manuscript of the *Schedula*, *Wb*, in the Wolfenbüttel Ducal Library, and his collation of that with the somewhat later manuscript *Lp*, in the library of Leipzig University, already noted by Feller[3] in 1686. Lessing, greatly impressed by the fact that the first book of Theophilus revealed the commonplace use of linseed oil as a painting-medium several centuries before its reputed discovery by the brothers Van Eyck,[4] brought out in 1774 a tract entitled *Vom Alter der Oelmalerey aus dem Theophilus Presbyter*. Lessing's edition of the *Schedula* remained unpublished until after his death, when Christian Leiste furnished it with a modest introduction and issued it in 1781 as the sixth of Lessing's *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Literatur aus den Schätzen der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel.*

In the meantime, between these two publications of Lessing's researches, Jacopo Morelli discovered a third manuscript, *V*, in the Bibliotheca Naniana in Venice, and devoted a good deal of space to

[1] W^2 and *V*.

[2] L^3, copied from *C*.

[3] Joachim Feller, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Paulinae in academia Lipsiensi* (Leipzig, 1686), p. 255; also preface.

[4] The fierce attacks upon Vasari's account of this, led by Lessing, Raspe, and others (notably Giuseppe Tambroni in his introduction to *Di Cennini Trattato della pittura* . . . [Rome, 1821]), were met by more judicious critics. The first of these, O. C. von Budberg, published a *Versuch über das Alter der Oehlmahlerey zur Vertheidigung des Vasari* (Göttingen, 1792), giving due weight to Theophilus, to the indications of Cennino Cennini's *Libro dell'Arte* at his disposal, and to the evidence of Vasari's own words which he contrived to reconcile fairly adequately with the circumstances advanced by Lessing as contradictory. Budberg's little volume is reviewed in *L'Esprit des Journaux* XI (1792), X (October), pp. 416–417. More extended discussion appears in Mrs Merrifield, *A Treatise on Painting, written by Cennino Cennini* . . . (London, 1844), pp. lxiii-lxiv. See also Charles L. Eastlake, *Materials for a History of Oil Painting* (London, 1847), especially Chap. VIII: 'Examination of Vasari's statements respecting the invention of Van Eyck'; Gaetano and Carlo Milanesi, *Il Libro dell'Arte* . . . *di Cennino Cennini* (Florence, 1859), Introduction, pp. xv–xxi; and R. Hendrie, *An Essay upon Various Arts by Theophilus, called also Rugerus* (London, 1847), Preface, pp. xxix–xxxiii. The position of Theophilus' evidence in the history of oil painting is ably defined by A. Ilg. in an 'Excurs über die historische Entwicklung der Oelmalerei seit den ältesten Zeiten bis in die Periode der Gebrüder Van Eyck,' appended to his ed. of Heraclius, *Von den Farben u. Künsten der Römer*, in *Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte*, IV (Vienna, 1873), 147 ff.

criticism of the text and extracts from it in the catalogue[1] of the Nani Library which he issued in 1776. Morelli's observations were further extended in a note on the anonymous *Notizia d'opere di disegno* . . . which he published in 1800.[2]

Lessing's *Vom Alter der Oelmalerey* stimulated R. E. Raspe in England to the discovery of two manuscripts of the *Schedula* in Cambridge libraries. One of these, fairly extensive (*C*), Raspe was not permitted to publish; the other, L^2, then in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, contained the first book of the Theophilus text, and this Raspe transcribed, albeit somewhat inaccurately, in his *Critical Essay on Oil Painting* . . . , published in 1781, the same year in which Leiste's publication of Lessing's edition appeared. Raspe added little to the commentary originally supplied by Lessing, but he succeeded in focussing the attention of English readers upon the *Schedula diversarum artium* and upon the closely-related *De coloribus et artibus Romanorum* of Heraclius, a copy of which, being likewise preserved in L^2, Raspe included in his *Critical Essay*.

The other manuscript discovered by Raspe, our *C*, was used by Charles de l'Escalopier as the basis of a new edition of the *Schedula*. L'Escalopier employed also the LeBègue transcript, *P*, of Book I, and made use of the earlier works of Lessing, Morelli, and Raspe. His edition[3] which appeared in 1843 was furnished with a French translation; and it was preceded by an introduction, the work of J. M. Guichard, in which an attempt was made to summarize the criticism and discussion of Theophilus and his work, which by that time had already acquired considerable proportions, and to present some new aspects of the *Schedula's* importance. L'Escalopier's edition of the text has been wholly supplanted by that of Ilg[4] and the chief value of his publication now lies in Guichard's introduction.

On the heels of the l'Escalopier-Guichard version, new elements of complexity entered the field of Theophilus-research in the shape

[1] J. Morelli, *Codices manuscripti Latini bibliothecae Nanianae* (Venice, 1776), pp. 33–42.

[2] The so-called *Anonimo Morelliano;* pp. 113–118.

[3] Charles de l'Escalopier, *Théophile, prêtre et moine: Essai sur divers arts* (Paris, 1843). Reviewed by Didron Aîné in *Annales Archéologiques*, I (1844), p. 204. A French translation under the title, *Traité des divers arts par Théophile, prêtre et moine*, was issued anonymously in Paris, 1924, by Emile Paul Frères. The publisher, R. Emile Paul, writes me: 'C'est un poète . . . , Gaspard-Michel, qui nous avait recommandé cet ouvrage, que nous avons fait copier à la Bibliothèque Nationale, un exemplaire étant introuvable.'

[4] See below, page 202.

of an edition by Robert Hendrie [Jr.] of a previously unknown manuscript, L^1, in the Harleian collection. This text contained a good deal of material lacking in the other copies of the *Schedula*. Hendrie's edition, *An Essay upon Various Arts* (London, 1847), was provided with a translation into English, the only one so far published, and, it must be confessed, a very faulty one indeed. Hendrie's Latin text was reprinted in 1851 by J.-J. Bourassé,[1] together with a French translation.

Hendrie, in issuing the text of L^1, confirmed the existence of two additional manuscripts in Vienna, W^1 and W^2, already noted by Morelli,[2] but made no extensive use of them in his edition. They were first collated by Albert Ilg, who, recognizing the importance of the *Schedula*, and, at the same time, the confusion into which the study of it had been cast by the random publication of seven manuscripts, set about the work of clarifying and organizing the Theophilus situation. This he planned to accomplish by a work in two parts, the first devoted to the establishment of the text itself, the second to commentary upon it and its author. In 1874 he published, as Volume VII of the *Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, his *Theophilus Presbyter Schedula diversarum artium, I. Band*, providing it with an extensive introduction, a scholarly translation, and an appendix of the 'Fragmenta breviarii diversarum artium Theophili, ex editionibus "Luminis Animae" collecta.' The second volume of this work was unfortunately never published, and inquiries in Vienna after Dr Ilg's literary remains have so far proved fruitless.[3]

Ilg's text of the *Schedula* comprehends and supersedes all earlier ones. In preparing it Ilg had recourse to the original manuscripts *Wb* and *Lp*, and also to the two manuscripts W^1 and W^2 which had

[1] J.-J. Bourassé, 'Essai sur divers arts, en trois livres, par Théophile, prêtre et moine, formant une encyclopédie de l'art chrétien au xii^e^ siecle,' *Dictionnaire d'archéologie sacrée*, II (1861), 728–1014, in J. P. Migne, ed., *Nouvelle encyclopédie théologique*, XII (Paris, 1862).

[2] *Codices manuscripti . . . Nanianae*, pp. 33–41. See page 212 below.

[3] Ilg employed his knowledge of Theophilus in two works of collaboration: one with L. Lobmeyr, *Die Glasindustrie . . .* (Stuttgart, 1874), in which he dealt with the historical aspects of the subject, drawing on the second book of the *Schedula;* and the other, with Bruno Bucher, to whose *Geschichte der technischen Künste* (Berlin and Stuttgart, 1886) Ilg contributed five chapters on *Goldschmiedekunst*, Part IX. The first of these, entitled 'Technik,' *op. cit.*, II, pp. 109–123, contains much discussion based on the third book of Theophilus. See also Bruno Bucher himself, *op. cit.*, II, p. 211.

not been collated previously. For L^2 he relied upon Raspe's edition; for *C* and *P*, upon l'Escalopier's; for L^1, upon Hendrie's; for *V*, upon such quotations from it as Morelli had printed; and even the Lessing-Leiste edition of *Wb* and *Lp* was handled with all the dignity of an original source. Only Humphrey Wanley's copy of *C* was left out of consideration! Citing manuscripts and editions, Ilg equipped his critical text with a peculiarly cumbersome apparatus.[1]

In his introduction Ilg reviews the manuscripts, editions, and commentaries in considerable detail, and enters into a discussion of the relation of the *Schedula diversarum artium* to the *Breviarium diversarum artium*, and the survivals from the latter in the *Lumen Animae*. Ilg's exposition is fairly complete, and the present article is perhaps no more than a somewhat extended and corrected abstract of it. The chief justifications for offering a fresh review are to make clearer the Theophilus manuscript situation, to classify and amplify the bibliography of the *Schedula*, and to call attention to the work which remains to be done upon it before this cyclopaedic text can yield up all its potential content to the student of mediaeval arts and the mechanism of their transmission.

The *Schedula diversarum artium* was given its familiar title by Lessing, who borrowed it from the section of the author's preface to Book I which follows:[2]

'Quapropter, fili dulcissime . . . hanc *Diversarum artium schedulam* avidis obtutibus concupisce, tenaci memoria perlege, ardenti amore complectere. Quam si diligentius perscruteris, illic invenies quicquid in diversorum co-

[1] Most of the *sigla* employed by Ilg were inherited from l'Escalopier. As they were devised to include editions as well as manuscripts, and are only imperfectly indicative of the location of the latter, they are replaced in the present article by the following equivalents:

Ilg's	*G.*	(Wolfenbüttel)	*Wb*
"	*L.*	(Leipzig)	*Lp*
"	*C.C.*	(Cambridge)	*C*
"	*C.R.*	(Paris)	*P*
"	*M.*	(Venice)	*V*
"	*V.*	(Wien)	W^1
"	V_1.	(Wien)	W^2
"	*Ha.*	(London, Harley)	L^1
"	*Ed.R.*	(London, Egerton)	L^2
"	—	(London, Sloane)	L^3

Ilg's *Ed. G.*, *C.L.*, *R.*, *Ed.H.*, and *Ed.Esc.*, are abandoned as unnecessary.

[2] Ilg, *Theophilus Presbyter Schedula diversarum artium. I. Band. Revidirter Text, Uebersetzung und Appendix*, in *Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte . . .*, VII, (Vienna, 1874), pp. 9, 11.

lorum generibus et mixturis habet Graecia; quicquid in electrorum operositate, seu nigelli varietate novit Tuscia; quicquid ductili vel fusili, seu interrasili opere distinguit Arabia; quicquid in vasorum diversitate, seu gemmarum ossiumve sculptura auro decorat Italia; quicquid in fenestrarum pretiosa varietate diligit Francia; quicquid in auri, argenti, cupri et ferri, lignorum lapidumque subtilitate sollers laudat Germania . . . '

In the *incipit* of W^1 it is called *De diversis artibus*, as also in *C*, and, in a later hand, in W^2.

This *Schedula diversarum artium* is one of the three or four outstanding documents in the written history of mediaeval art-technology; in date and range and detail all combined it possesses a fair claim to the first attention of the student of technical processes in the arts of the Middle Ages. For it was composed early in the Romanesque period,[1] and it treats methodically of painting on walls, on panels, and in books; of work in glass, for vessels, windows, and mosaics; of work in metals, gold, silver, bronze, and iron; of musical instruments; and of many incidental and allied operations, advising the reader: ' . . . Plena fide crede, spiritum Dei cor tuum implesse, cum ejus ornasti domum tanto decore, tantaque operum varietate.' It is composed in three books or sections, the first devoted to painting, the second to glass, the third to metals. The first book has been analyzed in some detail by Berger,[2] Laurie,[3] and, with reference to Cennino's *Libro dell'Arte* and the Ἑρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς, by Lady Herringham;[4] the second book, on glass-painting, has been reviewed by H. Oidtmann in *Die rheinischen Glasmalereien vom 12. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert;*[5] and the third book has been made the sub-

[1] For the vexed question of its date see p. 209 below.

[2] E. Berger, *Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Maltechnik*, III, 'Quellen und Technik der Fresko-, Oel- und Tempera-Malerei des Mittelalters von der Byzantinischen Zeit bis einschliesslich der "Erfindung der Oelmalerei" durch die Brüder Van Eyck nach den Quellenschriften und Versuchen bearbeitet,' 2d edition (Munich, 1912), pp. 47–63.

[3] A. P. Laurie, *Materials of the Painter's Craft* (London, 1910), pp. 143–171.

[4] Christiana J. Herringham, *The Book of the Art of Cennino Cennini* (London, 1899), Introduction: 'The Pedigree of the Trattato,' pp. xxvi–ix and xxiv–viii. See also Hendrie, *An Essay upon Various Arts . . . , cit. supra*, especially note on Book I, Chap. 15, pp. 84–93, where the parallel passages from the Ἑρμηνεία are translated into English.

[5] (Düsseldorf, 1912). See also many other works on glass, among them W. Wackernagel, *Die deutsche Glasmalerei, cit. supra*, H. Oidtmann, *Die Geschichte der Glasmalerei* (Cologne, 1898), E. Gerspach, *L'Art de la verrerie* (Paris, 1885), etc. A translation of Book II of the *Schedula*, together with a portion of Book III of Heraclius, *De coloribus et artibus Romanorum*, dealing with the manufacture of glass, was translated and published by Georges Bontemps: *Deuxième livre de l'essai sur divers arts par Théophile, prêtre et moine* (Paris, 1876).

ject of a detailed comparison with the related work of Benvenuto Cellini in a volume by Justus Brinckmann entitled *Abhandlungen über die Goldschmiedekunst und die Sculptur von Benvenuto Cellini, übersetzt und verglichen mit den Parallelstellen aus Theophilus' Diversarum Artium Schedula.*[1] The work as a whole, but especially Books II and III, were examined critically by the Abbé Texier in an article on 'L'Orfèvrerie au moyen-âge.'[2] To multiply instances of the usefulness of the *Schedula* to writers upon mediaeval arts would swell the bibliography of the subject enormously, and to no good purpose: a general reference to the *Dictionnaires* of Viollet-le Duc, *passim*, must serve to represent these. For the position which the *Schedula* occupies in the current of written technical tradition, the works of Berger,[3] Loumyer,[4] and Berthelot[5] are enlightening.

The significance of Theophilus' work is not confined to technology. Among its auxiliary interests may be mentioned numerous iconographical indications, found chiefly in Book III, several of which have been noted by Didron.[6] The 'quatuor flumina Paradysi humana specie cum suis amphoris, quibus effundatur quasi species fluentis aquae'[7] may be taken as a fair example. At times the author rises to very creditable heights of sentiment and style;[8] and he reveals, in the whole conduct of his work, that tendency to organization and systematic presentation which first entered the field of technical writings along with the science of the Arabs in the course of the eleventh century. It is probable that the *Schedula diversarum artium* was made up to some extent by compilation, but a comparison with the *Com-*

[1] (Leipzig, 1867). The comparison was first suggested by Texier in the article 'Technique de l'orfèvrerie,' col. 1381 in his *Dictionnaire d'orfèvrerie* . . . (1857), published in J. P. Migne, ed., *Troisième et dernière encyclopédie théologique* . . . XXVII, (Paris, 1856), where Texier wrote: 'Il serait utile de comparer la pratique qui . . . est enseignée [par Cellini] a celle de Théophile . . . Il y a là matière à un ouvrage curieux. Puisse-t-il tenter le zèle d'un érudit!'

[2] Part I, *Analyse du traité de Théophile;* Part II, *Epoque où vivait Théophile.* Published in *Annales Archéologiques,* IV (Paris, 1846), pp. 148–153, and reprinted in Texier, *Dictionnaire d'orfèvrerie, cit. supra,* cols. 1383–1393, *s.v.* 'Théophile.'

[3] *Beiträge,* III, *loc. cit. supra.*

[4] Guy Loumyer, *Les Traditions techniques de la peinture médiévale* (Brussels: Van Oest, 1920), especially part I, Chapter III.

[5] Marcellin Berthelot, *Histoire des Sciences: La Chimie au moyen-âge* (Paris, 1893), I, 5 and *passim.*

[6] *Annales Archéologiques,* IV (1846), p. 160, note 3.

[7] Ilg, *Schedula,* Lib. III, Cap. LIX, p. 249.

[8] See an editorial by Didron in *Annales Archéologiques,* I (1844), pp. 135–136.

positiones ad tingenda . . .,[1] from *circa* 800, on one hand, and with the *Libro dell'Arte* of Cennino Cennini,[2] from *circa* 1400, on the other, will make it plain that Theophilus stands well on the way from the random conglomerate of the former to the rational, ordered, unified composition of the latter.

Ilg's edition of the *Schedula*, while it represents an improvement over earlier ones, leaves much to be desired. The value of the work would justify a fresh publication. The oldest of the manuscripts, *Wb*, is also one of the most complete. It should be made the basic text, lacunae being supplied from the other sources, and significant variants from the other independent manuscripts being furnished as fully as economy and space permit. A good English translation would be welcome, the more so if it were made from such a text. A *critical edition* is not to be desired, but the interrelationship of the various Theophilus manuscripts offers a field of study, as yet substantially untouched, from which valuable inferences might be drawn, once a satisfactory *stemma* were established. Three distinct groups seem conspicuous: first, *Wb* and W^1, the two earliest recensions, W^2, which is possibly a free copy of *Wb*, corrected in part against W^1, and *Lp*, which shows, in Lessing's edition, only relatively minor variants from *Wb;* second, L^1 and *C*, the latter, though imperfect, containing material found elsewhere only in L^1*;* and finally, L^2 and *P*, each containing only the first book of the *Schedula*, and each preceded by the verses[3] found in several related twelfth- and thirteenth-century tracts but in no other manuscripts of Theophilus. This division is, however, put forward very tentatively; a careful investigation of the texts will be necessary to establish their parentage before any theory can be invented to account for the manner of their wide diffusion.[4]

[1] The so-called Lucca Manuscript; published in L. A. Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae Medii Aevi . . .* (Milan, 1739), II, 364–387. Re-published in part by John M. Burnam, *A Classical Technology, Edited from Codex Lucensis, 490*, (Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1920). This edition, unfortunately out of print, comprises an English translation and a useful short glossary, extending the glossary appended to the late Professor Burnam's 'Recipes from Codex Matritensis A 16', in *University of Cincinnati Studies* (1912).

[2] Milanesi, *Cennino, cit. supra*, and other editions. My collation of the Italian originals and an English translation are now in course of publication by the Yale University Press.

[3] Quoted in connection with L^2 on p. 216 below. For their occurrence in MSS *Philipps 3715*; Oxford, Bodleian Library *Bodley 679*, fol. 31, and *Digby 162*, fol. 6; Glasgow, Hunterian Library, *110*, fol. 9^v; see D. W. Singer, *Alchemical Manuscripts, cit. supra*, pp. 589–591, *sub* 'No. 867: *Mappe clavicula* or *Liber Massia de Coloribus.*'

[4] It is by no means certain that the register of whole copies is now complete, to say nothing of fragmentary survivals.

One further aspect of the *Schedula's* importance may be mentioned: the wealth of technical mediaeval Latin terminology which is concentrated in it. Some of this material found its way into the curious *Tabula de vocabulis synonymis et equivocis colorum rerumque et accidentium colorum ipsisque omni arti pictorie conferentium nec non operum exercitiorumque propitiorum ac contingentium eorum* and *Alia tabula licet imperfecta et sine initio* with which Le Bègue prefaced his collection[1] in 1431. The significance of the text from this point of view was strongly emphasized, as early in the history of Theophilus criticism as 1776, by Morelli, who wrote of it:[2] 'Si quaecumque ad medii aevi res illustrandas aptissima hisce libris continentur, sujicere vellem, opus fere totum esset mihi exscribendum; ipsaeque dictiones a Cangio, Carpenterio, aliisque sequioris latinitatis λεξικογράφοις omnino nusquam declarata, persaepe explicandae.'

A four-page glossary of Theophilus' technical terms with equivalents in French, German, and Polish is appended to Teofil Żebrawski's Polish translation of the *Schedula*,[3] but the lexicographic possibilities of the subject have not been exhausted.

The identity of the author of the work in question is not revealed by any external evidence. The name *Theophilus*, found in the preface to the first book, 'Theophilus, humilis presbyter, servus servorum Dei, indignus nomine et professione monachi,' is probably to be regarded as a pseudonym.[4] That Theophilus, whoever he may have been, was a German, has seldom been questioned.[5] Lessing[6]

[1] See Mrs [Mary Philadelphia] Merrifield, *Original treatises dating from the xiith to the xviiith centuries on the arts of painting in oil, miniature, mosaic, and on glass; of gilding, dyeing, and the preparation of colours and artificial gems* (London, 1849), I, 18–45.

[2] Morelli, *Codices . . . Nanianae, op. cit. supra*, p. 38.

[3] T. Żebrawski, *Teofila Kapłana i Zakonnika o Sztukach Rozmaitych Ksiąg Troje* (Krakow, 1880), pp. 187–191. The Latin text is not printed in this edition.

[4] Texier, *Annales archéologiques* IV, 153, 4: 'Théophile est un nom de guerre, un nom de religion. L'humble moine, qui s'oublia si complètement en un traité qui pouvait donner la gloire, dont le travail artistique n'était qu'une prière, l'humble prêtre, qui se regardait comme indigne du nom et de la profession monastique, a caché sa personnalité sous une appellation allégorique; il se nomme Théophile, comme l'âme dévote de saint François de Sales s'appelle Philothée.' Morelli, *Codices*, p. 35: 'Auctor cujus fuerit, quove saeculo vixerit, nemo unus indigitat. Is, ni quidem fallor, Germanus homo fuit . . . unde Rugerus dictus: Theophili namque nomen inditum ei a disciplina puto.'

[5] Cigognara, *Storia della Scultura*, 2d. edition (Prato, 1823), I, 177, III, 248, makes out a weak case for his Italian origin. Giuseppe Tambroni, *Cennino*, Introduction, p. xlii, accepts Cigognara's view eagerly; but Jules Labarte, *Histoire des arts industriels au moyen âge et à*

suggested an identification with Tutilo of St Gall based ultimately upon a fanciful etymological relationship between the names Theophilus and Tutilo, dismissed by Guichard,[1] Wackernagel,[2] Hendrie,[3] and Ilg.[4] Ilg[5] attempts to show that Theophilus Presbyter was historically the monk Rogkerus who at the end of the eleventh century and during the early decades of the twelfth was active as a goldsmith in the Benedictine monastery of Helmershausen on the Diemel.[6] In support of his proposal Ilg offers some suggestive but inconclusive evidence drawn from late eleventh-century works of art. His original premise, that the personal name of the monk Theophilus was Rugerus, or the variant Rogkerus, is based upon the fact that the cognomen Rugerus appears in the *incipit* of W^1,[7] and in two manuscripts descended from W^1, W^2,[8] and *V*. The name Rugerus is not associated with that of Theophilus in *Wb*, our oldest text, but W^1 is independent of *Wb*, and only slightly younger. *V*, moreover, is a copy of W^1, and possesses no independent authority; Ilg's identifica-

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l'époque de la renaissance (Paris, 1864), I, 153, 154 makes short work of the argument. Christoph Gottlieb von Murr, some years earlier, in his 'Beyträge zur Geschichte der Oelmalerey,' *Journal zur Kunstgeschichte und zur allgemeinen Litteratur*, I (Nürnberg, 1775), pp. 17–42, took issue with Lessing's original stand, and attempted to portray Theophilus as a monk of Greek descent, born and brought up in Italy. O. C. von Budberg, *Versuch über das Alter der Oehlmahlerey* (1792) inclines to accept Murr's theory, but it has never gained much support. For the sake of completeness, it may be recorded that Sir Thomas Phillips (*Archaeologia*, XXII [1847], 185) hazards 'a conjecture that Theophilus (a Greek name) was a Greek artist, who came into Italy, and imparted the knowledge of his art to the monk Ruggiero.'

In point of fact, there is little enough evidence to show to what country Theophilus belonged: the accepted proposition, that it was Germany, seems to be based partly on the occurence of one or two 'German' words, such as *meizel* (III, Cap. LXX), equivalent to the modern German *Meissel*, chisel, and partly on the cognomen *Rugerus* which is attached to the name of Theophilus in the titles of W^1, W^2, and *V*. (See below, p. 212.)

[6] G. E. Lessing, *Vom Alter der Oelmalerey aus dem Theophilus Presbyter* (Brunswick, 1774), (reprinted in *Lessings sämmtliche Schriften*, VIII (Berlin, 1792), pp. 287–368), pp. 299–304.

[1] L'Escalopier, *Essai sur divers arts*, Introduction, pp. xliv-vi.

[2] *Die deutsche Glasmalerei*, note 115, p. 138. The alternatives to Lessing's theory which Wackernagel proposes have equally little to support them.

[3] Robert Hendrie, *An Essay upon Various Arts*. Preface, pp. xix-xx.

[4] Ilg, *Schedula*, Introduction, pp. xli-vii.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Loumyer, *Traditions techniques*, p. 48, concurs in Ilg's opinion. See also Oidtmann, *Rheinischen Glasmalereien*, pp. 5–6.

[7] See the facsimile in Hendrie's frontispiece. *Incipit prologus libri primi Theophili qui & Rugerus: De diversis artibus*, written *in rubro*.

[8] The occurrence of the name Rugerus in W^2 seems to date only from the time of a collation of that manuscript with W^1. See page 220 below.

tion of Theophilus with the monk Rogkerus of Helmershausen rests ultimately, therefore, upon a single rubric in W^1, and should be accepted cautiously, in the absence of surer confirmation than Ilg's published discussion provides.

The period in which Theophilus lived and wrote is likewise a matter of conjecture. Two manuscripts of the *Schedula* written within the limits of the twelfth century, *Wb* and W^1, provide a *terminus ad quem*, but for any further precision of the date it is necessary to rely upon the internal evidence of the treatise and upon its relation to extant works of art. Such evidence has brought forth arguments for dates ranging from the ninth to the twelfth century, and no certain means exist by which the time of the original redaction of the *Schedula* may be fixed. On the conservative principle of assigning a text to the latest date consistent with the known facts, the *Schedula* should perhaps be placed, roughly, in the first quarter of the twelfth century: it may be earlier, but cannot well be later.[1]

The text of the work is preserved in ten known manuscripts, of

[1] Ilg's arguments in favor of a slightly earlier date, *circa* 1100, are a little colored by his disposition to identify Theophilus with the monk of Helmershausen, but should be given due weight. Lessing, *Vom Alter der Oelmalerey, op. cit.*, pp. 303, 304, while dating *Wb* in the tenth or eleventh century, referred the original composition even to the ninth. Morelli, *Notizia d'opere di disegno nella prima metà del secolo xvi . . . scritta da un anonimo di quel tempo* (Bassano, 1800), note 28, pp. 113–118; Leiste, in his introduction to Lessing, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur aus den Schätzen der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel sechster Beytrag* (Brunswick, 1781), p. 4 (Leiste's introduction, pp. 3–24 follows p. 261 of the preceding *Beytrag* and the title-page of the sixth; the text-pages are then numbered 289–424); T. B. Emériс-David, *Biographie Universelle*, XLV (Paris, 1826), *sub* 'Théophile,' pp. 334 ff., and *Histoire de la Peinture au moyen-âge* (Paris, 1842), pp. 83, 84 and *ibid.*, note 1; and R. E. Raspe, *A critical essay on oil-painting . . . to which are added Theophilus* De Arte Pingendi, *Eraclius* De Artibus Romanorum, *and a review of Farinator's* Lumen Animae (London, 1781), p. 46, incline to place it in the tenth century, or possibly the eleventh. Guichard, in l'Escalopier, *Essai sur divers arts*, Introduction, pp. xlvi-ix, argues for a date not earlier than the second half of the twelfth century. Abbé Texier and Didron, *Annales Archéologiques* (IV), pp. 148–160, as well as Bourassé, *Essai sur divers arts, op. cit.*, are substantially in agreement with Guichard, as is Viollet le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de mobilier . . .* (Paris, 1871), II, 190, note 4. Hendrie, *An Essay*, Preface, pp. xv-vii, puts the composition of the *Schedula* in the first half of the eleventh century. Jules Labarte, *Histoire des arts industriels*, I, 151–167, and Ilg, *Schedula*, Introduction, pp. xli-xlvii, independently consider the available evidence, and both conclude for the end of the eleventh century. Erich Frantz, *Geschichte der christlichen Malerei* (Freiburg i.-Br., 1887) I, 403–409, and Gersach, *L'Art de la verrerie*, p. 131, accept this view, and it is compatible with the opinion of LeBâtissier, in *Histoire de l'art monumental*, that Theophilus wrote at the latest in the twelfth century. Views on the subject have been expressed with little authority by many writers: for a capable review of the questions involved see Oidtmann, *Rheinischen Glasmalereien*, pp. 5, 6.

which eight are apparently independent recensions;[1] the manuscripts vary in date from the twelfth century to the end of the seventeenth. There is much divergence among them, both in readings of individual sentences, and in omissions, interpolations, and the ordering of chapters; all contain indexes which do not wholly correspond to the texts, making it clear that none is the holograph, and that the indexes represent a mechanically reproduced inheritance.[2] In the following list, the independent manuscripts of the *Schedula* are presented in chronological order, and an abstract of the chief sources of information about them is supplied. Copies are listed after their originals.

Wb

Wolfenbüttel, Herzogliche Bibliothek, *MS 4373.*[3] Parchment; 29×21cm.; 115 folios, in double columns. Fols. 1^{r}–85^{v} comprise an eleventh-century text of Vitruvius, *De architectura;* fols. 86^{r}–114^{v} from the twelfth century, contain the *Schedula diversarum artium.*[4] To this manuscript, which ends with a chapter numbered LXXXVIII,[5] *De purganda antiqua deauratura,* is appended another folio, 115,

[1] Manuscripts containing less than one of the three books of the *Schedula* cannot be considered here in detail.

[2] For the most complete reconstruction of the *Schedula* it would probably be necessary to consider certain fragmentary passages, once, apparently, associated with it, and preserved in the *Lumen Animae;* but for the purposes of the present study a reference to the summary of the evidence and discussion given by Ilg, *Schedula,* Introduction, pp. xxiii-xli, and Appendix, pp. 360–370, must suffice.

[3] Formerly *69 GUD.* (From the collection of the Margrave Gudius.) The *Codex Guelpherbytanus* of Lessing's and later editions.

[4] Leiste, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur,* Introduction, pp. 15, 16, referring to a passage in the *Acta Eruditorum, cit. infra,* p. 218, note 1, writes as follows: 'So viel konnte man . . . erkennen, dass diess das nämliche Werk sey, welches sich unter den Gudischen Handschriften der hiesigen Bibliothek hinter dem Vitruv befindet. Beyde sind in gross Quart auf Pergamen geschrieben, und gleichen sich sehr in den Schriftzügen, so dass man sie wahrscheinlich in ein Jahrhundert versetzen muss. Beyde Handschriften also gehören unstreitig unter die seltensten Stücke des hiesigen Bücherschatzes.' Guichard, in l'Escalopier, *Essai sur divers arts,* Introduction, pp. xlvii, viii, misinterpreted Leiste's remarks. By 'beyde Handschriften' he understood Leiste to mean the manuscripts in Wolfenbüttel and Leipzig, p. 217 below, in spite of the fact that Leiste clearly places the Leipzig manuscript three centuries later. In quoting Leiste, Guichard reads, '*Beyde* (les manuscrits de Leipsick et de Wolfenbüttel) *sind* . . . ,' and this unjustified parenthetical expansion infected Hendrie (*Theophilus,* Introduction, p. xxiv) and even Ilg (*Schedula,* Introduction, p. v), both of whom unite with Guichard to reproach the innocent Leiste with inconsistency in a statement in which, if it be read correctly, no contradiction will be found.

[5] Liber III, Cap. LXXVIII in Ilg, *Schedula.*

which preserves the chapters next in order, *De purgando auro et argento*, and *De organis*.[1] This final folio is in a later hand than the rest of the manuscript, and dates from the fifteenth century;[2] Ilg describes it[3] as 'pagina pergamenae adiuncta manu saeculi xiii fere.' The fly-leaf is glossed, 'Continent folior. CXV.'

For descriptions and discussion of *Wb*, see Heinemann,[4] Lessing,[5] and Leiste.[6] Morelli[7] accepts *Wb* as an eleventh century text, and F. A. Ebert[8] presses the case for this date. C. T. G. Schönemann,[9] however, gives palaeographical arguments in detail for placing the manuscript in the twelfth century.[10]

The earliest critical notice of the *Schedula*, the comment by Agrippa already referred to,[11] was echoed by Conrad Gesner in 1545. Josias Simler, in 1555, amplifies this memorandum, and mentions[12] that the 'Theophili monachi libri 3 . . . extant apud Georgium Agricolam in pergamenis, et in Cella veteri monasterio,[13] que bibliotheca Lipsiam translata est.' The manuscript *apud Georgium Agricolam* is identified by Lessing[14] with the manuscript now in Wolfenbüttel.[15]

This Wolfenbüttel Codex, *Wb*, is now accepted as the oldest of the

[1] These are numbered *in cod.* respectively LXXV and LXXVI, and correspond to Ilg, *Schedula*, Lib. III, Caps. LXXIX and LXXX, pp. 303–309.

[2] According to O. von Heinemann, *Die Handschriften der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel.* IV, *Die Gudischen Handschriften* (Wolfenbüttel: Julius Swissler, 1913), IV, 121–122, *sub* '4373.'

[3] Ilg, *Schedula*, p. 303, note 16.

[4] *Loc. cit.*

[5] *Vom Alter der Oelmalerey*, p. 303: '. . . man darf nur wenig sich auf dergleichen Dinge verstehen, um ihr ohne Bedenken ein Alter von sieben bis acht hundert Jahren zu geben. Sie hat alle Merkmale, welche der schwierigste Kenner von Handschriften des zehnten oder elften Jahrhunderts nur immer verlangen kann'; also note (p), pp. 361, 362.

[6] *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, Introduction, pp. 4–6.

[7] *Notizia d'opere di disegno*, pp. 113–118. Morelli was correct in placing *Wb* and W^1 in the same century, but inclined to date them both a little too early.

[8] *Zur Handschriftenkunde* (Leipzig, 1825), pp. 34–38 and 51.

[9] *Versuch eines vollständigen Systems der allgemeinen . . . Diplomatik* (Leipzig, 1818), II, 114–115, §205.

[10] A small photograph of the *incipit* of *Wb* introduces an excellent brief summary of evidence for the date and personality of Theophilus in Oidtmann, *Rheinische Glasmalereien*, p. 5. Some notice of the Wolfenbüttel recension has been taken by each editor of the *Schedula*, and the substance of their comment is well extracted by Ilg, *Schedula*, Introduction, pp. i-v.

[11] *Supra*, p. 199.

[12] Simler, *Appendix*, fols. 99^v–100^r.

[13] Altenzell, in Saxony.

[14] *Vom Alter der Oelmalerey*, note (p), p. 361.

[15] See also Ilg, *Schedula*, Introduction, pp. i-ii.

known copies of the *Schedula*. It was employed by Lessing as the basis of his edition of the text; it was collated privately, about 1865, by Albert Camesina;[1] and was adopted by Ilg as the foundation of his 1874 variorum edition. Ilg follows Schönemann in assigning to *Wb* a date in the twelfth century, and Oidtmann and Heinemann, the most recent investigators, have lent their support to this view.

W[1]

Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, *MS 2527*.[2] Parchment; small 8vo; 117 folios, largely palimpsest. The main text dates from the twelfth century;[3] the title-page is not contemporary with the rest of the manuscript, but is written on a different sort of parchment in a seventeenth-century hand, and bound in later.[4] For descriptions and discussion of this manuscript see the *Tabula codicum praeter Graecos et Orientales*,[5] Hendrie's Preface,[6] and the detailed account of it in the introduction to Ilg's edition.[7]

The existence of this and the other Vienna manuscript, *W*[2] below, was first remarked (1776) by Jacopo Morelli in describing a copy in Venice.[8] Neither of these two Vienna manuscripts, however, was included in any catalogue of the Vienna Library prior to the *Tabula codicum* of 1868. Guichard was familiar with the observations of Morelli, but content to doubt their accuracy.[9] Investigation by Dr Ferdinand Wolf, at the instance of Robert Hendrie, resulted in the discovery of both *W*[1] and *W*[2] by the former in 1846, confirming the justice of Morelli's account.[10]

[1] See Ilg, *Schedula*, Introduction, p. iii.

[2] Formerly *Med. 230*.

[3] So described in *Tabula codicum manu scriptorum praeter Graecos et Orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensis asservatorum* (Vienna, 1868), II, 92, *sub* '2527.' Morelli, *loc. cit. supra* p. 209, note 1, calls it eleventh century. Hendrie, *An Essay*, Preface, p. xxiii, quotes Dr F. Wolf as writing (1846) that 'No. 2527 belongs to the twelfth, or at latest, to the very commencement of the thirteenth century.'

[4] The full title-page reads as follows: *Theophili Monachi Benedictini* [*Benedictini* cancelled] *qui et Rugerus* [*qui et Rugerus* by another hand] *Libri tres nunquam editi. I De temperamentis colorum. II De arte vitriaria. III De arte fusili.* On the verso there are two notes: (1) *Bernh. Rottendorff D. MDCXL. VII.*, and, in another hand, (b) *Medic. Caesar et Electoral.*

[5] *Loc. cit.*

[6] *Cit. infra*, note 10.

[7] *Schedula*, Introduction, pp. v-viii.

[8] *V*. See pp. 200–201 above, and note 1.

[9] L'Escalopier, *Essai sur divers arts*, Introduction, p. xxvi.

[10] See Hendrie, *An Essay*, Preface, pp. xxii-iv; also Wackernagel, *Die Deutsche Glasmalerei*, p. 136, note 111.

Hendrie reproduced a few lines of W^1 in facsimile as part of the frontispiece in his 1847 edition. Anton von Perger mentioned the manuscript in 1871,[1] but it remained for Ilg to examine it carefully, to establish its full importance, and to include variants from it in his 1874 edition.

V

Venice, Bibliotheca Marciana, *MS L. VI. 199.*[2] Paper; 4°. A seventeenth-century copy of W^1.

The first mention of *V* seems to be the article upon it in Morelli's catalogue of the Bibliotheca Naniana.[3] The manuscript apparently found its way into the Bibliotheca Marciana before 1868, the date of Valentinelli's catalogue of that library.[4] While still in the Naniana (1789), it was noted by Don Juan Andres, who quoted Morelli's catalogue-entry[5] in a letter to his brother, Don Carlos, and remarked that, in spite of its pedigree, 'desearía mucho que se imprimiese': 'Este, come ves, es una copia del codice de Viena, lo que le hace perder mucho de su merito extrinseco, pero le queda el intrinseco por las muchas y apreciables noticias que dá de la pintura y de las otras artes de aquellos tiempos; donde es cosa particular ver usado ya entonces el aceyte de linaza en los colores de las pinturas, quando comunmente se cree esta una invencion de Juan de Bruges.'

V, however, hardly calls for separate publication. Portions of it were printed by Morelli in his Naniana catalogue, and his verdict, that it is a copy of W^1, seems to be justified. As in W^1 and in all the other known manuscripts of the *Schedula*, four chapters, shown by

[1] Perger, 'Andeutungen über einige Gegenstände aus dem ersten Buche von des Theophilus Presbyter "Diversarum Artium Schedula" ', *Mittheilungen der k.k. Central-Commission zur Erforschung . . . der Baudenkmale*, XVI (Vienna, 1871), 1–10.

[2] *Fide* J. Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca manuscripta ad S. Marci Venetiarum* (Venice, 1868), I, 119, note 3.

[3] *Op. cit. supra*, pp. 201 and 207.

[4] *Op. cit.* Valentinelli does not make it entirely clear that the manuscript which he lists is identical with the one described by Morelli, but there seems to be no reasonable doubt on this point. There was a copy of Theophilus in the Marciana before 1847: see below, page 214, note 3.

[5] '*Theophili Monachi, qui et Rugerus libri tres. I de temperamentis calorum* [sic]. *II de arte vitriaria. III de arte fusili, descripti ex antiquo codice membranaceo manuscripto Bibliothecae Caesareae Vindobonensis.*' C. Andres, *Cartas familiares del Abate D. Juan Andres a su hermano D. carlos Andres, dandole noticia del viage que hizo a Venecia . . .* (Madrid, 1790), p. 185. Morelli, *Codices . . . Nanianae*, p. 35, in discussing W^1 and W^2, remarks 'Est e priore Nanianum hoc facile sumptum.'

the index to have formed part of the original redaction, are lacking. Morelli writes:[1] 'Desunt attamen inter Caput XI. & XII. Capita quatuor,[2] in Indice, qui praefixus est, sic inscripta: *De coloribus, qui fiunt ex cupro, & plumbo, & sale. De viridi vitro. De vitro saphireo. De vitro, quod vocatur gallien;* eademque a Codice Lipsiensi itidem absunt.'

The excerpts from *V* given by Morelli were collated by Ilg in preparing his edition, and the manuscript is discussed in his introduction.[3]

L[1]

London, British Museum, *MS Harley 3915.* Parchment; 11.5× 16.2 cm.; 150 folios.[4] The *Schedula* occupies fols. 2ʳ–114ᵛ. Title and Book I, Prologue, are lacking. The manuscript is entered as *3915* in the *Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*

[1] *Codices . . . Nanianae,* pp. 37–38.

[2] See also Hendrie, pp. 163–169, notes on 'The Lost Chapters.' Mrs Merrifield, *Original Treatises,* I, 178, writes: 'I . . . think that three of the missing chapters mentioned in the table of contents of the second book of Theophilus will be found in the MS. of Eraclius. Red glass, called "Gallienum," and green glass, are described in No. VII, and blue glass in No. VIII and No. XLIX of Eraclius . . . The fourth of the missing chapters (De Coloribus qui fiunt ex cupro et plumbo et sale) seems to be contained in cap. XXXI of the second book of Theophilus, entitled "De Anulis," where we find the following words: "Deinde acquire tibi cineres, sal, pulverem cupri, et plumbum." '

[3] Pp. vi, viii-ix. In connection with *V* some notice may be taken of Hendrie's remark, *An Essay,* Preface, p. xxii, that Mrs. Merrifield had written to him 'that she saw a copy of Theophilus at Milan made from the old Vienna manuscript, similar to that in the library of St Mark at Venice.' No further evidence of the existence of this manuscript has come to light.

[4] Hendrie describes it as consisting of 120 folios, the portion which he considered in preparing his edition. A gloss in a slightly later hand, fol. 2ʳ, upper margin, reads *Clii. folia.* A nineteenth-century pencilled note at the foot of fol. 1ᵛ remarks, *A leaf cut out.* Fol. 1ʳ is blank save for the stamp of the British Museum Library. Fol. 1ᵛ, perhaps by the same hand as the gloss on fol. 2ʳ, contains rules not printed by Hendrie, *Ad conficiendum cinabrum; Item ad conficiendum lazurum; Item de viridi colore faciendo; Item de lazorio faciendo.* (This page is badly worm-eaten.) After the close of the 120 folios dealt with by Hendrie there is some unpublished material of parallel interest, not belonging to the *Schedula* proper.

Fols. 2ʳ–115ᵛ are written in one hand; in the middle of fol. 115ᵛ another hand begins, and continues through to the middle of fol. 142ᵛ. This second section comprises Hendrie's *Addenda* (pp. 410–422 in his edition), and a treatise, *De unguentis,* in which among such useful rules as *Ad dealbandam faciem vel ubicque vis; Si vis omnem libidinem extinguere ut cesset peccatio;* and *Si vis scire de puella si est virgo vel non,* are interpolated a few short chapters relating to the arts, such as the *Sic fit color yspanicus rubeus* on fol. 129ʳ. At the foot of fol. 142ᵛ, in a very neat fourteenth century hand, is a rule for making ink. Fol. 148ᵛ gives methods *Ad faciendas cartas de pellibus caprinis more bononiense* and *Si alio modo vis facere,* the more welcome as such instructions are regrettably infrequent.

(London, 1808), III, 96, where it is described as fourteenth-century; Hendrie[1] states that it is written in 'a clear German hand of the very commencement of the thirteenth century'; and Sir Frederic Madden[2] was prepared to countenance an attribution to the late twelfth century.

L^1 is not, apparently, very much younger than *Wb*. It presents a somewhat fuller version of the *Schedula* than any of the other sources, and it is not necessarily more distantly related to the original for being a little later in date than *Wb* and W^1; it is altogether one of the most significant texts, not only in the study of Theophilus, but in the whole field of technical writings. As noted above, it was published by Hendrie in 1847, and reprinted in 1851, with a French translation, by J.-J. Bourassé. Ilg excerpted Hendrie's readings of the manuscript, (cited as *Ed.H.* and *Ha.*), in his edition of the *Schedula*.

C

Cambridge, University Library, *MS 1131*.[3] Parchment; small 4°; 273 pages. It contains, pp. 1–197, *Palladii Rutili Tauri Emiliani Viri Illustri Opus Agriculture;* pp. 198–243, *Liber Macri de Viribus Herbarum;* and pp. 243–273, *Liber Theophili Monachi et Presbyteri de Diversis Artibus*. This manuscript dates from the thirteenth century.[4] It was first noticed by Raspe, as mentioned above, and employed by L'Escalopier in preparing his 1843 edition. It was excerpted as *C. C.* by Ilg.

The text of *C* shows marked affinities with that of L^1, but it is very much less complete: Book II is omitted entirely, and likewise most of Book III.

[1] *An Essay*, Preface, p. xxvi.

[2] *Ibid.* An entry in the desk-copy of the *Catalogus librorum MSS. bibliothecae Sloanianae* (London, n.d.) at the British Museum, I, 145, *sub* '781,' gives support to Hendrie: 'Integrum opus . . . extat in *MS Harl. 3915*, seculo, ut videtur, XIII descriptum.' A. Giry, 'Notice sur un traité du moyen âge intitulé *De coloribus et artibus Romanorum*', in *Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études . . . Sciences philologiques et historiques*, XXXV (1878), 215, follows Madden in assigning it to the end of the twelfth century.

[3] Raspe, *Critical Essay*, p. 39, gives the number as *437*. See *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1857), II, 276–277, *sub* '1131.'

[4] See *ibid.;* also the analysis by Singer, *Alchemical Manuscripts*, II, 595–596, *sub* '873. XIII Century, i.' For further descriptions and discussion, note the first account in Raspe, *Critical Essay*, pp. 39–41; also, l'Escalopier, *Essai sur divers arts*, Introduction, pp. xxv-xxvii; Hendrie, *An Essay*, Preface, p. xxi; and Ilg, *Schedula*, Introduction, pp. x-xii.

L^3

London, British Museum, *MS Sloane 781.*[1] Paper; 4°; 39 folios. L^3 is merely a copy of *C* made by Humphrey Wanley in 1699.[2]

L^2

London, British Museum, *MS Egerton 840A.*[3] Parchment; 10.5× 14.7 cm.;[4] 25 folios. This manuscript contains only Book I of the *Schedula*, found on fols. 6^r–16^v under the rubric *Tractus Lumbarditacus, qualiter comparantur colores ad dipingendum*, written in a thirteenth-century hand.[5]

The make-up of Book I as preserved in L^2 differs markedly from the texts hitherto considered. It comprises some forty chapters, but of these only about half appear in the other manuscripts of this book; the remainder seem to have been interpolated from other sources. The title, *Tractatus Lumbardicus*, is peculiar to this recension. It was transcribed and published by Raspe[6] in 1781, and variants from it were extracted by Ilg.[7] Like *P*, but unlike the other manuscripts of the *Schedula*, it is preceded by the hexameters:

> Sensim per partes discuntur quaelibet artes.
> Artis pictorum prior est factura colorum.
> Post ad mixturas committat mens tua curas.
> Hoc opus exerce, sed ad unguem cuncta coherce

[1] Bound in with *MS Sloane 715* and five others. See *Catalogus Librorum MSS. Bibliothecae Sloanianae*, I, 145, *sub* '781.' Folios numbered 171–210.

[2] *Ibid.*, '1. . . . totius operis liber primus de coloribus temperandis et utendis. fol. (171) 2–11. 2. Ex ejusdem operis libro tertio excerpta nonnulla, cum aliis praeceptis de coloribus. fol. (182) 12–39. In initio codicis leguntur haec: *Humfredus Wanley descripsit* e codice MS Bibliothecae publicae Cantabrigiensis, A.D. 1699.'

[3] Formerly Cambridge, Trinity College Library, *MS. R. 1515.* It was purchased for the British Museum, according to a note on the flyleaf, on August 11, 1840, from T. Rodd. For further details, see Giry, *art. cit.*, pp. 211-213.

[4] Raspe, *Critical Essay*, p. 42, calls it 'small octavo'; it is described in the *List of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the years MDCCCXXXVI–MDCCCXL* (London, 1843), p. 18, *sub* 'Tractatus Lumbardicus,' as 'duodecimo.'

[5] The first five folios, much damaged, and almost illegible in parts, are characterized in the *List of Additions, loc. cit.*, as 'theologica quaedam, manu recentiori.' Ilg, quoting Raspe, states in his Introduction, p. xii, that they contain 'eine astrologische Abhandlung: *De constructione et usu Spherae et Astrolabi* aus dem 12. Jahrhundert.'

[6] *Critical Essay*, pp. 73–97; a small engraved '*Specimen Scripturae Theophili in Bibl. Collegii S. Trinitatis Cantabrigiae*,' 'to face page 42'', illustrates the work.

[7] Under the *siglum Ed.R.;* also, under *R*, the 'consensus' of *P* (Ilg's *C.R.*) 'cum editione Raspiana, qui est frequentissimus.'

Ut sit adornatum quod pinxeris, et quasi natum.
Postea multorum documentis ingeniorum
Ars opus augebit, sicut liber iste docebit.[1]

Lp

Leipzig, Bibliotheca Paulina (the University Library), *MS 1144*. Parchment; small f°; 72 folios, in double columns, with some capitals and flourishings in color. The manuscript seems to date from the fourteenth century.[2] The *Schedula* occupies fols. 17–22.[3]

This copy of Theophilus is the one mentioned by Simler[4] in 1555, as having passed from the monastery of Altenzell into the Leipzig Library. (Altenzell was secularized in 1544.) Joachim Feller next comments on the manuscript:[5] Inter medicos non sine gaudio inveniebam Theophili monachi librum de arte colorandi ac coquendi vitra, quam plane intercidisse hodie nonnulli asserunt.'

This observation of Feller's was misread by Morhof[6] two years later. Morhof, taking 'librum' as the antecedent, read 'quem plane' for 'quam plane' and wrote as follows:

Edidit superiore anno celeberrimae Academiae Lipsiensis Catalogum Codicum MStorum Cl. Fellerus, optime hac opera de Academia non solum, sed & orbe literato meritus, qui in praefatione Catalogi singularia quaedam & notabilia summatim exponit. Reperiuntur illic libri partim plane incogniti, partim perquam rari, Patres & Historici Graeci. Habetur in illis Theophili Monachi liber de arte colorandi ac coquendi vitra, quem intercidisse plane

[1] See above, page 206, note 3. The verses are quoted here from Ilg, p. 3.

[2] Lessing, *Vom Alter der Oelmalerey*, p. 303, held that it dated, 'wo nicht aus dem dreizehnten, doch sicherlich aus dem vierzehnten Jahrhundert.' Leiste, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, Introduction, pp. 4–6, dates it confidently some three centuries later than *Wb*. (See p. 210, note 4, above.) The new Leipzig manuscript catalogue now in course of publication has not yet dealt with this codex: but according to Ilg, *Schedula*, Introduction, p. xiv, the official designation of the manuscript is 'Nr. 1144, sec. XIV'.

[3] According to Ilg, Introduction, pp. xiv-xv. Ilg states that it is preceded by: fol. 1, *Liber Iacobi alchim. phi. de gradibus medicinarum;* fol. 4, *Liber primus mineralium qui est de lapidibus* and four other books of the same, 'explicit liber mineralium fratris Alberti bone memorie episcopi Ratisponensis'; and that it is followed by: fol. 23, *Questiones super libros metaphys. Aristotelis phi.;* fol. 42, *De pulsibus;* and fol. 55^{v}, *Liber Galieni primus de crinibus.*

[4] See above, page 199.

[5] *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Paulinae in academia Lipsiensi* (Leipzig, 1686), Preface; see also *ibid.*, p. 255. Also noted by Bayle, *Nouvelles de la république des lettres*, (1686), p. 1027.

[6] *Polyhistor sive de notitia auctorum et rerum commentarii* . . . (Lübeck, 1688), I, vii, pp. 59,–60. Morhof's little error is discussed by Ilg, Introduction, p. xvi; Ilg's quotation of Morhof, however, is considerably less accurate than Morhof's of Feller.

nonnulli existimant, merito conferendus cum illis, qui hodie de eodem argumento scripti sunt.

An anonymous reviewer of Ciampini's *Vetera Monumenta* writing (1690) in the *Acta Eruditorum*[1] gives evidence of familiarity with *Lp* by his vigorous refutation of Ciampini's statement that Antonio Neri was the first to write upon the art of working in glass:

Tacere autem hoc loco non possumus, extare hodieque in Bibliotheca Paulina Lipsiensi codicem membraneum MSCtum *Theophili* Monachi *de coloribus et arte colorandi vitra*, qui et inter libros Medicos n. 21. recensitus est a clariss. Fellero nostro in Catalogo Codicum MSCtorum Paulinorum, p. 255, qui eundem codicem et inter rariora Paulinae MSCta in praefatione ad Lectorem retulit. Est autem isthoc libri initium: *Theophilus humilis presbyter, servus servorum Dei, indignus nomine et professione monachi, omnibus mentis desiderantibus vacationem utili manuum occupatione et delectabili novitatem meditatione declinare etc. retributionem coelestis praemii etc.* Libri huius Artis Vitrariae sunt tres, I *de coloribus et eorum mixtura*, XXXVIII constans capitulis; II *de constructione furni ad operandum vitrum, et instrumentis hanc in rem necessariis*, qui XXXIV capitulis absolvitur; quorum XIX est *de vitro quod Musinum* (ita enim semper in hoc libro legimus, non *Musivum*) *opus decorat;* III *de limis, de vasculis ad liquefaciendum aurum*, et *de nigello imponendo et poliendo*, sed in quo reliqua capitula post septimum desiderantur, quemadmodum et in libro II capitula quinque, XII nempe, XIII, XIV, XV et XVI deesse deprehenduntur. Sed hoc obiter indicasse sufficiat, ne solus Antonius Nerius scripsisse de hac arte videri[2] queat.

Lessing[3] pointed out that the anonymous author of this review had fallen into error in describing the extent and limitations of *Lp*. But Lessing's warning in this respect was not heeded by Raspe, Guichard, and Hendrie, all of whom rely on the account of the text just quoted from the *Acta Eruditorum*. Lessing points out that a later owner of *Lp* regretted a lacuna[4] in Book II so keenly that he marked it with the following enthusiastic gloss: 'Hic deficit subtilior pars et melior et utilior totius libri pro qua si quidam haberent darem mille florenos.'

[1] *Acta Eruditorum*, (Leipzig, 1690), 419–420.

[2] Ilg, Introduction, pp. xvi-xvii, quotes this as 'de hac arte vitri queat.' He devotes a paragraph, p. xvii, to the correction of numerous errors in the *Acta Eruditorum* description of *Lp*.

[3] *Vom Alter der Oelmalerey*, note (o), pp. 360–361.

[4] Fol. 20^{v}, at the end of Cap. XI: a blank space is left in this manuscript, indicating that the four lost chapters may have been lacking in the original from which it was made. (See above, pp. 213 and 214.) The lacuna is indicated in Ilg's edition, p. 113, note 1, (in which for XXVII read XVII), note 5; and Introduction pp. xvii-viii.

The text of *Lp* was collated with that of *Wb* by Lessing for his edition, and independently examined, collated, and described by Ilg for his publication of the *Schedula*.

P

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *MS A.F.L. 6741*.[1] Paper; 22.0 ×14.7 cm.; 102 folios, of which fols. 42ʳ–51ᵛ, §§119–148, are occupied by a version of Book I of the *Schedula*. The manuscript is dated 1431.[2]

Books II and III are not included, and the text of Book I is limited to twenty-nine chapters,[3] closing with §148 (Cap. XXIX), *De pictura translucida*. Like L^2, which also contains only the first book, *P* is introduced by the verses, 'Sensim per partes . . . ,' and the similarity of these two manuscripts in detail suggests that they were copied from a single source, or that *P* was copied from L^2.

The existence of *P* was noted by Lessing,[4] who, familiar with it only through the entry in the *Catalogus codicum*, was properly uncertain that it was actually a manuscript of the *Schedula* as he knew it. Raspe[5] mentioned that it contained only Book I. It was collated in 1843 by L'Escalopier, and from his edition Ilg extracted the variants which appear in his apparatus under the *sigla*, *C.R.* and *R.*[6]

[1] See Giry, *art. cit.*, pp. 213–215, for history and description of this manuscript. From the library of Louis Martel in Rouen it passed, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, into the library of Abbé Bigot, in which it was numbered *311*. It is entered under the general section *Philosophia, in 4°*, sub-section, *Philosophi recentiores et Scholastici*, in the *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Regiae*, Part III (Paris, 1744), IV, 273–274, as follows:

viM DCCXLI. Codex chartaceus, olim Bigotianus. Ibi continentur: 1°. Experimenta 118. de coloribus: praemittitur tabula ordine alphabetico digesta de vocabulis synonymis et aequivocis colorum, eorumque accidentium. 2° *Theophili* liber de omni scientia picturae artis. 3° *Petri de Sancto Audemaro* liber de coloribus faciendis. 4° *Heraclii* libri tres de coloribus et de artibus Romanorum. 5° Differentes receptes sur les couleurs; recueillies par Jean le Bègue, Greffier de la Monnoye de Paris. Is codex anno 1431. exaratus est.

The second section, devoted to Theophilus, was noted separately also by Bernard de Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca bibliothecarum nova* (Paris, 1739), II, 762B, as *6401*[2] (probably in error for *6741*[2]): *De coloribus et arte pingendi tractatus et experimenta varia. Theophilus de scientia picturae. . . .*

[2] Guichard, in l'Escalopier, *Essai sur divers arts*, Introduction, p. xxiii, suggests that the text of the *Schedula* was copied in later, in the second half of the fifteenth century. This seems unlikely, as it is the first of LeBègue's major texts in the collection, and the *Tabula de vocabulis synonymis* quotes from it extensively (see p. 207 above).

[3] Émeric-David errs in stating, *Biographie Universelle*, *sub* 'Théophile,' that *P* contains the whole text of the *Schedula*.

[4] *Vom Alter der Oelmalerey*, p. 300; also note (k), pp. 354–357.

[5] *Critical Essay*, p. 38.

W^2

Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, *MS 11236*.[1] Paper; 4°; 89 folios. This manuscript dates from the seventeenth century.[2] Like W^1 it was first noted by Morelli, denied existence by Guichard, and brought to light again by Hendrie and Wolf.

The official Vienna catalogue states[3] that it is a copy of W^2 (*MS 2527*); Ilg lists it in his *Siglorum explicatio* as an 'Apographum' of that text; and it is described as a copy of W^2 on fol. 1^r, a title-page, later than the text, glossed by three hands.[4] The third gloss brands this description 'Falsum,' as in fact it is. W^2 is not a copy of W^1, but a text derived from another source as yet not fully established,[5] revised and brought into conformity with W^1, at least in part, after its original transcription.[6] The emendations resulting from its collation with W^1 are evidence enough to show at least that it must not be regarded as deriving from that manuscript alone. Its status as a source is not, however, clearly defined.

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[6] See above, p. 203, note 1. The *incipit* of *P* is reproduced in the frontispieces of the l'Escalopier (1843) and Hendrie (1847) editions. Apparently to avoid duplicating the recent labors of l'Escalopier and Hendrie, Mrs Merrifield regrettably omitted LeBègue's transcript of Theophilus from her careful edition of the rest of his collection, and merely quoted the title, (p. 17): *Liber Theophili admirabilis et doctissimi magistri de omnia scientia picturae artis.*

[1] Formerly *Med. 173.* (See *Tabula codicum . . . in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensis asservatorum* [1868], vi, 293, *sub* '11236.')

[2] Morelli, *Codices . . . Nanianae* (1776), p. 35: '. . . alterum, sub numero 173 positum, saeculo proxime elapso exaratum . . .'

[3] *Tabula codicum . . . in Bibliotheca Palatina, loc. cit.:* 'Hi libri e cod. *2527* descripti sunt.'

[4] The title is couched in the very terms used by Morelli to describe *V*: 'Theophili Monachi qui et Rugerus, Libri tres. i De temperamentis colorum. ii De arte vitriaria. iii De arte fusili, descripti ex antiquo codice membranaceo Msto. Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensis.'

The glosses are as follows:

1. By Glossator A: 'Theophili Monachi *ni fallor Benedictini* qui et Rugerus . . .'
2. By Glossator B: '. . . Libri tres *nunquam editi.* i De temperamentis . . .'
3. By Glossator C: '. . . descripti ex antiquo codice . . . Vindobonensis. *Falsum.*'
4. By Glossator B, in the margin: 'In 12mo certoque numero non notato. Liber iste olim pertinuit ad Bern. Rottendorff D. Medicum Caesareum et Electoralem. A. MDCXLVII.

[5] Ilg, Introduction, pp. xxi-ii, states that W^2 'stimmt am meisten mit dem Codex Guelpherbytanus,' but does not propose to regard it as a copy of *Wb*. He goes on to say, rather apologetically; 'Unsere Bezeichnung in der Siglorum Explicatio, welches dieses zweite Wiener Manuscript . . . eine *Abschrift* des Wiener Codex betitelt, ist . . . nur mit einer gewissen Beschränkung zu verstehen; eigentlich wäre es wohl zu nennen eine Nachbildung desselben mit Ergänzungen und Verbesserungen nach dem Wolfenbüttler Manuscripte. Es ist übrigens für die Redaction des Textes nicht sehr wichtig.'

[6] The *incipit*, for example, 'Incipit Prologus Libri primi Theophili qui et Rugerus, de diversis artibus,' identical with that of W^1, is added, according to Ilg, p. 3, note, in 'literis recentioribus.'

CALCULATOR

By LYNN THORNDIKE

The *Calculationes* of Richard Suiseth, from which the author received his sobriquet of *Calculator*, appear as the leading model of a great mass of writing during the closing middle ages devoted to the intensity and remission or latitude of forms, to uniformity and difformity, the proportions of velocities, reaction, maximum and minimum, and kindred topics and concepts. This involved and subtle scholastic discussion of problems which were physical and mathematical as well as exercises in logic became anathema and an object of loathing to the tired humanists of the so-called Italian Renaissance and to those beyond the Alps who lightly praised folly and preached reform. Few modern scholars have had the time and patience to try to puzzle it out. But although to a superficial view it appears to have been discarded then and neglected since, one suspects that in reality it was laying the foundation for the later development of the mathematical method in physical science; that it was striving to express in words and arguments what was later to be put much more clearly, forcibly, and conveniently into symbols and equations; that it was giving a first faulty theoretical expression to what was in time to be formulated upon a more concrete and exact basis of experimental physics.

Whether it may be worth while or not to attempt the resuscitation of the details of these forgotten modes of thought, it does seem that they constituted a preliminary discussion which was helpful, in its failures as well as its surmises, and probably even essential under the circumstances to the further development of scientific thought. We would not then wholly pass over this considerable body of later mediaeval writing and thought, as so many historians of philosophy, mathematics, and physics have done, but give it some attention, though inadequate enough, in noting one of its earlier and apparently its greatest individual expressions, the work of Calculator. Even if this type of writing and thinking had done nothing more than help to take experiment away from natural magic and associate it to some slight extent, at least, with logical, mathematical, and physical argument, it would have served a great negative purpose. The *Calculationes*, primarily logical and mathematical in character and purpose, with an eye single to the relentless pursuit of abstract and intricate *sophismata*, offer not the slightest opening for magical modes of thought to intrude themselves. Not all writings of this type, however, were so severely free from any interest in magic as was the work of Suiseth. Even so celebrated an exponent of the latitude of forms and the system of coördinates, and so rational a critic of marvels and astrology as Nicolas Oresme adduced the

principles of uniformity and difformity to explain the possibility of natural magic.

Despite the growing distaste for scholasticism, at least three editions of the *Calculationes* appeared from the printing press. The undated *editio princeps* appeared at Padua under the editorship of John of Cyprus, doctor of arts and medicine,[1] and no doubt the same person who issued an annual prediction for the year 1464 which is preserved in a manuscript at Paris.[2] This edition is now placed in the year 1477 rather than in 1485,[3] because the only two other volumes known to come from the same press, the *Dubia* of Paolo da Pergola, and the *Consequentiae* of Strodus, are dated of that year. Moreover, the copy of this edition owned by Duhem already had manuscript marginal notes dated December 16, 1481.[4] Finally, the other date of 1464 for John of Cyprus favors an earlier date such as 1477 for his editorship. The edition mentioned by Hain of Pavia, 1488, is probably an error for the 1498 edition at that place. The work was again printed at Venice in 1520.[5] Meanwhile Bassanus Politus in 1505[6] and Alvarus Thomas in 1509[7] had printed what they intended to serve as introductions to the work. The reputation of the Calculator among the learned continued through the sixteenth century. Pomponazzi in 1514 devoted his *De intensione et remissione formarum* entirely to a refutation of Suiseth but recognized the sharpness of his intellect.[8] The humanist Vives shrank from his

[1] I have used a rotograph of the copy at the British Museum numbered *IB. 29968*, opening at fol. 1^{r}, col. 1, without title, 'Penes quid habeant intensio et remissio . . . ' and closing at fol. 83^{r}, col. 2, '. . . ad extremum remissius. patet ergo prima pars conclusionis. Subtilissimi Doctoris Anglici Suiset Calculationum Liber Per Egregium Artium et Medicine Doctorem Magistrum Iohanem de Cipro diligentissime emendatus foeliciter Explicit. Deo Gratias. Padve.'

[2] *B. N. 7336*, fols. 368^{r}–369^{v}, 'Explicit prognostica per magistrum Iohannem Ciprium in medicina doctorem pro circa sancti petri ad vincula presbitero cardinali ac episcopo Brixinensi anno M^{o}CCCC^{o}LXIIII.'

[3] As the British Museum copy used to be tentatively dated.

[4] P. Duhem, *Etudes sur Léonard de Vinci*, III (1913), 415.

[5] *Calculator. Subtilissimi Ricardi Suiseth Anglici Calculationes noviter emendate atque revise.* After a dedication and table of contents on fol. 1^{v}, the text opens at fol. 2^{r}, col. 1, 'Incipit perutile ac ad omnes scientias applicabile calculationum aureum opus Ricardi Suiseth Anglici Doctoris subtilissimi. Penes quid habeant intensio . . . ' At fol. 68^{v}, col. 2, 'Explicit Calculationum opus aureum magistri Raymundi Suiseth anglici viri in hac facultate eminentissimi atque acutissimi nuper diligenti examine emendatum ab excellenti doctore domino Victore trinchauello veneto.' This edition has more headings and paragraph divisions than the *editio princeps* and some figures to illustrate the text. I am indebted to Professor Richard P. McKeon for the use of his copy of this edition.

[6] *Tractatus proportionum introductorius ad calculationes Suiset*, in the group of such treatises published at Venice, 1505, and headed by his *Questio de modalibus*.

[7] *Liber de triplici motu proportionibus annexis magistri Aluari Thome Ulixbonensis philosophicas Suiseth calculationes ex parte declarans*, Paris, 1509, 'die Februarii 11.'

[8] P. Duhem, *op. cit.*, III, 120.

elaborate calculations, but Cardan included him with Duns Scotus as the two mediaeval Latin thinkers among his ten leading intellects of the world, five being ancient Greeks and the other three mediaeval writers in Arabic.[1] Scaliger coincided in this view, and it was kept alive in the seventeenth century, when Casaubon congratulated himself upon being able to read the *Calculationes* at Oxford, and Gabriel Naudé and his English translator Evelyn re-echoed the estimates of Scaliger and Cardan.[2] Even in the middle of the eighteenth century, Jacob Brucker in his *Critical History of Philosophy*[3] devoted considerable space to the Calculator, whereas Cantor's late nineteenth century *History of Mathematics* barely mentions him.

Pierre Duhem had much more to say concerning the Calculator in discussing mediaeval physical theories in the third volume of his studies on Leonardo da Vinci. But he attempted to overthrow all the previous conclusions and judgments of posterity on the subject. In the first place, he held that Richard Suiseth or Swineshead was the author merely of the treatise *De primo motore* and not of the *Calculationes*, which he ascribed rather to a Richard de Ghlymi Eshedi who thus became the real Calculator. But it is fairly evident that this Richard de Ghlymi Eshedi, an absurd form of name found in a single manuscript and otherwise unknown, was the erratic creation of a French scribe or copyist who could make nothing of the English word, Swyneshede and turned it so to speak into Ghlymshede instead — which is, for that matter, as much like the other word as Suiseth is. Duhem suggested that a *Summa Eshilde*, or *Eshedi, Anglici de iudiciis* might also be by this Riccardus de Ghlymi Eshedi, but of course it is really the astrological *Summa* of John of Ashenton or Eschenden, and is another good illustration of how English names are distorted by French pens. In the second place, Duhem endeavored by various all too perceptible squirmings to make out that the *Calculationes* were written after the works of Oresme and other Parisian schoolmen to whom he wished to give the lion's share of the credit for being precursors of Galileo. But Duhem's evidence seems to

[1] *De subtilitate*, XVI, 607, 'Frequentiores licet in disciplinis viros praestantes invenire e quorum numero decem selegi unicuique iudicium suum relinquens.' The five Greeks named are Archimedes, Aristotle, Euclid, Apollonius of Perga, Architas of Tarentum. The Arabic writers are al-Khowarizmi, Alkindi, and Geber Hispanus. Cardan calls Suisset by the Christian name 'Ioannes,' thus adding to the multiplicity of such designations for him. As an afterthought he adds Galen as an eleventh name and Vitruvius as 'last of all' and twelfth.

[2] Gabriel Naudé, *Instructions concerning the erecting of a library*, interpreted by Jo. Evelyn, 1661, p. 51: 'What shall we then say, that Scaliger and Cardan, two of the greatest personages of the last age, consenting both in the same point concerning the premises of Richard Suissent, otherwise called the Calculator, who lived within these three hundred years, to place him in the rank of ten of the rarest witts that ever appeared; whilst we are not able to find his works in all of the most famous Libraries?'

[3] Jacob Brucker (1696–1770), *Historia critica philosophiae*, 1742–1744.

me too flimsy and his argument too tortuous and prejudiced to spend further time over.[1]

If Richard de Ghlymi Eshedi is merely a slip of a pen, we do not as yet know any too much concerning the real Calculator, Richard Swineshead or Suiseth. He was sometimes also called Roger, but Brucker long since decided in favor of Richard, and until we find better evidence, the matter may be allowed to rest there. We know enough, however, to place his activity definitely in the second quarter of the fourteenth century and before the work of Buridan, Albert of Saxony, Oresme, or other Parisian precursors of Galileo of the middle or third quarter of that century. His treatise on natural motions is found in a manuscript at Erfurt of the date, 1337 A.D.[2] He was implicated in the disorderly election of a chancellor at Oxford in 1348.[3] In the *Calculationes* the most recent and indeed almost the only work cited is the treatise on proportions of Thomas Bradwardine, who is referred to in these terms in the printed text, 'As the venerable master, Thomas de Berduerdino, in his book concerning proportions clearly states.'[4] The date of this work by Bradwardine we know from the manuscripts to be 1328,[5] and he was appointed archbishop of Canterbury in 1349 and died of the plague in the same year. The use of the present tense in this citation of Calculator and the calling Bradwardine master instead of archbishop is no sure indication that it was written during his lifetime and before he became archbishop, but it would be an appropriate enough form to employ under such circumstances.

[1] An instance of his questionable methods is his using the confused—as he himself calls it—note-book of a student at Paris for the *De motibus naturalius* or *De primo motore* of Swineshead and the views of other men instead of consulting their own works which might be expected to give a much fairer and completer notion of their positions. Thus he airily writes, *op. cit.*, III, 452, 'C'est encore notre étudiant parisien, ce sont ses précieux brouillons qui nous dispenseront d'aller chercher à Oxford les renseignements dont nous aurons besoin.' No wonder that he finds Swineshead's views in the *De primo motore* hard to reconcile with those on the same topics in the *Calculationes*, when he takes the word of another person, who was presumably an immature student, for one of them.

[2] *Amplon. F. 135*, 1337 A.D., of English provenance, fols. 25–47^{v}, '*Subtilissimus tractatus Anglicanus magnus de motibus naturalibus et annexis* compilatus a Rogerio Swynshede et est summe utilis in loyca et philosophia naturali'; 'Inc. tract. mag. Wilhelmi Swineshep datus Oxonie ad utilitatem studentium. Motore primo primitus invocato . . . / . . . impassibilem consisti cui ——— gloria, am. Expl. tract. de mot. nat. datus a mag. Rog. Swyneshede etc.'

[3] See the *Dictionary of National Biography* and its references.

[4] Ed. of 1477, fol. 3^{v}, col. 1; ed. of 1520, fol. 4^{r}, col. 2: 'ut venerabilis magister Thomas de Berduerdino in suo libro de proportionibus liquide declarat.'

[5] At Paris, *B. N. nouv. acq. 625*, fols. 62^{r}–70^{v}, 'Explicit tractatus de proportionibus editus a magistro Thoma de Bradwardin anno domini 1328, scriptus Parisius anno eiusdem 1348 deo gratias.' Duhem, *op. cit.*, III, 299, cites *B. N. 14576*, fol. 261, and *16621*, fol. 212, for the same Explicit so far as the year 1328 for composition is concerned.

The old printed editions of the *Calculationes* are full of abbreviations and difficult to read. Headings and divisions in the text are much better accentuated in the edition of 1520 than in the *editio princeps*, but it is equally abbreviated. A modern critical edition is to be earnestly desired at no distant date. Manuscripts do not seem to be numerous. There is one at Venice[1], another at Rome.[2] In England a Gonville and Caius College manuscript at Cambridge carries the text through the first thirteen tractates of the printed editions,[3] while another at Worcester cathedral begins where the Cambridge codex leaves off.[4]

Calculator's first chapter deals with the intension or remission of a quality.[5] Intension may be understood as the alteration by which a quality is acquired. In this case it is a kind of motion. Or it may be understood as the quality by which anything is intense. It is with this definition that he will begin. Some regard intension as approaching toward the highest degree within a given latitude, and remission as increasing distance therefrom. Others regard intension as increasing distance from a degree of zero, and remission as departure from a degree of perfection. Others look on intension as going away from zero and remission as approaching zero. The Calculator argues against all three of these positions and seems to prefer to regard qualitative variation as a purely relative matter like the distinction between great and small. He also holds that intension and remission are not comparable, and considers such a question as whether from uniform loss of intension follows uniform acquisition of remission.

The second chapter turns to intension in difform things.[6] It is largely occupied with paradoxical problems involving infinity, but the author suggests as a key to all such *sophismata* the axiom that 'of no part is there any proportion to an infinite whole.'[7]

In chapter three we pass from the intension of a thing in one quality to the question of an element having two first qualities of unequal intensity.

[1] *S. Marco* XI, II (Valentinelli), fifteenth century.

[2] *Vittorio Emanuele 250*, fifteenth century.

[3] *C. U., Gonville and Caius 499*, fols. 165–203. Further material by Suiseth follows at fols. 204, 212, and 213, some of which may be extracted from the *Calculationes:* see M. R. James' catalogue.

[4] *Worcester Cathedral F35*, fifteenth century, fols. 3–124, described in the catalogue of J. K. Floyer and S. G. Hamilton as 'Swyneshed de motu locali et aliis physicis,' but the *Incipit* they give, 'Hic incipiunt quedam regule' is that of Tractatus XIV of the *Calculationes*. I am indebted to Mrs D. W. Singer for calling this MS. to my attention.

[5] Editio princeps, fol. 1^{r}, col. 1; ed. of 1520, fol. 2^{r}, col. 1.

[6] E.P., fol. 4^{v}, col. 2; ed. of 1520, fol. 5^{v}, col. 2.

[7] E.P., fol. 8^{v}, col. 2; ed. of 1520, fol. 9^{v}, col. 1: 'Infinita quasi sophismata possunt fieri de infinito que omnia si diligenter inspexeris quod nullius partis ad totum infinitum est aliqua proportio, faciliter dissolvere poteris per predicta.'

Here there are three views. The first maintains that the intensity of the element will correspond to the middle degree equidistant between those two qualities. The second view is that the intensity of the element will correspond to that of its more remiss quality. Third, it is held that the intensity of the element will follow a mean proportion between the intensities of the qualities, so that if these are 2 and 8, it will be 4, and not 5 as the first view would maintain.[1]

From the elements chapter four turns to mixed bodies, concerning the intension and remission of which there are four positions. First, that their intensity follows the proportion of the dominant element in the compound to the less dominant element. Second, that it conforms to the dominant element without regard to the other. Third, that it is half the difference between the two. Fourth, that it corresponds to the entire difference.[2]

Rarefaction and density are the theme of the fifth chapter. As to their intension there are only two rational opinions. One is that a thing is rarefied in the ratio of its quantity to its matter (or, of its size to its mass), and increases in density according to the ratio of its matter to its quantity. The second opinion is that rarefaction is not a question of quantity merely but in comparison to matter.[3] It is hard to see how this view differs from the other. The question then is raised whether density and rarefaction are both positive terms, or whether only one is to be so regarded, and which of them it is.[4] Another question is whether every body which is difformly dense, and of which either half is uniform or is uniformly difform, corresponds to its middle degree.[5] If two bodies of like density but different quantity are rarefied or condensed at equal speed, the larger one will acquire or lose quantity faster.[6] If two bodies are of unequal size and unequal density, and the ratio of the quantity of the denser body to the quantity of the other is less than the ratio of their respective densities, if they gain or lose density at equal speed, the denser body will lose or acquire quantity more slowly than the rarer body.[7] Other questions are whether all that is uniformly difformly dense is uniformly difformly rare,[8] whether anything is equally rare and dense, whether from uniform acquisition of density follows uniform loss of rarefaction and vice versa, whether objects will remain equally rarefied which start from no degree of rarefaction and become more rarefied

[1] E.P., fol. 9^{r}, col. 2; ed. of 1520, fol. 9^{r}, col. 2.
[2] E.P., fol. 12^{v}, col. 1; ed. of 1520, fol. 12^{v}, col. 1.
[3] E.P., fol. 17^{r}, col. 1; ed. of 1520, fol. 16^{v}, col. 2.
[4] E.P., fol. 17^{v}, col. 1; ed. of 1520, fol. 17^{r}, col. 1.
[5] E.P., fol. 19^{v}, col. 2; ed. of 1520, fol. 18^{v}, col. 2.
[6] E.P., fol. 21^{r}, col. 2; ed. of 1520, fol. 20^{r}, col. 1.
[7] E.P., fol. 21^{v}, col. 1; ed. of 1520, fol. 20^{r}, col. 2.
[8] E.P., fol. 22^{v}, col. 1; ed. of 1520, fol. 20^{v}, col. 2.

at equal speed, and whether density is increased at the same speed and ratio as rarefaction is lessened and vice versa.[1] Then comes the type of problem involving infinity in which the Calculator seems especially to delight: If an object of infinite extent has a finite part which is infinitely dense, would the whole be of infinite density?[2] He points out, however, that it is really the same as his previous problem as to the intension of an infinite subject having an infinite quality in a finite part.[3] He also notes that, when something is increased in extent by rarefaction, some point must remain quiet while others are in movement.

The next chapter or tractate considers the velocity of the motion of augmentation.[4] One view is that it varies according to 'proportional requisition of quantity.' The other view is that it depends solely on the amount of increase without reference to the original quantity. If anything increases from nothing, and in every proportional part of the time of its increase doubles in size, 'it would certainly begin swiftly to acquire quantity.' But if it first doubled, then tripled, then quadrupled, and so on to infinity, it would begin infinitely slowly to acquire all its quantity. And if it increased in a ratio less than double to infinity it would begin its increase in size quickly.[5] If two surfaces of unequal length and equal breadth keep growing wider at the same rate, the longer will increase in quantity more rapidly. Or if two surfaces of equal length and unequal breadth keep growing longer at the same rate, the wider will augment the more rapidly. But if two surfaces of equal length acquire breadth at the same rate, they increase in size at the same rate, whether equal in width at first or not.[6]

Reaction is the subject of the seventh treatise.[7] It is asked if it is possible. Experiences or experiments attesting it are the quenching of a hot iron in water which cools the iron and at the same time warms the water, or the mixing of cold with boiling water warming the one and cooling the other below the boiling point, or the warming a cold hand in the bosom which is chilled thereby, or the case of two sharp knives cutting each other in two. Calculator wishes to study the variation of force and resistance and how one part helps another to act or to resist. 'It cannot be said that anything has more potency because of its density,' does not seem a very promising start on his part.[8] Motion does not follow absolutely the ratio of force to re-

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] E.P., fol. 23^{r}, col. 2; ed. of 1520, fol. 21^{r}, col. 2.
[3] E.P., fol. 25^{r}, col. 1; ed. of 1520, fol. 22^{r}, col. 2.
[4] It opens at fol. 25^{r}, col. 2 of the editio princeps, and at fol. 22^{r}, col. 2 of the edition of 1520.
[5] E.P., fol. 26^{v}, col. 2; ed. of 1520, fol. 23^{r}, col. 1.
[6] E.P., fol. 29^{v}, col. 2; ed. of 1520, fol. 25^{r}, col. 2.
[7] Opening ed. prin., fol. 30^{r}, col. 1; ed. of 1520, fol. 25^{v}, col. 1.
[8] E.P., fol. 31^{v}, col. 1; ed. of 1520, fol. 27^{r}, col. 1.

sistance but depends on other circumstances such as application. If a certain object possessed a certain supply of form and half of the matter in the object could be removed without affecting the form, the force of the object would be the same as when it was twice as large.[1] But usually when an object is reduced in size, it loses form as well as matter. As the parts of a composite object are distant from the agent so they resist it less.[2] But the remote part aids the other in resisting. A single body has most resistance in its middle point.[3] Action and reaction are possible between difform as well as uniform bodies. If a man had two equal weights in his hands he would lift one the more slowly for holding the other, as experiment shows.[4]

In the brief eighth tractate Calculator argues against the position that force varies with the amount of form in matter and not with the intension of that form nor extension.[5]

As to how difficulty of action varies there are several opinions. One makes it depend on the ratio of greater inequality, so that what acts by the greater ratio causes the greater difficulty. A second view makes it depend on the ratio of less inequality, so that what acts by the smaller ratio causes more difficulty because it is more fatigued in acting. The third position is that it varies according to the force producing the action so that the greater force always causes the greater difficulty.[6]

In discussing maximum and minimum Calculator also explains the meaning of 'maximum quod non'—'not so much but everything larger,' and 'minimum quod non' — 'not so much but everything smaller.'[7]

In connection with the doctrine, then commonly accepted, that every element has its natural place, the question is raised whether a part of the earth beyond its center offers resistance to the descent of a part this side of the center.[8]

The intensity of luminous bodies is next considered and the further problem of their action in various media.[9] As usual, a distinction is made between the size and the potency of the luminous body, although it is recog-

[1] E.P., fol. 31^{v}, col. 2; ed. of 1520, fol. 27^{r}, col. 1.

[2] E.P., fol. 32^{r}, col. 2; ed. of 1520, fol. 27^{v}, col. 1.

[3] E.P., fol. 33^{r}, col. 2; ed. of 1520, fol. 28^{r}, col. 2.

[4] E.P., fol. 34^{v}, col. 2; ed. of 1520, fol. 29^{v}, col. 1: 'Item si homo haberet duo equalia pondera in manibus tardius levaret unum propter reliquum ut apparet experimentaliter.'

[5] Ed. of 1520, fol. 30^{v}, col. 1: 'Nunc (*tunc* in editio princeps) arguitur contra positionem ponentem quod potentia rei *attenditur penes multitudinem forme in materia et* non addenditur penes intensionem illius forme nec extensionem. The italicized words are omitted in the ed. prin. of 1477, fol. 36^{r}, col. 2.

[6] E.P., fol. 37^{r}, col. 1–2; ed. of 1520, fol. 31^{v}, col. 1.

[7] E.P., fol. 40^{v}, col. 2; ed. of 1520, fol. 34^{r}, col. 1–2.

[8] E.P., fol. 43^{r}, col. 1; ed. of 1520, fol. 35^{v}, col. 2.

[9] E.P., fol. 45a^{r}, recto, col. 2; ed. of 1520, fol. 38^{r}, col. 1.

nized that the loss of a portion of a body usually means the loss of that much form. Such corollaries are then drawn as that if two luminous bodies are equal in quantity, but one is more intense than the other, and they diminish in size at equal speed in proportional quantities, the more intense will lose its luminosity faster. Whereas if two luminous bodies of unequal quantity and the same intensity decrease in size with equal speed, the greater will lose its luminosity more quickly. While if two bodies of equal quantity and unequal intensity are remitted as wholes in degree, while their quantity remains constant, they lose their luminosity at the same rate. Or two luminous bodies of unequal size but of the same degree of intensity which diminish in quantity while their intensities remain constant, will lose their luminosity at the same speed.

Centuries before Descartes it is stated that light acts immediately (*subito*) for its whole latitude in every medium. It does not, however, act over an equal distance in every medium but covers a greater distance in a rare medium than in a dense one.[1] If light is shining through a uniform medium and part of the medium next to the light is made more dense, the light is remitted with equal velocity to every point in the residuent part remote from the light just as to the extremity of that condensed part which is further from the light.[2] If the medium is difform in which a luminous body shines with uniform difformity, then that light cannot shine with uniform difformity in any uniform medium.[3] Wherever a luminous body shining in a uniform medium is decreased in quantity with other things remaining equal, the light will vary more slowly in intension or remission for points nearer the luminous body than for those more remote. If the luminous body is not altered at all, but the medium is rarefied or condensed at a uniform ratio, the variation in light will again be shown for points nearer the luminous body. If the luminous body remains constant in quantity and varies in degree of intension or remission, the light will vary with equal velocity for every point of the uniform medium.[4] If a portion of the medium next the luminous agent is rarefied, but at the same time the luminous body is lessened in quantity, so that the same degree of light as before is maintained at the extreme limit of the rarefied portion, this will also be true of the entire rarefied portion, while in the rest of the medium the light will be remitted.[5]

[1] E.P., fol. 47^{r}, col. 1; ed. of 1520, fol. 39^{v}, col. 1: 'Pro isto ergo dicitur quod luminosum agit subito totam suam latitudinem in omni medio vel in omne in quod sufficit agere, non tamen per equalem distantiam agit in omne medium sed in medium rarius agit per maiorem distantiam quam in densius.'

[2] E.P., fol. 48^{v}, col. 1; ed. of 1520, fol. 40^{v}, col. 2.

[3] E.P., fol. 49^{r}, col. 1; ed. of 1520, fol. 41^{r}, col. 1.

[4] E.P., fol. 49^{v}, col. 1; ed. of 1520, fol. 41^{v}, col. 1.

[5] E.P., fol. 50^{r}, col. 1; ed. of 1520, fol. 41^{v}, col. 2.

These do not exhaust the Calculator's theorems concerning the action of luminous bodies in media but they perhaps sufficiently illustrate them.[1]

The next section of the work deals with rules of local motion supposing that the motion increases in geometrical proportion.[2] Of such rules and conclusions there are some fifty-eight. Then follow some conclusions in the case of the generation of a resisting latitude in a nonresisting medium.[3] Other conclusions are added for a uniformly difform medium in which the force *a* begins to increase from no degree.[4] A long closing section treats of the induction of the highest degree, returning to the original theme of intensity.[5] In the edition of 1520 it is divided into five chapters.[6] Some of the points made are as follows. If something uniformly difform is altered in a latitude uniformly difform, the whole will remain uniformly difform, until some part reaches the highest degree or no degree, or the whole becomes uniform.[7] If two unequals, terminated to the supreme degree, are altered in the same degree and the proportion of the quantity of one to the quantity of the other is greater than that of the latitude of the larger one to the latitude of the lesser, the supreme degree will be induced more slowly in the less than in the greater.[8] No matter how difform a body may be, the highest degree can be induced uniformly in it, if the latitude of alteration is infinite.[9] The speed of attaining the highest degree varies according to the subject in which it is attained.[10] The effect of rarefaction and condensation on attainment of the supreme degree is considered in a number of theorems.[11]

Columbia University

[1] The discussion of luminous bodies and their action in media extends to fol. 52^{v} of the ed. prin. and fol. 43^{v} of the edition of 1520.

[2] E.P., fol. 52^{v}, col. 1; ed. of 1520, fol. 43^{v}, col. 1.

[3] E.P., fol. 59^{v}, col. 1; ed. of 1520, fol. 48^{v}, col. 2.

[4] E.P., fol. 63^{r}, col. 1; ed. of 1520, fol. 51^{r}, col. 2.

[5] E.P., fol. 67^{r}, col. 1; ed. of 1520, fol. 54^{v}, col. 1.

[6] Ed. of 1520, fol. 57^{v}, col. 1, Cap. 2m, 'Nunc qualiter gradus summus inducetur per subiectum uniformiter difforme mediante latitudine alterationis difformiter difformi semper consimiliter extensa in parte remissa sicut in principio in toto omnibus aliis motibus deductis est dicendum.' Fol. 59^{v}, col. 1, Cap. 3m, 'Dictis quibusdam regulis communibus de inductione gradus summi alteratione extensa in principio per totum subiectum, restat dicere qualiter etiam si sit ab extremo intensiori versus extremum remissius particularis acquisitio alterationis.' Fol. 60^{v}, col. 2, Cap. 4m, 'Penes quid attenditur inductio gradus summi in subiecto rarefacto vel maiorato potest dubitari.' Fol. 66^{v}, col. 2, Cap. 5m, 'Nunc dicendum est qualiter per generationem partibilem alterationis per subiectum aliquod potest ipsum manere seu fieri uniformiter difforme, unde vocatur uniformis generatio quando sicut sunt puncta propinquiora extremo a quo incipit alteratio progredi sic citius ad illa deveniet: in qua materia quedam conclusiones se regule notande sunt quarum prima est hec.'

[7] E.P., fol. 67^{r}, col. 2; ed. of 1520, fol. 54^{v}, col. 2.

[8] E.P., fol. 68^{r}, col. 2; ed. of 1520, fol. 55^{v}, col. 2.

[9] E.P., fol. 71^{v}, col. 2; ed. of 1520, fol. 58^{v}, col. 2.

[10] E.P., fol. 75^{r}, col. 1; ed. of 1520, fol. 61^{v}, col. 1.

[11] E.P., fols. 76^{r}–77^{v}; ed. of 1520, fols. 62^{r}–63^{v}.

HANS BURGKMAIR, 1531–1931

By ARTHUR BURKHARD

At the beginning of the sixteenth century Germany enjoyed a period of artistic production in the fields of sculpture, painting, and the graphic arts which was unparalleled in its history. Aside from the three outstanding men of genius, Dürer, Grünewald, and Holbein, Germany produced at this time a host of other talented artists of individual merit and original accomplishment. Although the artistic efforts of these men were concentrated in South German territory, they were there distributed over a broad area and a great number of different cities, large and small; Nürnberg and Augsburg, Aschaffenburg and Würzburg, Mainz and Eichstätt. This period of flourishing artistic activity could naturally not have been inaugurated without due preparation during the preceding era, but to the casual observer the last years of the fifteenth century appear to promise little for a revival of German art. Degenerate tendencies seem to dominate the taste of the time; on one hand, an artistic interest in the decorative and ornamental, the delicate and dainty, the moving and emotional, not to say sentimental; on the other, a pronounced preference for the coarse and vulgar, apparently to appease the appetites of the people and to satisfy the desire for more naturalistic forms of art. The trained observer of today detects in such tendencies, however, not merely an indication of deterioration and decay but also a possibility of expanding the limits of art to include more varied and colorful elements.

It was Albrecht Dürer, the most representative personality in the entire history of German art, who kept the decadent tendencies of the late fifteenth century from degenerating into mere rigid formal mannerism. By developing to the full the pictorial possibilities of the line, Dürer exploited the opportunities for expression in graphic art and became the most important linear artist of his time. In addition to the linear and plastic conception of art sponsored by Dürer, primarily in his works in black and white, modern scholars find at work in German art of the early sixteenth century an opposite tendency which emphasizes warmth and color, movement and rhythm, the accidental and the irrational. The most important representative of this tendency, who forms a contrast to his contemporary Dürer in almost all respects, is Matthias Grünewald. He is by no means isolated, however, as there are numerous other German artists of the same period of similar interests and tendencies; Baldung and Cranach, Altdorfer and Burgkmair. It is with the least well-known of these men, Burgkmair, the four hundredth anniversary of whose death was celebrated in 1931, that this article is exclusively concerned.

Identified by birth, training, and residence with the town of Augsburg, Hans Burgkmair contributed more than any other artist of the time to the prestige of this famous old imperial city. Augsburg can boast, to be sure, of distinguished masters both before and after him — we need only recall the names of Holbein the Elder and Christoph Amberger — but neither of these men is bound to his native town by such a rich and varied activity, neither was destined to become the pioneer of a new movement. Holbein the Elder deserted his native Augsburg for foreign lands, for Alsace. His more distinguished son early served foreign masters and later lived in Basel and London. Amberger, despite his distinction as a portrait painter, was rather an imitator than an innovator. Burgkmair, on the contrary, was the centre and focus of artistic activity in Augsburg in the important days of the early sixteenth century.

The atmosphere of this prosperous and progressive imperial town had a most beneficial influence on Burgkmair's early development and later career. Earlier than elsewhere in Germany the new Southern artistic ideals had here made themselves felt and in the sixteenth century produced the impressive architectural monuments which give the city its imposing aspect and awaken in the visitor an unusual sense of nearness to Italy. As early as 1500, this free imperial city, the home of internationally prominent merchants and financiers like the Fuggers, was more modern than Nürnberg or any other German town. The lively traffic with the South, especially with Venice, had left its mark on the city and its citizens; Southern ideals revealed themselves in the arts and crafts, in the architectural forms, in the gaily colored façades, in the spaciousness of the principal streets and public squares. Little wonder that Emperor Maximilian was especially fond of this city, whose prosperous and aristocratic burghers displayed a patrician spirit altogether in keeping with the ideas and ideals of this 'last knight' on the throne. For the patricians of Augsburg emulated Maximilian in their love of splendid festivals, in their far-sighted and enterprising spirit, and in their generous and noble patronage of the arts.

These indications will suffice to bring to mind the artistic and cultural background of Burgkmair's formative years, about which we have very little direct information. We know only the date of his birth, 1473, and that his father, Thoman, was a painter in whose workrooms young Hans presumably got his early training. As Augsburg's painting in the fifteenth century was by no means insignificant, we are justified in assuming that Thoman was an artist of some ability, even though no authenticated work of his has come down to us. Probably his son received good instruction and was not inactive, but before 1500, when he was already a mature master, we have only one picture that can with certainty be attributed to him, the portrait of the well-known Strassburg preacher, Johannes Geiler von

Kaisersberg. The power of individual characterization in this work already gives promise of the later portrait painter, but there is still clearly apparent a certain coarseness of execution.

Whether Burgkmair spent a long period of apprenticeship in Colmar with Schongauer, the most influential German painter and graphic artist of the fifteenth century, must remain a matter of doubt and debate. No influence of Schongauer seems manifest in the paintings, but there are occasional reminiscences of the Schongauer manner in the early wood-cuts of our master. We are rather better informed, moreover, about the work of Burgkmair as a graphic artist for the decade 1490–1500 than as a painter. In the art of black and white, he was the heir of a brief but very sound tradition of his native land, and was destined to develop this branch of art to perfection. Almost all the German towns of the time — Basel, Strassburg, Mainz, Köln, Nürnberg, Ulm — were interested in trying to make the art of the wood-cut serviceable for the art of printing, which was just then beginning to flourish, but Augsburg easily leads the list as a productive centre of illustrated books. Its output was especially stimulated by the experienced and artistic publisher, Erhard Ratdolt, who had long been active in Venice. The works from the Ratdolt press, religious as well as scientific, attracted attention and enjoyed fame even beyond the German frontier, not only through the excellence of their type and the harmony of the illustrations with the printed text, but because Ratdolt had been one of the first to introduce the practice of printing from colored plates instead of coloring the prints by hand.

Scholars assume that Ratdolt must have employed young Burgkmair about 1490, for beginning with this time the quality of wood-cuts in works from his press shows a tremendous improvement. Comparisons of them with later prints actually signed by Burgkmair reveal a treatment of line, a pictorial conception, and a sensitivity in the reproduction of different materials which are marked characteristics of his later style, so that scholars have been induced to attribute to him a series of wood-cuts emanating from the Ratdolt press in the nineties. The Ratdolt prints portray almost exclusively religious scenes; Christ on the cross with Mary and John, the Madonna with the patron saints of Freising, Constanz, and Chur and an occasional reproduction of the coat of arms of the donor. These early works still reveal the late Gothic tradition in their love of intricate and involved ornamentation, of gnarled branches and lacy foliage, but Burgkmair never loses himself, as so many of his contemporaries do, in the complicated folds of the moving draperies, nor do his figures lack clarity of presentation. There is always comprehension for the inherent dignity of the subject and a corresponding aristocracy of portrayal of people as well as places.

By the turn of the century, Burgkmair seems already to enjoy a local

reputation as a painter, for he now shares with Hans Holbein the Elder the privilege of painting on commission for his native city. The Convent of St Catherine at Augsburg had secured from Pope Julius as a special dispensation for the jubilee year 1500 the great privilege of assuring pious visitors to its chapel the same benefits which had hitherto been reserved only for pilgrims to the seven basilicas in Rome. Not unnaturally, therefore, the superiors decided to provide reproductions of these places of worship for the faithful, and they commissioned Burgkmair to portray the basilicas of S. Pietro, S. Giovanni and S. Croce. From 1500 to 1504 Burgkmair occupied himself with this fairly extensive series of paintings which first firmly established his fame. We do not know how much the artist was restricted in these works by the terms of his commission; in any case, it is clear that his artistic imagination had sufficient scope.

We are at once impressed by the modernity of conception and approach. The scene which represents St Peter on his throne before the basilica, flanked by seven saints on either side — one dominating central figure in the middle panel and symmetrically arranged and carefully balanced figures in the side panels — displays the new form of composition, comparatively rare before this time in the North, which reveals Burgkmair's familiarity with the more formal art of the South. The supposition that the picture incorporates impressions of a previous trip to Italy is reinforced by the rich, festive, ornamental character of the whole composition as well as by the handling of warm, colorful details. The brilliant but delicate coloring is blended so harmoniously that we cannot escape the conviction that the young Augsburg artist has been influenced by the Venetian painters, to whose spirit and manner his own was so closely akin. It is a mistake, in my opinion, however, to seek to restrict this influence to any specific artist, such as Crivelli, as has frequently been done; the points of resemblance are much too general in the first place, and in the second, none of the individual and peculiar characteristics of this bizarre, late Gothic, Venetian artist have penetrated into the comparatively sound and wholesome manner of Burgkmair.

Despite these unmistakable evidences of Italian influence, there is no lack of specifically German traits in other pictures in the series, manifest, for example, in the fondness for introducing interesting genre-like details, for representing rather surprising vistas or charming but unimportant and even fairly accidental bits of landscape, the whole somewhat loosely assembled with harmonious pictorial effect rather than in a tightly coherent, symmetrical arrangement under the influence of plastic art. Characteristically German is the spirit of homely familiarity with which the German pilgrims are portrayed before the basilica of S. Croce, characteristic for German art and for Burgkmair as a landscape painter are the intimate, almost personal scenes depicting the calling of St John and his vision as he com-

poses the Apocalypse on the island of Patmos. In order to increase the effectiveness of the whole composition, the artist employs in this series of basilica pictures whatever formula suits his immediate purpose, even when it means combining elements old and new, Northern and Southern, German and Italian, Gothic and Renaissance.

The same combination of qualities is manifest, finally, in the magnificent Madonna and Child which Burgkmair painted some five years later in 1509 and which today forms one of the most highly prized treasures of the Germanic Museum in Nürnberg. Again the familiarity with the art of Italy, more specifically of Lombardy, is clearly apparent; in the wonderful marble throne, in the rich warmth of the colors and in the ornamental detail which employs motifs of Italian decoration. Together with all this attention to gorgeous Italian adornment, there is German emphasis on the mother's affection for the child, whose legs are portrayed in a natural but very clumsy position quite out of keeping with the sense of form which Southern painting, more under the influence of the statuesque pose of plastic art, would demand. Burgkmair has here portrayed not the wondrous image of the mother of God, seated in solemn dignity upon her radiant throne, but has preferred to employ the old motif of the *hortus conclusus* and the theme of an intimate family relationship between a mother and her child. Even in the treatment of such a religious subject, with all the superficial Italian ornamentation, Burgkmair reveals both his characteristically German and worldly qualities.

During this same decade, Burgkmair produced still other paintings of merit, but their importance pales beside the masterpieces of graphic art which appeared at this time. In his best years from 1500 to 1510, the artist devoted himself with such zeal to the production of wood-cuts that he became a pioneer of the moderns in this field. There are so many of these prints that we must here restrict ourselves to the masterpieces among them. His *St George* and his *Emperor Maximilian*, both dating from 1508, distinguished for the grandeur of their conception and their faithful representation of the spirit of the times, produce a monumental effect almost unparalleled in the modest art of the wood-cut. They are important also for the development of the technique of the wood-cut as they are among the first examples of clair-obscur prints. Although Cranach had already experimented with this chiaroscuro technique, Burgkmair was the first fully to realize and exploit the possibilities of this innovation. His famous *Death and the Lovers*, in which the coloring harmonizes with the dramatic scene portrayed, represents the new colored print at its best. Whereas Burgkmair as a typical Swabian most frequently depicts scenes dominated by epic calm, he seems here happily inspired to present a moment of strong emotional excitement and violence. Few German wood-cuts give such an im-

pression of impetuous vehemence, which is much enhanced by the aristocratic Venetian architecture that forms a restrained background for the stirring scene. Burgkmair employed the new technique also for portraits, and his colored prints of Pope Julius II, of Jakob Fugger and Hans Paumgartner display a high degree of proficiency in the handling of color and in the representation of personality.

Probably through the mediation of his fellow-townsman Peutinger, Burgkmair had come in contact with the humanist Conrad Celtis, for whose works he provided illustrations. Before the end of the first decade of the sixteenth century, he established a further contact with Emperor Maximilian himself, for whose publications he was to produce a good many pictures. Of all the artists whom this active-minded but romantic monarch employed to help him realize his humanistic projects, many of which were whimsical and sterile and most of which were pedantic and allegorical, Burgkmair displayed the best qualifications and the greatest adaptability. So he stayed longest in the emperor's service and produced the major part of the illustrations for the publications which the monarch had planned. His inexhaustible imagination enabled him to vary the long line of Maximilian's ancestors for the *Genealogie* by inventing for them ever new poses and postures, by changing their costumes, coats of mail, and accoutrements. With no less variety he depicted the succession of scenes and adventures of the *Theuerdank* and *Weisskunig*, identifying himself with every situation, and assuring each its individual character. Only by examining each separate scene in these several series can we get an adequate idea of the astonishing skill and ingenuity of Burgkmair's genius, his talent for story-telling, his power of portraying aristocratic life of the court, his perception of the values of different materials, his sensuous delight in life and living. In the *Triumphzug*, the very last of these publications for Maximilian, we can easily perceive the readiness and rapidity with which Burgkmair's brain and pen worked, especially if we compare his sketches with those which Dürer contributed to the same series. Dürer works earnestly, as always, but slowly, heavily, and without ready sympathy, whereas Burgkmair's productions have the light, festive, merry manner of a splendid parade.

In addition to these drawings for Maximilian, Burgkmair produced in the same period an astonishing assortment of illustrations for various books, numerous designs for escutcheons and book-plates, and the splendid sequences of heroes and heroines, virtues and vices, and the follies of love — evidence enough of tremendous industry and surprising versatility.

In view of this incessant and diversified activity as a draughtsman, it seems not surprising that Burgkmair occupied himself but little with painting during the years from 1510 to 1518. The intensive occupation with work requiring great attention to detail does not seem, however, to have had an

unfortunate effect on his style as a painter, for at the end of the second decade we have two large and excellent altarpieces from his brush — another proof, if one is needed, of the elasticity of his genius. In the altar of the Crucifixion of 1519, now in the Munich Pinakothek, we find him revealed as an artist fully able to satisfy the demands for strict form made in Southern art. In the grouping of the human figures and the treatment of the landscape this picture is, perhaps, the purest example of the monumental, Italian style ever done by a Northern artist. The ease with which Burgkmair accommodated himself to the formal, foreign manner reveals him as possessed of considerable adaptability of temperament but less remarkable for qualities of intellectual depth and strength of personality. For this reason the Crucifixion lacks conviction and emotional power and appears somewhat empty. Beside this altar of the Crucifixion there hangs in the same gallery in Munich the famous altar of St John, which had been completed the year before. In the central panel, which represents St John composing the Apocalypse on the island of Patmos, all the romantic ardor of Burgkmair is still aglow, and the eye delights in the luxuriant growth of the semi-tropical vegetation, the many gaily colored birds and beasts, and the gorgeous coloring concentrated in the warm red of the robe of St John.

The works which Burgkmair produced after this time reveal an undeniable diminution of his powers both as a graphic artist and as a painter. His force appears spent from too prodigal production; his vitality seems gradually to disappear. Measured by the creations in his mature manner, these late works appeal but little, and yet there is one splendid picture of this last period, the portrait of himself and his wife of 1529, now in the Museum of Vienna. One of the finest portraits of the German Renaissance, it is one of the world's most revelatory self-portraits. The words 'ERKEN DICH SELBS' ('Know thyself') are inscribed in the frame of the mirror in which the withered face of the artist's wife and his own tired features are reflected in the form of two skulls. An inscription over the artist's head explains the symbolism, 'SOLLCHE GESTALT UNSER BAIDER WAS IM SPIEGEL ABER NIX DAN DAS.' The premonition of death speaks from the portrait which becomes his message of farewell after a long, industrious, and successful career.

Four hundred years ago in the autumn of 1531 Hans Burgkmair died. Germany possessed, in the sixteenth century, painters stronger and greater than he, and it would be too high praise to mention him in the same breath with Dürer, Grünewald, and Holbein. Yet this foremost artist of Augsburg is part and parcel of his time; unhampered by the problems which beset more complicated personalities, this most worldly and festive German of his day made a ready compromise with the formal ideals of more sensuous Southern painting and so became an important transitional figure who led the way from the Gothic art of the German Middle Ages to the Renaissance art of

modern times. Talk if we will of German seriousness, German austerity, German struggle for expression as characteristic of the German genius, in Hans Burgkmair we discover other traits which appear to be directly opposed to them and these too we shall have to recognize not only as possible but as representative of one side of the dualistic German character.[1]

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

[1] The four plates following are reduced reproductions from illustrations prepared by F. Bruckmann (Munich) for the author's *Hans Burgkmair* (*Meister der Graphik*, vol. xv), Berlin: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1932.

EXITVS ACTA PROBAT QVI BENE FECIT HABET
DVLCES RVPIS AMICICIAS
QVID NON LIBITINA RESOLVIS
CVR MORS LI
GERMANVS 4
AMOR 4
EPIGRA 8
ODAR 4
OPERA EOR
SEQVVTVR ILLO
D M S
FLETE PII VATES ET TVNDITE PECTORA PALMIS
VESTER ENIM HIC CELTIS FATA SVPREMA TVLIT
MORTVVS ILLE QVIDEM SED LONGV VIVVS IN EVVM
COLOQVITVR DOCTIS PER SVA SCRIPTA VIRIS
HVN CEL PROVIENNE LAVREE CVSTOS E COLLATOR
HIC IN CHRIS QVIESCIT VIXIT AN IXL SAL SESQVIMIL
SVB DIVO MAXIMIL AVGVST ETVII
H B

Plate I

Portrait of Conrad Celtis, 1507.

PLATE II

Equestrian Portrait of the Emperor Maximilian I, *ca.* 1508.

PLATE III

Wrath (Der Zorn). From the series of 'Vices' *ca.* 1510.

PLATE IV

Samson and Delila. From the series, 'Follies of Love,' *ca.* 1519.

A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY HISTORY OF LATIN LITERATURE

By DOROTHY M. ROBATHAN

The literary activity of Italian humanists of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was twofold. On the one hand, there was the delving into classical authors who had just been brought to light through the discovery of manuscripts which had long been in oblivion. And on the other hand, there was a new impulse for creative work, which found expression in almost every field of literature. Many of these humanistic productions are of less value for their literary qualities than for the light which they throw upon the learning of the age in which they were written. It is for this latter reason that we may profitably turn our attention to the work of Sicco Polenton, a Paduan humanist, who has the distinction of having written the first History of Latin Literature.[1]

It is true that Polenton was not entering an absolutely untouched field in preparing this *opus*. Other scholars had already written things of a somewhat similar nature, such as Guglielmo da Pastrengo in the first part of the *De Originibus*[2] and Petrarch himself in his *De Viris Illustribus*, but both with less emphasis upon the literary side. Leonardo Bruni's *Vitae* seem to have been more in the same vein as Polenton's, but these included just a few individuals. Likewise the works of Filippo Villani and Domenico d'Arezzo are of less significance than this.[3] Thus we have no other source of information so inclusive as this upon which to draw for information of this kind. The *Scriptorum Illustrium Libri*, which is subdivided into eighteen books, embraces the whole field of Latin literature from the time of Livius Andronicus to Petrarch. That it filled a definite need and was useful to the later scholars of the Renaissance will be obvious to any modern student who can imagine how handicapped he would be in his own classical research without recourse to a Schanz or a Teuffel.

Let us, then, examine this work more closely and see what conclusions we may draw concerning the extent of the knowledge of Latin literature among Paduan scholars in the quarter of a century prior to 1437, the year in which this work was completed.[4] Using as a standard Sabbadini's list of *Autori Latini*,[5] we may make the following observations.

[1] Sicco Polenton's *Scriptorum Illustrium Libri* was published for the first time by B. L. Ullman, in the *Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome*, VI (1928).

[2] R. Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli xiv e xv* (Florence, 1905), p. 5.

[3] Ullman, *op. cit.*, xiii.

[4] *Ibid.*, xxxi-xxxiv.

[5] Sabbadini, *Le scoperte, etc.*, II (Florence, 1914), 199–261. I have entirely omitted mediaeval writers as well as a few other less important authors, whose works are vaguely referred to

A. Works Known to Polenton but Unknown to Some of His Contemporaries

In the first place, let us see how Polenton compares with his contemporaries in this matter. Of the vast number of works which he cites, there are some which had not yet been widely diffused, and they were evidently known to him before they became common property. In this connection, Sabbadini says:[1] 'conosceva prima del circolo fiorentino Cornelio Nepote (lib. VIII), e forse Ermolao Barbaro l'ebbe da lui e per di più dava come autore non solo delle due biografie di Catone e Attico ma anche di quelle dei capitani greci precorrendo in tal modo di quasi un secolo la divinazione di Parrasio.' Other works with which Sabbadini credits Sicco as being ahead of his time are the humanistic version of Donatus' *Commentary on Virgil* and the *Rhetoric* of Fortunatianus.[2] The latter, it is true, Sicco considers to be a translation of Priscian's,[3] but at least, he knew of its existence.

Tacitus, although discovered in part (*Med. II*) as early as Boccaccio's time and used by scholars in Florence, did not become very well known among other humanists until the middle of the fifteenth century, and Sicco was one of the first outside of Tuscany to make use of this author.[4] The grammarians Festus and Nonius Marcellus, whom Sicco uses to a slight extent, were also little known. The latter Francesco Barbaro took to Padua from Florence in 1415,[5] while the former was discovered by Bartolomeo di Montepulciano at St Gall in 1417, but we know that it did not reach scholars in Milan until 1429–1430.[6] We note too, that both of Varro's works are familiar to Sicco. While the *De Re Rustica* had been known as far back as the time of Guglielmo da Pastrengo and Petrarch, it was not widely used in Sicco's day, and the same was true of the *De Lingua Latina*, which had been discovered by Boccaccio at Monte Cassino. Cato's *Res Rustica*, although it had been in the hands of Salutati and a few other scholars, was one of the least-known works of the early fifteenth century. From the nature of his references to all of the aforementioned works, it would seem as if Sicco had had first-hand knowledge of them. The *Ethicus* of Jerome, on the contrary, which appears to have been otherwise unknown until Capra

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as known in the fifteenth century without any definite date of discovery. I have also failed to take into account such names as Cornificius or Fabius Historicus, who are known to us only from one or two humanistic citations.

[1] *Ibid.*, I (1905), 186.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] 512.8 (References to Sicco's work throughout this paper are to page and line of the edition).

[4] Sabbadini, *Storia e critica di testi latini* (Catania, 1914), p. 250.

[5] Sabbadini, *Museo ital. di antich. class.*, III (1890), p. 349.

[6] *Ibid.*

brought it to light in 1432,[1] he may simply have been acquainted with through hearsay.

This was the case with Martial when Sicco wrote his first draft,[2] but that later he had access to a manuscript is evident from the changes which he made in the biography of the author[3] and in the addition of two quotations in the lower margins of the folios on which they occur.[4] Barzizza had read Francesco Barbaro's Martial in Venice in 1407, but Sicco probably did not see this author until after Capra found his *codex vetustissimus* in 1423.[5]

B. Works Unknown to Polenton but Known to Some of His Contemporaries

So much for this side of the picture. On the other hand, there are omissions to be noted of works which had already been rediscovered and were known to some of Sicco's contemporaries. Of the discoveries made by Poggio at St Gall and Constance, we observe that Sicco mentions the Quintilian manuscript[6] and that he has made use of Asconius[7] and of Nonius.[8] That Silius Italicus had been found at the same time he knew,[9] but as all the facts about him which Sicco records are taken from a letter of Pliny's[10] and as the *Bellum Punicum* is nowhere quoted, it is likely that he had not seen the manuscript. This appears more probable since he apparently did not know the *Astronomicon* of Manilius, nor Statius' *Silvae*, which are contained in the same manuscript. Sabbadini infers[11] from the fact that Sicco ascribes to Statius 'epistolae . . . soluta oratione scriptae'[12] that Polenton had a vague idea of the *Silvae* and was referring in this statement to the prefaces to each book.

We may note also Sicco's omission of Valerius Flaccus and Ammianus Marcellinus, which were found at the same time, while of Lucretius he knew only the facts found in Eusebius's *Chronicles*.[13] Petronius, Claudian, and Ausonius are also unmentioned. The twelve new comedies of Plautus, which were found in 1425, and the *Pro Fonteio* of Cicero, which Poggio

[1] Sabbadini, *Le scoperte, etc.*, II (1914), 22.
[2] For details concerning this earlier, incomplete 'edition,' see Ullman, *op. cit.*, xvi-xxiii.
[3] 71.17. Cf. apparatus.
[4] 117.4; 175.32.
[5] Sabbadini, *Le scoperte, etc.*, I (1905), 73; 101.
[6] 183.1.
[7] 290.32; 291.11, etc.
[8] 77.23; 98.21, etc.
[9] 121.31.
[10] Plin., *Ep.*, III, 7, 5.
[11] Sabbadini, *Le scoperte, etc.*, I (1905), 185, n. 7.
[12] 121.23.
[13] 63.8.

brought to light in 1428, had hardly become well enough known to be included in this *opus* at the time that Polenton was writing it. The same is true of the *De Aquis* of Frontinus, which Poggio discovered at Monte Cassino in 1429 and of the Pseudo-Virgilian *Catalepton*. The *Caesares* and the *Origo Gentis Romanae* of Aurelius Victor, discovered by Biondo in 1423, were probably not known to him.[1] More surprising is his omission of Nemesianus and Calpurnius Siculus, which were known long before Sicco's day. The fact that he does not mention the *Laus Pisonis* is less strange, for although this work was cited by Guglielmo da Pastrengo,[2] it seems likely that his knowledge of it was derived from a *florilegium*, rather than from a complete manuscript and that the poem as a whole was not known at this time.[3] In the long list of works attributed to Seneca, we find one item missing, the *De Otio*. This is explained by the fact that it was formerly attached to the *De Vita Beata* and was not recognized as a separate dialogue until the time of Muretus and Lipsius.[4]

Other works which appear in Sabbadini's list which had been discovered before Sicco wrote his *Libri* and are not mentioned by him, are the following: Aethicus (*Cosmographia*), Aemilius Asper, Albericus, Ambrose, Amphilochius, Apollonius Tyrius, Arator, Augustine (*De Musica; Enchiridion*), Avianus, Avienus, *Breviatio Fabularum Ovidii*, Capro, Cassianus, Ps.-Cato (*Disticha*), Censorinus, *Comoedia Antiqua*, Corippus, Cresconius, Cyprian, Damasus, *Digest*, Dracontius, Ennodius, Eutychius, Firmicus Maternus, Fulgentius, Germanicus (*Aratea*), *Glossarum Liber*, Grillius, Hyginus, *Ilias Latina*, Marcellus Empiricus, Maximianus, Phocas, Probus, Ps.-Probus, Salvianus, Tertullian, Ps.-Varro, Zeno.

Some other works which I have not mentioned above were found just about the time that Sicco's history was being written and like the better-known ones to which I have referred, they could hardly have been included in his *Libri*. They are: Ps.-Apuleius (*De Herbis*), Aquila Romanus, Asterius, Augustine (*Rhetorica; Dialectica*), Cornelius Celsus, Desiderius, Dicuil, *Differentiae*, *Dimensuratio Provinciarum*, *Geneciae*, *De Gradibus Cognationum*, Ps.-Lactantius, *Notitia Galliarum*, *De Montibus Portis et Viis Urbis Romae*, Julius Paulus, Polemius Silvius, Vindicianus.

We must remember in connection with the above omissions that Sicco explicitly states that it is not his intention to be all-inclusive. He disclaims any such purpose in the following words:[5] 'constitui vitas scriptorum illustrium latinae linguae nec quidem omnium (hoc enim non profiteor) sed

[1] Ullman, *op. cit.*, xxxviii.

[2] Sabbadini, *Le scoperte, etc.*, I (1905), 17.

[3] Ullman, 'Tibullus in the Mediaeval Florilegia,' *Class. Phil.* XXIII (1928), 172.

[4] Schanz, *Geschichte der Röm. Litt.*, VIII, 2.2 (1920), 388.

[5] 9.10.

paucorum atque illorum modo qui eorum e numero sunt qui eloquentiae studiosis esse quam maxime cogniti et familiares solent.' May we then infer from his omission of a certain author that it was unknown to him? If not, we cannot help wondering what his basis of selection was, for our impression upon finishing the eighteenth book is that he has included everything of which he has ever heard. Unfortunately, a study of the things omitted does not help us at all in determining whether they were left out through choice or through ignorance.[1]

C. Works Known to Us but Unknown to Polenton

Other gaps there are, however, which can be explained by the fact that the works were found after Sicco's book was completed. Such are: Adamantius, *Antonini Itinerarium*, Apicius, Arusianus Messius, Caesius Bassus, Calpurnius Flaccus, Charisius, Chiro, Cicero (*De Re Publica*), *Constantinopolitanus Urbis Descriptio*, Donatianus, Donatus (*Interp. Verg.*), Ps.-Fenestella, Ps.-Gallus, *Glosa de Partibus Orationis*. Gratius, Livy (Bks. XLI–XLV), Ovid (*Halieutica*), Palaemon, Papirius, Pelagonius, Phaedrus, Philargirius, Pliny (*Ep.*, Bks. IX–X), Plotius, *Proverbia Graecorum*, Rutilius Numatianus, Ps.-Sergius, Sextus Platonicus, Suetonius (*de Gramm. et Rhet.*), Sulpicia, Sulpicius Victor, Tacitus (*Ann.*, I–VI; minor works), Terentianus Maurus, Velius Longus, Velleius Paterculus, Venantius Fortunatus, Ps.-Virgil (*Elegiae in Maecenatem*).

We have observed, then, that Sicco knew a number of works before they were familiar to some of his contemporaries; that he was apparently ignorant of some to which other scholars of his time had access; and finally, that there were things which are known to us today which Sicco could not have used because they were not rediscovered until after his time.

D. Works Unknown to Us but Known to Polenton

There is another phase of this question, namely, whether Sicco knew any Latin authors or works which have not come down to us. The letters which he says were exchanged between Lucan and Persius[2] are examples of this, as well as the elegies and prose letters of Horace which he mentions.[3] Among other titles given by Sicco for which we have no corresponding work in modern times are the *De Institutis Artium Liberalium*, *De Tripartitione*

[1] In considering this matter, we must distinguish between omissions in the case of authors whose biographies Sicco includes (such as the *Silvae* of Statius and the *De Aquis* of Frontinus) and other works which he does not happen to include anywhere in his *Libri* because he does not consider them pertinent at any point in his narrative. Undoubtedly some of the works mentioned in the above lists fall into this latter group, and we cannot assume *ex silentio* that Sicco did not know them.

[2] 97.25; Introd., p. xxxviii.

[3] 111.26.

Orbis and the seventy-eight books of *Historiae* all attributed to Pliny the Younger.[1] These works are all ascribed to Pliny in Giovanni Mansionario's *Brevis Adnotatio de Duobus Pliniis Veronensibus*.[2] The source of the statement that he wrote histories would appear to be Pliny's own words: 'me vero ad hoc studium impellit domesticum quoque exemplum, avunculus meus . . . historias et quidem religiosissime scripsit,'[3] but there is nothing to indicate where the numeral came from. The manuscripts of Giovanni differ in the number of books which they ascribe to this work, but at least two of them agree with Sicco in making it seventy-eight.[4] For the other two works there seems to be not even a starting point that we can find. As there is nothing in the account to indicate that Sicco drew from Giovanni, it seems likely that there was a common source, but what it was remains a mystery. We cannot help regretting that in this case Sicco did not emulate the practice of the elder Pliny which he commends in the following words:[5] 'hoc enim grati et bene constituti animi habuit Plinius quod eos nominet ex quibus suum ad propositum rem ullam sumpsit.'

Under Sidonius, Sicco speaks of *librum unum causarum* and another *sacramentarum*,[6] of which there appear to be no traces. Perhaps the first is assumed from the words of Sidonius himself:[7] 'contestiunculas quas ipse dictavi,' and the second may be derived from another epistle:[8] 'nullum cito cogar exhinc promere carmen persecutorum nisi quaestiones forsitan dicam meritosque caelum martyras mortis pretio parasse praemia vitae.' In the list of works assigned to Boethius, it may be observed that Sicco mentions the titles of six religious pamphlets, whereas there are only five which usually bear the author's name. That which is commonly entitled the *De Fide Catholica* is found in many manuscripts without a heading.[9] In some codices, however, it bears the title *De Fide Christiana*[10] and occurs in the same order with reference to the other tracts as the *De Christiana Religione* in Sicco's list.[11] In view of these facts, it seems likely that Sicco used two different titles to describe it without realizing that they both referred to the same work.

[1] 233.16–18.

[2] E. T. Merrill, 'Brevis Adnotatio de Duobus Pliniis Veronensibus,' *Class. Phil.*, v (1910), 188.

[3] Plin., *Ep.*, iv, 13.5.

[4] *Bodleianus, Auct. F. II. 22; Vat. Lat. 5106.* Cf. Merrill, *op. cit.*

[5] 227.8.

[6] 508.8.

[7] *Ep.*, vii, 3.1.

[8] *Ep.*, ix, 16.59.

[9] E. K. Rand, 'Der dem Boethius zugeschriebene Traktat *de Fide Catholica*,' *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, Supplementbd., xxvi (1901) 416–418.

[10] Rand, *op. cit.*, p. 418.

[11] H. F. Stewart, *Boethius* (London, 1891), Appendix A., 258.

In the list of works ascribed to Seneca, the philosopher, we observe the acceptance of the *De Remediis*,[1] now lost, which is cited by Tertullian[2] and Petrarch[3] as having been written by Seneca. The *De Septem Liberalibus Artibus* at first seems to indicate a work no longer extant, as there is no separate work by this title usually included in the Seneca corpus. In certain catalogues of manuscripts, however, such a work is listed. In that of the Breslau library,[4] the editor has placed an interrogation point after the title in the index, showing that he does not know to what it refers. That of the Vienna library,[5] however, is more helpful, for one manuscript[6] lists *L. Annaei Senecae Epistola LXXXVIII ad Lucilium de Studiis Liberalibus* showing that this letter to Lucilius was once published separately under the caption given by Polenton. Likewise Sicco's citations *Ad Serenum de Providentia Dei libros duos; De Tranquillitate Animi librum unum;* and *Quod in Sapientem Nec Iniuria etc.*,[7] call for special attention because of the fact that there is no separate work entitled *De Providentia Dei* among the dialogues. In solving this problem, we are helped by manuscript headings for these different works. We find that some manuscripts[8] have at the beginning of the *De Constantia Sapientis* the title *Incipit liber secundus de Providentia*, while a Berlin codex, as well as one from Wolfenbüttel[9] have the running title *Secundus de Providentia* in the *De Constantia Sapientis*. The Prolegomena to the 1593 Plantin edition of Seneca's *Tragedies*, in citing the author's works, leaves out the *De Constantia Sapientis* and says: 'De Tranquillitate Animi Vitae ad Serenum, lib. 2, in vulgatis codicibus sed in schedis Burgedalensibus liber unicus est qui vulgo primus, secundus autem sine inscriptione separatim scriptus est, et subiungitur lib.de Providentia errore fortassis liberorum.' Thus it is evident that a confusion in these works was rather common. Since Sicco mentions all three, and still assigns two books to the *De Providentia*, we must assume that he was led astray by the word *Secundus* in the caption such as is found in the German manuscripts mentioned above, and that he did not check up on the works themselves.

The *De Monarchia* ascribed to Apuleius,[10] I have been unable to identify

[1] 495.12.

[2] *Apol.*, 50, Extr.

[3] *Remed. Praef.*

[4] *Cat. Cod. Lat. Class. Wratislaviae* (1915), *cod. B. 1604*, p. 230.

[5] *Cat. Cod. Phil. Lat. Bib. Vindobonensis* (1834).

[6] *Cod. CCII.*

[7] 495.22–24.

[8] *Mediolanensis IV; Vat. Pal. Lat. 1541.* Cited by Fickert, *Senecae Opera* (Leipzig, 1845), III, 33.

[9] *M. Lat. fol. 47.* See Fickert, *loc. cit.*

[10] 506.29.

with anything extant or with any work mentioned by writers on Latin literature. Since, however, Sicco omits from his list of Apuleius' works the *Apologia*, which, however, he used in connection with his biography of the author, it seems possible that the *De Monarchia* is an error for *De Magia*, under which title that work is also known.[1]

Not only are there items omitted which should have been included and works mentioned which we cannot identify, but we must admit that Polenton at times confuses authors, due to the fact that in each case there are two by the same name. While he has separated the two Plinies, he has been less fortunate in dealing with the Statii, for like many of his predecessors, including Petrarch,[2] he confuses the Neapolitan poet with the Gallic rhetorician. With regard to the Senecas, we note that while Polenton, following Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Salutati, realized that there were two of them, he made the mistake of assigning the philosophical works to Seneca Rhetor, and of leaving only the tragedies as representative of the work of the son. The same division of the writings was made by Giovanni Dominici early in the fifteenth century,[3] while other scholars, for the most part, continued to attribute the *Declamationes* to the younger Seneca.[4] Sicco, like most of his contemporaries, also confused Lactantius Firmianus with Lactantius Placidus. Domenico di Bandini seems to have been the first to distinguish between them.[5] Due also to identity in the authors' names is Polenton's inclusion among the works of the grammarian Priscian of the *De Naturalibus Questionibus ad Cosdroe Regem Persarum*.[6] This Latin version of a Greek work by Priscianus Lydius was known to Pastrengo[7] and occurs in some catalogues of mediaeval libraries,[8] but appears to have been little used by Sicco's contemporaries.

Sabbadini, however, accuses Sicco of falling into a grave error in assigning the *Periegesis* of Priscian to Lactantius.[9] This accusation is based upon the following statement of Polenton's:[10] 'metro autem ac versibus exametris fecit librum qui Odeporicon Graece, Itinerarium Latine inscriptus est.' I cannot see any reason for considering that this *Itinerarium* should neces-

[1] If the title *De Magia* were written in capitals, the similarity between *C* and *G* might cause it to be read *De Macia*, which may have been taken as an abbreviation for *De Monarchia*.

[2] P. Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'Humanisme* (Paris, 1907), I, 197.

[3] Sabbadini, *Le scoperte, etc.*, II (1914), 178.

[4] *Ibid.*, 250.

[5] *Ibid.*, 186.

[6] 512.10.

[7] Sabbadini, *Le scoperte, etc.*, I (1905), 14, n. 67.

[8] L. Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, II (1874), 454; P. Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, II (1928), 525.

[9] Sabbadini, *Le scoperte*, etc., I (1905), 185.

[10] 505.1.

sarily be identified with Priscian's translation of Diogenes' *Periegesis*, especially since Sicco assigns to Priscian a work[1] (*De Cosmographia librum metro fecit unum*) which can hardly be anything else but this, since the title appears in various manuscripts as *Descriptio Orbis Terrae* and *De Situ Orbis*.[2] Sicco's inclusion of the *Odeporicon* in the works of Lactantius was due to a statement to that effect in Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus*.[3] It is possible that Jerome was confusing this with Priscian's work, but it is probably not true that Sicco identified it thus. Another common error occurs in Polenton's ascription of the *Commentariolum* of Q. Cicero to Marcus,[4] but a highly original one seems to be his assignment of Suetonius' *De viris Illustribus*, *De Institutione Officiorum* and the *De Historia Ludicra* to the author of the *Vitae Caesarum*.[5]

Let us next consider the pitfalls into which Sicco fell by accepting spurious works as authentic. He has been criticized for his blind acceptance of some of Ovid's writings which were doubted even in Polenton's own day. Says de Gubernatis:[6] 'Polenton che accettava ad occhi chiusi la lista delle opere minori di Ovidio senza avanzar nessun dubbio sulla possibilità che esse non fossero autentiche viene a trovarsi in uno stadio della critica ovidiana recisamente inferiore rispetto agli umanisti autori delle due vite del codice laurenziano.' The manuscript here referred to by de Gubernatis (*Laur. LIII. 15*) contains two lives of Ovid, the first of which casts doubts on the *De Schachis* and the *De Vetula* and the second, while doubting the *De Pulice*, *Nuce*, and *Philomena*, rejects the *De Vetula* absolutely. The other works cited by Sicco as belonging to Ovid's youthful days occur in different mediaeval lives, with the exception of the *De Puellis* and the *De Vino*.[7] The former is perhaps the *De Tribus Puellis* cited by Pascal,[8] but we note, in addition, that a work entitled *Liber Puellarum* ascribed to Ovid appears in manuscript *Vat. Pal. Lat. 910*, and according to Lehmann, the same title appears in a number of other codices.[9] The *De Vino* is found in some manuscripts as *De Baccho*.[10] We observe that in an Escorial manuscript of the

[1] 512.13.

[2] Sabbadini, *Le scoperte, etc.*, II (1914), 245.

[3] Hier., *Vir. Illust.* 80.

[4] 455.17.

[5] 210.17.

[6] Lenchantin de Gubernatis, 'La biografia ovidiana di Sicco Polenton,' *Athenaeum*, I, Ser. 2 (1913), 421.

[7] 66.35–67.2.

[8] C. Pascal, *Poesia latina medievale*, I (Catania, 1907), 145, n. 3.

[9] P. Lehmann, *Pseudo-Antike Literatur des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1927), p. 96, n. 60.

[10] Those cited by Lehmann, (*op. cit.*, p. 91) are *Basel F. VIII. I; Zurich C. 103; Frankfurt 110.*

fifteenth century which lists Ovid's works, both these titles are found in the form in which Sicco gives them.[1]

We note also Sicco's acceptance of the *Appendix Vergiliana*,[2] of which he may have known the *Culex* merely from the lines quoted by Donatus, and the *Aetna* from its mention in Servius, but in the case of the other poems, the fact that he mentions the number of lines in each, shows that he had first-hand knowledge of them. We observe that three poems of Ausonius, the *Est Et Non*, the *Vir Bonus* and the *Rosae* are included in this list, as they are found assigned to Virgil in certain manuscripts.[3]

As part of Apuleius' works are considered one on medicine, the title of which Sicco no doubt derived from Priscian[4] and the doubtful dialogue between Asclepius and Trismegistus which Petrarch also assigns to this author.[5] The *De Viris Illustribus* was so generally believed to be Pliny's from the time of Petrarch on, that it is not surprising to find Sicco following this practice. Of Seneca's works, the *Epistulae ad Paulum*, the *De Copia Verborum* and *Octavia* are all considered genuine, as are the *In Sallustium* and the *De Consolatione* of Cicero.

We have seen that in most of the cases cited Sicco was following the traditions of his time, and is, therefore, not to be censured unduly. Where he did break away from them, as for example, in branding as spurious the *De Sinonomis*, *De Differentiis Verborum*, *De Re Militari* and the *De Grammatica* of Cicero, and in attributing to 'Martinus Scotiensis' the *De Quattuor Virtutibus*, which usually bore Seneca's name, he deserves all the more credit.[6]

In conclusion, then, we may say that we feel a very sincere admiration for Polenton's accomplishment. Errors and inaccuracies we have not failed to note, but when we consider the handicaps to the propagation of literary knowledge five hundred years ago, we are inclined to deal lightly with these offenses, and at the same time, to marvel at the extent of his working library, which would do credit to a twentieth-century scholar.

Wellesley College

[1] *Ms. V. III. 10.* See Lehmann, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[2] 78.28–79.2.

[3] See M. R. James, *Lists of Manuscripts Formerly in Peterborough Abbey Library*, Supplement to the Bibliographical Society's *Transactions*, n. 5. (1926), p. 48.

[4] Prisc., *Inst.* VI, 2.10.

[5] Petr., *Sen.*, XV. 3.

[6] In the last case, however, he rests on Petrarch's authority. Cf. *Sen.*, II. 4.

COMMENTS ON THE OBSERVATIONS OF TAIT ON THE COMMON COUNCIL OF THE ENGLISH BOROUGH

By ERWIN F. MEYER

Any discussion of English borough common councils of the fourteenth century must take into consideration the play of economic interests as articulated by the craft gilds. Professor Tait in his recent excellent discussion of the rise of this institution of government has mentioned gild activity and has paid passing attention to the mysteries in London.[1] These institutions hold the key to any discussion of the London council of this date. One or two additional facts might be stressed by way of supplementing that which Professor Tait has written.

To Professor Tait the early fourteenth-century preference for gild election of council members was a 'popular' preference.[2] The adjective 'popular' that the author used is apt to convey the wrong impression, namely that the new method proposed was a plan by which the general industrial and business interests were to enjoy the franchise right. This particular privilege was limited in 1351 to but thirteen selected crafts: the drapers, spicers, mercers, fishmongers, goldsmiths, woolmongers, vintners, skinners, saddlers, tailors, ironmongers, and butchers.[3] The council so elected consisted of fifty-six persons, two of whom were aldermen.[4] This is the council that was the result of the 'popular' agitation. The older method of ward election that gave a council of one hundred and thirty-three, more or less, was wiped out in favor of a smaller group elected by thirteen gilds. A membership of one hundred and thirty-three gave way to a membership of fifty-four and an electorate limited to thirteen crafts.[5] To call the craft method a 'popular' one in the sense that it represented the mercantile element may be correct, though certainly to restrict the electoral lists to thirteen mysteries within the mercantile element does not seem to warrant too much

[1] James Tait, 'The Common Council of the Borough,' *English Historical Review*, XLVI. 1–29 (Jan., 1931), particularly 7–11. These comments deal specifically with but London, though Professor Tait's article is general in scope. The rôle of the mysteries in the other boroughs might well be given additional treatment for the thesis that the history of the emergence of the common council is a study of economic loyalties known as the craft gilds holds for all boroughs. Cf. Erwin C. Meyer, 'The English Craft Gilds and Borough Governments of the Later Middle Ages, II,' *The University of Colorado Studies*, XVII, 350–400.

[2] Tait, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[3] *Cal. Letter Books*, ed. R. R. Sharpe (London, 1885), F, 237–238.

[4] *C. L. B.*, F, 238–239.

[5] H. T. Riley, *Memorials of London* (London, 1868) pp. liii-lv. In an attempt to compare the names of the persons given in the council list of 1347 with that of 1351, six of the 51 list appear in both, and four other names either with different surnames or different spelling other than slight variation were found. Cf. *C.L.B.*, F, 238–239, and Riley, *op. cit.*, pp. liii-liiv.

stress on the adjective 'popular.' Sufficient facts have not yet come to light to substantiate the necessarily popular character of the move. It might have been the other way around and the fact that the plan was given up after two years for the more numerous system of ward election could be cited to support an hypothesis that the mystery experiment in municipal election was decidedly non-popular.

The second period (1376–1384) of craft election of the council affords some additional information concerning the rôle of the gilds and their development. Whereas the number of mysteries placed on the eligible electoral list of 1351 was but thirteen, in 1376 the number of mysteries had increased to forty-one.[1] The composition of the eligible craft list is worth examination because it throws some light on the politico-economic disputes of the period. In the period of the thirteen eligible mysteries, four were victualling gilds and nine were non-victualling associations. This second list from which the council was made in 1376 found the victualling gilds had added but four mysteries, giving them a total of eight associations, while the non-victuallers had added some thirty to their total.

This particular growth of the number of handicraft or non-victualling mysteries might well have been the reason a vote of thirty-one to ten is found on the proposition to sustain the mayor, Brembre — a grocer, in 1378. The fishmongers and victuallers opposed the continuance of an alien fishmonger in the freedom of the city as such a person threatened their monopoly. They were thus soundly defeated.[2]

The gain of the non-victualling gilds might also give us a clue to the reason why Brembre, the grocer mayor, in 1384 asked for a return to the more popular (from the point of view of participation of persons) ward system of election.[3] The victualling gilds though few in actual count were large in membership and by a use of the ward system might obtain continuous control of the council. Such an hypothesis is supported by the proposed requirement that not more than eight men were to be accepted from any one mystery.[4] Professor Tait saw in this move of Brembre, the grocer, simply an attempt of a small group to undo the work of the 'popular' leader, John de Northampton. May he not have overlooked the definite craft character of the whole dispute in assigning a 'popular' reason for the act?[5]

Additional evidence that the city at this time (1376–1384) was in the

[1] *C. L. B.*, H, 41, A list of gilds that composed the council gives forty-seven mysteries. The number depends on which council and list one uses. For comparison the smaller number was used. Cf. *C. L. B.*, H, 42–44.

[2] *C. L. B.*, H, 110, cf. Tait, *op. cit.*, p. 9, footnote 2.

[3] *C. L. B.*, H, 164, cf. Tait, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[4] *C. L. B.*, H, 227–228.

[5] Tait, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

throes of an inter-gild economic and political battle is supported by other entries. Brembre, the grocer mayor, as soon as the first council on the gild plan was in force (a council that Professor Tait would have us believe was the result of the 'popular' movement) had five of the non-victuallers expelled from that body on the general ground that they 'were guilty of betraying secrets of that body.'[1] This judgment was revoked once the non-victuallers under Northampton the draper, were in power.[2] In addition the non-victuallers petitioned the crown that no victualler be allowed to hold judicial office,[3] and no fishmonger be allowed to be mayor of the city.[4]

These intercraft disputes were no mere verbal affairs. They ended in riots, large fines, prison sentences, and finally death for participants.[5]

Professor Tait has given an excellent account of the council as an mechanism of government. A London government, however, then as now is more than a mechanism, it is also an organism. Therefore interests, motives, and economic affiliations must be considered. As C. G. Field has well stated, 'No one who studies the phenomena of the party system can doubt that our opinions are influenced, to a degree varying with different people, by a non-rational sentiment for the organization to which one belongs. '[6] The observation holds for the fourteenth century as much as for the twentieth. Professor Tait, like Gross, Bickley, and to a lesser degree Miss Sellers, fails to give to the craft mysteries their full share in the political developments of the boroughs because he and the other writers mentioned were not willing to grasp the dynamics of politics. Seeing sovereignty in the borough, they have not recognized that after all it is men, not charters, letters patent, and writs that governed the borough then as they do now.

To call the gild system of council election 'popular' is correct if by that adjective 'popular' a restrictive meaning is intended. One must not forget that the journeymen associations were definitely denied any part in the government or even the right to exist.[7] To call the council 'popular' without such a qualification of the word might well be stretching its meaning to the breaking point.

University of Colorado

[1] *Ibid.*, H, 64.

[2] *Ibid.*, H, 176.

[3] *Rot. Parl.* III, 142.

[4] W. Herbert, *History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London* (London, 1837), II, 12.

[5] *C. L. B.*, H, 303–304, 364–365; *Rot. Parl.*, III, 143; Riley, *op. cit.*, pp. 473–474; *C. P. R.*, 1381–1385, 463–464.

[6] C. G. Field, *Gild Socialism* (London, 1920); p. 102.

[7] *C. L. B.*, H, 612–613; I, 138. Riley, *op. cit.*, pp. 609–613. This anti-journeyman ordinance was passed as early as 1415.

AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL FIND IN A LATIN RIDDLE OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS

By ERIKA von ERHARDT-SIEBOLD

One of the strangest descriptions of mediaeval antiquities occurs in Aldhelm's Riddle No. 54, dated between 685 and 705,[1] and merits the attention of both philologists and archaeologists. Since Professor Tupper's invaluable investigation of the Anglo-Saxon Riddles[2] and my own attempts at interpretation of the Latin Riddles of Anglo-Saxon England,[3] the importance of the riddles as a kind of early encyclopaedia is being recognized.

The things of everyday life did not interest the ecclesiastical poet. Everyday life with the glamour of the enigmatic around it, objects of daily life endowed with hidden meanings, things felt not as realities but as symbols, came as a new revelation to the mediaeval mind. The riddle is one more form of that cryptic expression, so dear to the art and thought of the Middle Ages, and Aldhelm's wish 'to disclose by his riddles the riddle of things' gives expression to the hide-and-seek of the mediaeval enigma.[4]

Collections of early mediaeval riddles seem to have been preserved *in extenso* only in England, where they belong to the seventh and eighth centuries.[5] How far the Symphosius riddles,[6] the archetype of this mediaeval *genre*, had likewise given a stimulus to other early attempts on the Continent will not be known to us until we have more information about mediaeval book catalogues. The Corpus of riddles belonging to England is extensive and, in spite of often baffling obscurities, intelligible enough to become one chief source for our information of Anglo-Saxon *realia*.

In interpreting the Latin riddles of the Anglo-Saxons to which solutions have been supplied (apparently by the authors themselves), the differentiation between subject matter taken from the poets' own environment and matter gleaned from their literary sources calls for some guess-work on the

[1] R. Ehwald, *Aldhelmi Opera, Mon. Germ. Hist., A. A.*, XV (1919), 97–149.

[2] Frederic Tupper, *The Riddles of the Exeter Book*, (Boston, 1910).

[3] *Die Lateinischen Rätsel der Angelsachsen* (*Anglistische Forschungen*, No. 61, Heidelberg, 1925). Professor J. H. Pitman's excellent translation of Aldhelm's riddles has recreated them for a modern audience. See *The Riddles of Aldhelm* (*Yale Studies in English*, LXVII, New Haven, 1925).

[4] Cf. Aldhelm's Prologue to his Riddles, ll. 7–8.

[5] Cf. the famous Anglo-Saxon riddles and the Latin riddles known under the name of their authors: Aldhelm, Tatwine, Eusebius, Boniface, Alcuin; some collections have not been assigned definitely to any country, e.g., the *Lombard Riddles* (*Aenigmata Hexasticha*), formerly called *Berne Riddles*, the *Enigmata Anglica*, etc. For editions of these riddles see the bibliography in my *Die Lateinischen Rätsel der Angelsachsen, loc. cit.*

[6] R. Th. Ohl, *The Enigmas of Symphosius* (Diss., Univ. of Penn., Philadelphia, 1928), offers a valuable translation together with an edition of these riddles. The stupendous influence of the Symphosius Riddles is still distinctly felt in the extensive riddle-collections of the Renaissance.

part of the modern scholar. These problems of the mediaeval riddle can, however, be solved successfully and the results offered may be rich. The following riddle, unique in the corpus of 200 riddles, still remains a puzzle:

COCUMA DUPLEX

Credere quis poterit tantis spectacula causis
Temperet et fatis rerum contraria fata?
Ecce larem, laticem quoque gesto in viscere ventris,
Nec tamen undantes vincunt incendia limphae
Ignibus aut atris siccantur flumina fontis,
Foedera sed pacis sunt flammas inter et undas;
Malleus in primo memet formabat et incus.

After devoting much attention to this riddle, I am convinced that this strange cooking-vessel, the *cocuma duplex*, does not figure in any of Aldhelm's literary sources. The solution (i.e., title) does little to help our understanding. Often the name *per se* is the best clue for the interpretation. Thus we often find inexplicable nonce-words in riddle-headings, word-fossils from lost glossaries. Sometimes, thanks to the terminology, one can trace the shifting meanings of the text.[1]

The word *cocuma* or *cucuma*, rare in classical Latin, is found in mediaeval glossaries. The encyclopaedic textbook κατ' ἐξοχήν of the Middle Ages, the *Etymologiae sive Origines* (636) of Isidore Hispalensis, lists *cocuma* with *lebes*.[2] The *Glossae Nominum* (*ca.* eighth century) list *cocuma* with the lemmata *cacabus* and *caldarius*.[3] The important Latin-Greek wordbook of the ninth century, Paris *Codex 765* (the *Hermeneumata Stephani*) gives for *cocuma* θερμοφόρον.[4] I have not found *cocuma* in the older Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossaries. It appears first in Aelfric's *Latin-Anglo-Saxon Vocabulary* (late tenth century) glossed with OE. *cyperen-hwer*, that is, *aereus lebes*.[5] The important Latin Dictionary of Papias (1053) is the only work where a definition of *cocuma* is attempted: 'cucuma a sono fervoris dicitur, vas aeneum in fundo et ore desuper coopertum in quo calefiunt.'[6]

Before examining the various terminologies and definitions, it may be well to consider the data given in the riddle itself. We learn from Aldhelm's involved description the one fact that had impressed him most: inside this

[1] Cf. riddle 11: *Poalum* (*Die Lateinischen Rätsel der Angelsachen, loc. cit.*, pp. 13, 14) riddle 70: *Tortella*, with its shifting meanings, *loc. cit.*, pp. 90 ff. and riddle 13: *Barbita, loc. cit.*, pp. 130 ff.

[2] Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi, *Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX*, ed. W. M. Lindsay (*Bibliotheca Oxoniensis*, 1911).

[3] G. Goetz, *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* (Leipzig, 1901–1923) II, 575, 50.

[4] *Ibid.*, III, 379, 63.

[5] *A Volume of Vocabularies*, ed. Th. Wright (*Library of National Antiquities*, privately printed, 1857).

[6] *Vocabulista* ed. Phil. Pincius, Venice, 1496.

cooking-pot, diametrically opposed elements — the fire (*lar*) and water (*latex*) — are juxtaposed, yet they do not annihilate one another, but, in contradiction to all laws of nature, live in peace. Hammer and anvil have helped to create this mysterious thing. Not a word is wasted on the general appearance of the vessel whose exterior does not interest the author.

For us, however, Aldhelm has revealed just enough of those inherent qualities of the cooking-pot to call to mind the famous *authepsa* of antiquity, known to us only from isolated references and from a few precious models from Herculaneum and Pompeii which are preserved in the Museo Nazionale at Naples. According to Cicero, an *authepsa* of Sex. Roscius of Ameria, confiscated and sold at an auction by order of the state, went at such a high price that outsiders hearing the sum believed it meant the purchase of a piece of land.[1] We hear from Lampridius that Heliogabalus was the first to possess silver *authepsae*.[2]

The character of the *authepsa* is explained in the so-called *Scholia Gronoviana*, classical commentaries to Cicero's orations. The passage referring to Cicero's mention of the *authepsa* offers a description which, though apparently corrupt, is the best we have of its construction: 'Authepsa, vas aquarium, quod interiecta lamina fabricatis arte fornacibus compendium portat portati simul ignis, contrarii elementi, defensa vicinitas.'[3]

In the accompanying schematic illustration, the typical features of the antique *authepsa* are shown. Though varying somewhat in detail, the models preserved and the descriptive matter indicate the same general construction.[4] The *authepsa*, αὐθέψης, ('self-boiler') corresponds to the modern tea-urn or *samovar* ('self-boiler') of similar formation. The *authepsa*, costly both in workmanship and material, was, as we know from the references and models, designed to be used at the Roman table for the preparation of the *calda* which had to be ever ready for Roman wine-drinking. The people of the Middle Ages, however, despised the *calda*, which was still being used as a beverage by the Greeks in Constantinople. In the amusing description of his expedition to Constantinople (968) Ambassador Liudprand, Bishop of Cremona, speaks with disgust of the 'bathwater' that the Greeks not only drank, but evidently sipped (with gusto!) out of small glasses 'balneaque tunc vitro permodico non bibentes sed sorbillantes.'[5]

[1] 'Domus referta vasis Corinthiis et Deliacis, in quibus est authepsa illa, quam tanto pretio nuper mercatur est, ut, qui praetereuntes, praeconem enuntiare audiebant, fundum venire arbitrarentur.' *Oratio Pro Sex. Roscio Amerino*, ed. C. F. W. Mueller, Leipzig, 1840, p. 74. *Thesaurus Lat., loc. cit., s. v.* 'authepsa.'

[2] *Lampr., Heliog.* 10, 9 'primus . . . authepsas argenteas habuit,' *Thes. Lat., loc. cit., s. v.* 'authepsa.'

[3] J. C. Orelli, *M. T. Ciceronis Orat. pro P. Sestio*, II, 1 (Turici, 1833).

[4] See the discussion of the *authepsa* in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines* (Paris, 1877), *s. v.* 'calda.'

A costly vessel like the *authepsa* could have no place on the Anglo-Saxon table. A pot, so much like the *authepsa* in construction, must have had other functions. And here the British Museum *Manuscript Royal 12 C XXIII* of the riddles, with its interesting Latin and Anglo-Saxon glosses, formerly assigned to the early tenth century, but according to the latest (1922) catalogue of the Royal Manuscripts in the British Museum now placed at the beginning of the eleventh century, affords valuable information by adding to *cocuma duplex* the gloss 'quam piratae solent habere in navibus.'[1]

A cooking-pot which was at the same time a portable cooking-stove and a highly efficient cooking-utensil was a device used, according to Aldhelm, as early as the eighth century. At that time, a steam-cooking apparatus, quick, fireproof, and transportable, was already known, antedating the modern samovar. It is easy now to justify the various terminologies in the glossaries: *lebes*, *cacabus* = cooking-pot, *caldarius*, in classical Latin 'cella calidae balineae,' later a utensil which heated the water for the bath, and in late Latin writers a portable cooking-stove. This final stage in the development of *caldarium*[2] I have not been able to trace from the quotations in *Ducange* and other mediaeval dictionaries, but it is proved by *Aldhelm's riddle*. It is the *lemma* in the *Hermeneumata* dictionary which explains best the character of *cocuma* as *θερμοφόρον*. While formerly in the British Isles pots were in use in which heated stones, cooking-stones, were placed to bring about the cooking-process,[3] England was now using a remarkable invention on its ships.

This one riddle undoubtedly justifies the statement that the riddles of early England represent an up-to-date encyclopaedia of the early Middle Ages.[4] Thus we see that a literary document covered with the true dust of antiquity can supplement and even substitute archaeological finds.

Mount Holyoke College

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[5] *De Legat. Constan.*, ed. G. H. Pertz, *M.G.H.*, *SS.* III (1839), 362^{35-36}.

[1] *Piratae* is explained by Ducange as general term for *nautae*.

[2] Cf. W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (3. ed. London, 1890) *s. v. caldarius* and Daremberg-Saglio, *loc. cit.*

[3] See the ags. ritual of the hot water ordeal 'dūfe sēo hand æfter ām stāne (W. J. Sedgefield, *An Anglo-Saxon Book of Verse and Prose*, Manchester, 1928, p. 330). Cf. also: 'Farinam enim suam non sinebant cribrari, set tantum cum sua palea et aqua miscebatur in pelium, et lapidibus in igne calefactis ita coquebatus' (*Vita S. Munnu*, ed. C. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, Oxford, 1910, II, vi); 'Sanctus Molua cum speram ferream ex igne cum forcipe tenuisset, ut in beati Comgelli, . . . vas daret ad cale faciendum, cecidit ferrum rotundum de forcipe' (*Vita S. Moluae*, *ibid.*, II, 211, n. 3; for date of this Vita, cf. J. F. Kenney, *Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, New York, 1929, p. 398). Plummer, *op. cit.*, I, cvii.

[4] Other such innovations of the time described in riddles are: the glass-beaker, the wooden cask, the quill as writing pen, the horn-inkstand, the organ, the large church-bell, etc.

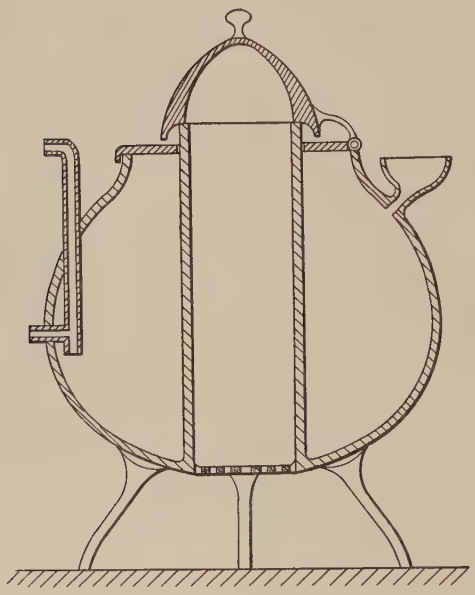

Fig. 1.

In the center of the vessel, a cylindrical container extends from the bottom to a certain distance above the opening of the vessel. This container receives the charcoal. Apertures forming a grate provided for the necessary draught from below. A cover on the top of this small charcoal furnace permitted a crude regulation of the combustion.

An annular lid with a central opening, just wide enough to permit the furnace cylinder to pass through, was placed on the rim of the vessel in order to prevent a cooling-off of the heated liquid. The general thermal principle underlying this device is about the same as that employed in modern immersion heaters, and therefore guarantees a very high thermal efficiency.

The liquid, such as water and wine, was introduced through a funnel-shaped opening, as shown on the right of the figure. On the left, two spouts for pouring out the liquid will be noted. It appears reasonable to assume that the lower spout was normally kept closed by a stopper and could be used both for the draining of deposits and for the dispensing of drinks. The upper spout was on a higher level than that of the right-hand opening in order to prevent the outflow of liquid when the vessel was being filled. Apparently, instead of withdrawing liquid by draining through the lower spout, this could also be done by tilting the vessel to make the liquid flow through the upper spout. For this purpose, the cover of the furnace was held by a hinge attachment.

JOACHIM OF FLORA: A CRITICAL SURVEY

By GEORGE LA PIANA

About the year 1170, Odo, prior of Canterbury and later abbot of Battle, wrote a letter of edification to one of his novices describing the great spiritual opportunities and privileges offered by monastic life. Among other things, the learned and saintly prior outlined a theological interpretation of universal history in this fashion:

> O admirable mystery and admirable sacrament! God gave to the hearts of men a First Testament which was called Natural Law; had they observed it, they would not have needed another. But being lovers of novelty, men neglected it, when it grew old, and God gave them a Second Testament in the Circumcision, which some adopted with a certain willingness on account of its novelty. But this also became old and was neglected, hence God gave a Third Testament in the Baptism which is predestined to remain for eternity. Yet when this too became old through long use, men gradually began to be neglectful of it, and God gave them a Fourth Testament in the Monastic Cowl (cuculla) to the novelty of which almost the whole world, lover of novelties, has now turned. After this, there will not be a fifth one, because in this all the benedictions granted to all peoples are contained. All religion and all holiness contained in the three previous Testaments, are condensed in the Testament of St Benedict.[1]

The idea of successive revelations was fundamental in the Christian system of salvation from the very beginning. By it Christianity justified its own existence as a second revelation superseding that of the Old Testament, and also looked confidently toward the future in the expectation of the *parousia* which would usher in the new Kingdom of God. Very soon also, with the development of the trinitarian doctrine, the three stages of revelation were put in relation to the three Persons of the Trinity. These ideas recur through the centuries in the Christian tradition in both orthodox and heretical circles. The only difference which gradually brought a distinction between two tendencies on this point was that one identified the third stage with the eternal life, according to the thought expressed long before by St Ambrose: 'umbra in lege, imago in evangelio, veritas in coelestibus,' while the other identified it with an intermediary period between the present dispensation of the Son (the Christian Church) and the final consummation in the eternal life.

The English prior was thus only repeating in his own way a belief with which Christianity was familiar. The only point which seems new in his statement is the addition of a Fourth Testament *in cuculla*, that is to say,

[1] Ernst Benz, '*La Messianità di S. Benedetto*,' in *Ricerche Religiose* (Rome, July, 1931), pp. 336–353.

a fourth revelation contained in the monastic Rule of St Benedict, which, according to the pious prior, was at that time converting the whole world to monastic life. This new revelation, however, this *sacramentum cucullae* did not imply the abolition of the *sacramentum baptismi* of the former stage, for this was 'predestined to remain for ever.' The new revelation was merely to be superimposed upon it as a final and more effective way of salvation.[1]

This extraordinary importance assigned to the Rule of St Benedict, put almost at the same level with the Gospel, and the emphasis upon monastic life as a new and final device for the salvation of the world, is characteristic of the twelfth century. It is connected with the Cistercian movement. Under the leadership of St Bernard of Clairvaux, the Cistercian order spread all over Catholic Europe within the short compass of a few years, and became a force that affected profoundly not only the religious but also the political, social, and economic conditions of western civilization.

Apocalyptic hopes and ideas which never failed to come to the surface when mediaeval society was passing through troublesome periods of wars and invasions, social adjustments and economic pressure, or terrible epidemics, turned in the twelfth century toward the powerful monastic revival as to a new sign of incoming radical changes, or as a new revelation by which old promises and expectations were finally to be fulfilled. Such expectations were, so to speak, in the air; they were cherished especially in religious and ascetic circles, and assumed different forms in various countries and various environments. As a matter of fact, at exactly the same time in which the English prior was thus instructing his novices, another and far more important man, Joachim of Flora, was writing in the extreme South of Italy his famous apocalyptic message expounded also in a bold biblical and theological interpretation of universal history.

A member of the Cistercian order, the Calabrian prophet found that the evil of relaxation was already creeping among its ranks. He therefore started a new monastic branch, the Florensian order, with the mission of preserving in full the Cistercian monastic austerity. From the high solitude of La Sila, where he established his monastery of St John of Flora, his reputation as a prophet and a holy man spread all over Italy and beyond the Alps, and his writings heralded a spiritual movement that lasted several centuries.

The Florensian order, which lasted until the sixteenth century, had an unconspicuous history; its members took no active part in the Joachite movement. The latter found its most devoted adepts among the Spiritual

[1] The idea that the monastic initiation was a *sacramentum* was old in the English tradition. In the *Iudicia Theodori*, it is said: 'ordinatio monachi . . . secundum baptismum est, iuxta indicium patrum, et omnia peccata dimittuntur sicut in baptismo' (P. W. Finsterwalder, *Canones Theodori*, p. 239).

Franciscans and other religious men. The oldest biography of Joachim was written by a former disciple of his, Lucas, a Cistercian from Casamari, later abbott of Corazzo and finally archbishop of Cosenza. But it has reached us only in a fragmentary state.[1] It was only in the seventeenth century that Giacomo Greco first, and Gregorio de Lauro afterwards, published long narratives of Joachim's life and miracles, deriving their material mostly from legendary sources.[2] Lucas' fragments, these later biographies, and a few other additional sources were utilized by Papebroch for the account of Joachim in the *Acta Sanctorum*.

Several treatises written by Joachim were published in Venice at the beginning of the century; the *Concordia Veteris et Novi Testamenti* (Simon de Luere, 1519), the *Expositio in Apocalypsim* (F. Bindoni, 1527), and the *Psalterium Decem Chordarum* (F. Bindoni, 1527). At the same period, other apocalyptic writings also purporting to belong to Joachim, but in fact due to later Joachites, were published both in Venice and elsewhere. From that time to the middle of the nineteenth century, though Joachim's name was never forgotten, thanks especially to Dante, who put him in heaven next to St Francis and St Bonaventura:

> L'abate calavrese Giovacchino
> di spirito profetico dotato,

his life and works were little known. F. A. Gervaise, a French priest who had a weakness for prophetic literature, wrote and published an *Histoire de l'abbé Joachim de Flore, surnommé le Prophète, religieux de l'Ordre de Citeaux, Fondateur de la Congrégation de Flore en Italie, avec l'analyse de ses ouvrages; ou l'on voit l'accomplissement de ses prophéties sur les Papes, sur les Empereurs, sur les Rois, sur les États et sur tous les Ordres Religieux;* 2 vols. (Paris: Giffat, 1745), a book in which legends and imagination had free course.

The rising interest in the history of mediaeval heretical movements about the middle of the nineteenth century brought about also a revival of studies on Joachim and the Joachites. C. U. Hahn, in the third volume (1850) of his *Geschichte der Ketzer im Mittelalter*, gave not only an account of Joachim's life according to the sources collected in the *Acta SS.*, and an outline of his teaching, but also copious extracts from his works taken from the editions of the sixteenth century. The historians began gradually to realize that Joachim's life and thought formed, so to speak, one of the first links of a long chain; that there was an unbroken continuity of spiritual influences,

[1] *Acta Sanctorum* [May], VII, 89 ff., 1688.

[2] G. Greco, *Joachim Abbatis et Florensis ordinis Chronologia* (Cosenza, 1612); G. de Lauro. *Magni Divinique Prophetae abbatis Joachim Hergasiarum apologetica sive mirabilium veritas defensa* (Naples, 1660). Another similar biography by Gabriele Bario, *Joachimi Abbatis vita*, was published in Venice, 1639.

tendencies, and definite traditions from the doctrines and ideals of the Calabrian abbot to Francis of Assisi and the primitive Franciscan program of religious life, and then to the Spirituals, with their Joachite apocalyptic views and their adherence to the strict form of Franciscan poverty, and finally down to the later forms of ascetic, mystic, and anti-ecclesiastical movements that preceded the Reformation and even persisted afterwards.

But to disentangle the many knotty problems connected with Joachim's life and teaching was not an easy task. The critical exploration of the mediaeval historical and doctrinal sources was still at its beginning; furthermore, important writings of Joachim were still unpublished, and copies of those published in the sixteenth century were rare and not easily accessible. There was also a great deal of confusion and uncertainty as to the authenticity of so many works going under his name, and, last but not least, the obscurity of his thought, the amazing complexity of his scriptural exegesis, and the prophetic emphasis of his style were so many obstacles that deterred scholars from undertaking a thorough exploration of Joachim's life, writings, and influence. For several decades after the appearance of Hahn's book, the excerpts from Joachim's works given there were practically the sole original source used not only by writers of mediaeval religious history in their treatment of this point, but even by writers of monographs and special studies on the Calabrian abbot. Neither Rousselot (*Histoire de l'Evangile Eternel*, Paris, 1861; *Études d'histoire religieuse aux XII^e^ et XIII^e^ siècles*, Paris, 1867) nor E. Renan ('Joachim de Flore et l'Evangile Eternel,' in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1866, reprinted in *Nouvelles Études d'Histoire religieuse*, Paris, 1884) seems to have been acquainted with any large part of the original Joachite literature. These works, however, especially Renan's, beside throwing some lights on several problems of the Joachite tradition, were very useful in awakening more interest in the subject. On the other hand, some of their contentions, as for instance Renan's emphatic insistence on the Byzantine and eastern origins of Joachim's ideas, were taken as almost dogmatic truth and up to now have been looked upon as final.

The problem of the authentic writings of Joachim was obviously the first that had to be settled, in order to give a sound basis to any further investigation. The task was assumed, but in a negative sense, by W. Preger ('Das Evangelium Aeternum und Joachim von Floris', in *Abhandlungen d. hist. Klasse d. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, XII, 1874, and volume I of his *Geschichte der deutschen Mystik im Mittelalter*, Leipzig, 1874), who denied the authenticity of even the *Concordia*, the *Expositio*, and the *Psalterium*. A convincing refutation of Preger's denial was not slow to appear in H. Reuter's *Geschichte der religiösen Aufklärung im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1877). All possible doubts of Joachim's authorship of those works were more completely dispelled a few years later by H. Denifle (*Archiv f. Litteratur- und Kirchengeschichte d. Mittelalters*, I, 1885).

Meanwhile F. Tocco (*L'Eresia nel medio Evo* [Florence, 1884], 'L'Evangelo Eterno,' in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 1886, and later, in *Studi Francescani* [Naples, 1909]), utilizing not only the work of his predecessors, but also the published and some of the unpublished treatises of Joachim, described more in detail and with closer reference to their medieval setting and connections Joachim's doctrines and their historical interpretation. Unfortunately, however, Tocco's presentation was not only incomplete, but also incorrect in many points. He not only rejected the authenticity of the *Tractatus Super Quatuor Evangelia*, but also emphasized still more Renan's assumption of the eastern origins of Joachim's ideas and misunderstood in general the real content and meaning of very important aspects of Joachim's teaching.[1] But in spite of its limitations, Tocco's work marked a step forward in the knowledge of Joachinism and its influence upon the Franciscan movement, and, in general, in assigning to it a prominent place in the whole religious and spiritual history of the late Middle Ages. For many years Tocco's *L'Eresia nel medio evo* remained the authoritative source of information about Joachim, and even such a brilliant writer as E. Gebhart (*L'Italie mystique*, 1890) but recast in a charming style Tocco's conclusions, adding little or nothing of his own.

A more definite progress in the studies of the Joachite movement and indirectly of Joachim himself was made by the publication of H. Denifle's 'Das Evangelium Aeternum und die Commission von Anagni'[2] followed by the text of the 'Protocol of Anagni' (*Archiv f. Lit. u. Kirchengesch. d. Mittelalters*, I, 1885). In 1254, there appeared in Paris a book entitled *Introductorius in Evangelium Aeternum*, which made an immense sensation. The University of Paris, engaged in that period in an acute conflict with the Mendicant orders which were trying to bring under their control the Theological Faculty, grasped the opportunity to denounce the book to the Pope in the expectation that its conviction of heresy would inflict a blow upon the friars, for the book was undoubtedly the work of one of them. The Pope appointed a committee to pass judgment over it. From the report of the committee published by Denifle and from his learned study on its content, it was made clear that the book was mostly a compilation of passages from the three main works of Joachim, but with a new interpretation of them, by which it was assumed that Joachim's writings formed the Eternal Gospel of

[1] H. Denifle, *Archiv f. Lit. u. Kirchengeschichte*, I, 52 ff. and Buonaiuti, *Tractatus* (Introduction).

[2] Denifle's study, besides throwing complete light on the Anagni episode, discussed the question of the authenticity of Joachim's writings, and furnished a list of the manuscripts of Joachim found in European libraries. I do not find mentioned in the list the MS of the *Expositio in Apocalypsim* in the *Codex Harl. 3969* (14th cent.) of the British Museum, and I am not sure whether it has been noticed by others.

the new revelation, that the Franciscan order was the new monastic institution foretold by Joachim as the 'populus novus' of the Third Age, and that St Francis was the Angel of Revelation, 'the angel who had the seal of the living God.'

Denifle established beyond doubt that the author of it was the Franciscan Gerard of Borgo S. Donnino — as it had been already affirmed by the contemporary Salimbene — who belonged to the Franciscan-Joachite group of Hugh of Digne, with which the general of the order, John of Parma, was in full sympathy. The book was condemned, and later three of the Joachite friars with John of Parma himself, were tried by the Order under the generalship of Bonaventura and condemned to long imprisonment.

A series of monographs and studies which followed Denifle's work, such as F. Ehrle's 'Die Spiritualen' (*Archiv f. Lit. u. Kirchengesch.*, 1885–1888), 'Petrus Olivi, sein Leben u. seine Schriften' (*ibid.*, 1887), J. C. Huck's *Ubertinus von Casale und dessen Ideenkreis* (Freiburg, 1903), D. S. Muzzey's *The Spiritual Franciscans* (New York, 1907), K. Balthaser's *Geschichte des Armutstreites im Franziskanerorden* (Münster, 1911), the studies of Callaey on *Franciscan Idealism*, and many others, all threw new light on the close connection of the Joachite tradition with the religious, spiritual, and intellectual life of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The necessity of further and more detailed investigation of the life and message of the Calabrian Prophet was now fully recognized. J. C. Huck did not hesitate to warn the historians that, if they wished to understand thoroughly the character of the religious spirituality of the late Middle Ages and the process of development which had its highest manifestation in the *Divine Comedy*, they should begin by an exhaustive exploration of the personality and the message of Joachim of Flora (*Ubertinus v. Casale*, p. 8).

Since 1878, E. Reuter had questioned the historical value of the ancient biography of Joachim written by Lucas, and still more, of the biographies of the seventeenth century. Further observations on the same point were made by E. Schott ('Joachim von Floris u. die Apocalyptiker des Mittelalters,' in *Zeitschrift f. Kirchengeschichte*, 1901), who gave also a good analysis of Joachim's doctrines ('Die Gedanken des Abtes Joachim von Floris,' *ibid.*, 1902). On the apocalyptic aspect of Joachim's message, a remarkable contribution was made by New Testament scholars dealing with Christian apocalyptic literature, who traced its revivals and survivals even in later times from the point of view of their connections with early traditions and sources. Especially W. Bousset gave an admirable and complete outline of Joachim's apocalyptic interpretation in the introduction of his 'Offenbarung Johannis' (Meyers, *Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das N. T.*, Göttingen, 1906).

The philosophical-theological side of Joachim's teaching was the subject of an interesting study by P. Fournier, the French scholar well known for his admirable works on the mediaeval sources and collections of Canon Law. In three essays (1886, 1889, 1900) reprinted together in his *Etudes sur Joachim de Flore et ses doctrines* (1909), Fournier tried to link Joachim's theology with the trinitarian doctrine of Gilbert de la Porrée in opposition to the teaching of Hugh of St Victor and Peter Lombard. As a matter of fact, Joachim wrote on the Trinity and against Peter Lombard a short treatise which after his death was condemned at the Lateran Council of 1215. According to Fournier, Joachim's trinitarian doctrine is identical with that of the Porretanus, so that 'Gilbert de la Porrée, quoiqu'il ne se donnât pas pour un prophète, fut l'ancêtre lointain des sectes nombreuses qui, comme les Spirituels et les Fraticelles, se sont nourries des rêves empruntés aux écrits de l'abbé de Flore' (Introduction, p. vi).

The link of connection between Joachim and the teaching of Gilbert is found by Fournier in an unpublished treatise, *Liber de vera philosophia*, written between 1180 and 1190. In this work, we find on the one hand a defense of the doctrine of Gilbert and a violent attack against his many opponents, among them St Bernard, Hugh of St Victor, and especially Peter Lombard. On the other hand, from the sentences quoted from Joachim's now lost *Treatise on the Trinity* in the decree of the Lateran Council, and from passages of his other extant writings, especially the *Psalterium*, it appears that there is not only a similarity but even a complete identity of views between Joachim and the author of the *De Vera Philosophia*. At first Fournier proposed to assign outright to Joachim the authorship of this treatise, but later preferred to suggest only a close relation between its author and Joachim.

The trinitarian controversy of the twelfth century was to be traced primarily to a difference of method between Greek and Latin theology in the exposition of the doctrine of the Trinity. St Augustin, and in general the Latin theologians, starting from the unity of God, only subsequently consider the Divine Persons as being logically posterior to the one divine Nature. Following Augustin, Latin theology is very fond of using the analogy of the three main powers of the human soul to throw light on the mystery of the unity of nature and the distinction of Person in the Godhead. Greek theology, on the contrary, starts from the notion of three distinct Persons; personality is treated as logically prior to nature. This divergence in method in a doctrine where the line between orthodoxy and heresy is very thin, exposes the former to the danger of Modalism, or of reducing the three divine Persons to mere modes of existence of the one God, and the latter to the risk of exaggerating the distinction of Persons to the point of Tritheism. Gilbert de la Porrée, following the Greek rather than the Latin

tradition, seems to have crossed the danger line, but at the same time it appeared to him and to his followers that Hugh of St Victor and Peter Lombard, in their statement of the Latin doctrine, had fallen into heresy by either professing a disguised modalism, or worse, by making of the Divine Essence a kind of fourth God.

There is no doubt that Joachim, likewise following the tradition of Greek theology, shared the same views as the school of Gilbert as to the unorthodox character of the teaching of Peter Lombard. The importance of this question in Joachim's history lies in the fact that his trinitarian doctrine forms the necessary counterpart of his historical mystical doctrine of the three ages. Each of them is submitted to the distinct activity of each of the three divine persons: the age of the Father beginning with the Creation, the age of the Son beginning with the Redemption, and the Age of the Spirit, which was expected to begin definitely during the thirteenth century. The division of the three Persons in the dogmatic sphere was the necessary premise of the division of their individual activity in history.

Fournier's contention was that the starting point of Joachim's theological-historical system was exactly his trinitarian doctrine, inherited from the Greeks and developed under the influence of the school of Gilbert. Joachim started his career as a religious teacher, as a theologian; it was only by applying to the field of history his theological premises that he was led to expound his historical interpretation. Furthermore, Fournier gave in one of his essays a more detailed and more comprehensive outline of Joachim's system, using not only the printed works, but also the manuscripts, especially of the *Tractatus Super Quatuor Evangelia* from which he quoted large extracts throwing no little light on several important points, as for instance, upon Joachim's severe judgments of the Greek Church and his attachment to the Latin Church and the authority of the Papacy.

Both the two main conclusions of Fournier's studies, the one which connects Joachim's theology with the tradition of Gilbert de la Porrée, and the other which finds in the trinitarian doctrine the source of Joachim's historical interpretation, have now been rejected, but Fournier's essays, besides being still of great value, retain the merit of having first explored this aspect of Joachim's teaching, so important for the understanding of his whole system.

In the religious literature of the post-war period, the contributions to the knowledge of Joachim's life, times, and doctrines have been numerous, and some of them of exceptional merit. G. Bondatti's *Gioachinismo e Francescanesimo nel Dugento* (Rome, 1924) is a useful and well-informed survey of the Joachite movement among the Franciscans, but adds nothing that is new to the history of it. Such, however, is not the case with the work of H. Grundmann, *Studien über Joachim von Floris* (Leipzig, 1927), which

marked an immense progress in Joachite studies. After a substantial introduction dealing with the literature of the subject and with the question of Joachim's genuine writings, their chronology, and the sources of Joachim's history, Grundmann presents in four chapters a detailed analysis of the form of Joachim's exegesis and typology of history, of his teaching on the end of the world and the future, of his Christian ideal in the past and in the future, and finally, on the survival of Joachim's ideas up to the fourteenth century.

The exegetical method of Joachim, which was for the first time submitted to a thorough analysis by Grundmann, is an essential and most important feature of the system of the Calabrian prophet. For Joachim is not a prophet in the sense of a seer who receives revelations in visions; his gift of prophecy is but the gift of *spiritalis intelligentia* of the Scripture. What Joachim claimed was, that this *intelligentia* enabled him to see and to understand the hidden meanings of the sacred text and to discover in its pages the whole history of mankind: past, present, and future.

The method of allegorical exegesis that Origen began to apply on a large scale to the Scripture, was developed further in the East, and passed thence into the Latin patristic tradition.[1] Among the Latins, however, biblical exegesis underwent a still more systematic development and assumed even a higher importance than it possessed in the Greek homiletic and dogmatic tradition. Professor Grundmann, in tracing back the sources of Joachim's method, connects it with the exegetical tradition represented in the West by Ticonius the Donatist, St Augustin, Eucherius of Lyons, Junilius Africanus, Cassian, Cassiodorus, Isidore of Seville, and their later followers. Augustin's systematic exposition of the method in his *Doctrina Christiana* remained the classical text of exegesis, but it was developed and improved upon considerably by his successors. Eucherius (452) especially, in his short treatise *Formulae spiritalis intelligentiae* seems to offer the most complete model of Joachim's method. Scriptural typology, the highest product of allegorical exegesis, and the idea that, hidden under past histories or types, the Scripture contained prophetic hints for the future, were also familiar to the Latins (cf. Junilius Africanus, *Instituta regularia divinae legis*, and the anonymous *Liber de promissionibus et praedictionibus*, in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, LI, 773 ff.). In conclusion, Joachim's exegetical method offers nothing new or essentially different from the traditional exegesis as it had developed and had been practised in both the Eastern and the Western Church. But if Joachim's method is essentially according to tradition, it presents in the application characteristics of its own, due to his

[1] H. Caplan in 'The Four Senses of Scriptural Interpretation' (SPECULUM, July, 1929) missed altogether the importance of Joachim's exegesis, which is not even mentioned in his study.

ability to divide and subdivide the traditional exegetical categories and genders into subgenders and subspecies, and to multiply infinitely the various meanings and types according to the requirements of his plan and of its various parts. The fertility of Joachim's imagination in the use of typology is really amazing. Undoubtedly this exegesis lacks external unity and consistency; the texts and types are bent to express different things at different times: the only unifying principle that brings together all these exegetical elaborations, sometimes superimposed one upon the other in a casual way, is their prophetic character through which Joachim forcibly extracts from biblical histories all possible parallels and allegorical justifications of his prophetic views. This essentially prophetic nature of his exegetical method distinguishes Joachim from all his predecessors who used the same method, but with primarily moral or dogmatic purposes.

The genesis of Joachim's idea of the Three Ages is studied (Chap. II) with the same accuracy and wealth of information. Here the field had already been cleared at least in part by previous studies, but Dr Grundmann's analysis of the various currents which contributed to Joachim's threefold division of human history and to the different characters that he attributed to each period is the most complete and exhaustive, as far as the traditional elements of the plan are concerned. The most important of the Three Ages is obviously the third still to come; for the age of the Father and the age of the Son are but a preparation and an imperfect image of the age of the Spirit. An important problem in this connection is that of the destiny of the Church and of the sacraments of the present dispensation in the incoming third age. The premises of Joachim and his conception that the spiritual man of the third age would know the truth without veil and receive directly from the Spirit all the charismatic gifts necessary to perfection, implied the abolition in that period of the Church as an organization for the guidance of the soul, as well as of the sacraments as channels of grace. But this did not mean that Joachim denied or even put in doubt the divine character and institution of both church and sacraments, or that he preached disobedience and rebellion. On the contrary, he recognized the full validity of the Church and all its institutions, their necessity in the present stage, and their right to claim full obedience and respect; but he did not consider them as the final forms of divine revelation, or as the only way of salvation to last forever 'usque ad consummationem saeculi.'

This implication appears more clearly in the analysis of the elements of the new spiritual life (Chap. III) such as Joachim assigned to the third age. *Contemplatio*, *libertas*, *spiritus*, are the three elements of the *Perfectio* that shall be attained. Here is the kernel of Joachim's mysticism and the point of arrival of his long prophetic journey. In the last chapter, the history of Joachism is rather shortly outlined, with important considerations on the

connection of German Spiritualism of the thirteenth century with the Joachite current.

Grundmann's work is undoubtedly epoch-making in the studies on Joachim and Joachism; this does not mean, however, that no room was left for further analysis or for different interpretations of certain aspects of the life and thought of the Calabrian prophet. Needless to say, there are also assumptions in Grundmann's book which may strike the reader as not fully convincing: for instance, the influence of German or northern sources, which are suggested as having contributed to Joachim's philosophy of history, such as the writings of Adam of Whitehorn, of Rupert of Deutz, of Honorius of Autun, of Anselm of Havelberg, and others, might be and has been challenged. Similarities of ideas and even analogies of language are not always conclusive evidence of interdependence, for, as we have noticed in quoting the letter of Odo of Canterbury, apocalyptic ideas and hopes based on mystical interpretations and on artificial historical schemes balancing in harmonic combinations the past, the present, and the future, were then current in the various ascetic and monastic circles of Europe, and all of them derived their inspiration and their material from the same traditional sources. Like Fournier's attempt to establish a direct connection between Joachim's theology and the French anti-scholastic groups, Grundmann's assumption of the Germanic origins of Joachim's philosophy of history, accepted also by A. Dempf (*Sacrum Imperium*, 1929, pp. 229 ff.), may be rejected[1] with good reason, but the fact itself, that there is an ideal connection among these various currents of apocalyptic hopes in the various European countries, shows how important was the movement of which Joachim became the main exponent. The need of publishing the works of Joachim still in manuscript form and of a critical edition of those published in the sixteenth century had been felt from the beginning.[2] Under the auspices of the Institut für Kultur- und Universalgeschichte in Leipzig,

[1] *Tractatus*, ed. Buonaiuti, Introd. p. lxxi, note.

[2] Grundmann has made a thorough survey of the Venetian editions (I, Exkurs: *Die Venediger Drucke*, pp. 193–198). We may add to his remarks that the existence of a separate edition of the *Psalterium decem chordarum*, issued at the same time and by the same press which printed the *Expositio in Apocalypsim* and the *Psalterium* together is certain. There is a copy of this separate edition in the Harvard Library: *Psalterium Decem Cordarum Abbatis Joachim, in quo de Summa Trinitate eiusque distinctione perpulchre indagatur. De numero Psalmorum et eorum archanis ac mysticis sensibus. De Psalmodia. De modo et usu psallendi simul et psallentium.* — Venetiis, in calcographia Francisci Bindoni. — Expensis heredum Octaviani Scoti civis Modoetiensis, etc. Anno MDXXVII (April 27). Besides this copy, which seems very rare, the Harvard library has also:

Divini Vatis Abbatis Joachim liber Concordiae Novi ac Veteri Testamenti, Venetiis per Simonem Luere, 1519.

Expositio Magni Prophetae Abbatis Joachim in Apocalypsim, etc., cui adjuta sunt eiusdem *Psalterium decem cordarum, etc.*, Venetiis, F. Bindoni, 1527.

Professor Grundmann finally decided to undertake the task of preparing the needed critical editions of the *Concordia*, the *Expositio in Apocalypsim*, and of the *Psalterium*. Meanwhile, Professor E. Buonaiuti of Rome, who had already published several valuable studies on Joachim on the *Ricerche Religiose*, by agreement with Professor Grundmann took upon himself to prepare the edition of the still unpublished treaties, i.e., the *Tractatus super Quatuor Evangelia*, the *De articulis Fidei*, and the *Adversus Iudaeos*.[1]

Of these, the *Tractatus super Quatuor Evangelia* has already appeared (*Fonti per la Storia d'Italia* [Istituto Storico Italiano, Rome, 1930], Vol. LXVII), with an Introduction (pp. xi–lxxxi) which contains a brief but masterly presentation of the various problems concerning the life and teaching of Joachim. Of the two manuscripts of the *Tractatus*, Professor Buonaiuti has rightly used as a basis for his edition the *Antonianus* of Padua, giving in the notes the variants of the Dresden manuscript. Extensive notes accompany the text explaining the meaning of obscure passages and of historical and theological allusions, and giving references to similar passages in the other writings of Joachim. The edition leaves nothing to be desired, and if, as we are sure, the other volumes to be published by Professors Buonaiuti and Grundmann will maintain the same high standard of scholarship and of handsome printing, we shall shortly have at our disposal a *Corpus* of Joachim's works that will relieve us of any regret for the long delay in their appearance.

A new work on the Calabrian Prophet has lately been published[2] in France by Emmanuel Aegerter (*L'Evangile Eternel.* I, *Vie de Joachim de Flore;* II, *L'Evangile Eternel*, traduction française; Editions Rieder, Paris,

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Abbatis Joachim divina prorsus in Ieremiam prophetam interpretatio, etc. Venetiis, per Bernardinum, Benatium, 1525.

The same, Coloniae apud L. Alectorium, 1577.

Abbatis Joachim Florensis Scriptus super Esaiam prophetam, etc., Venetiis, per Lazarum de Soardis, 1517.

The Widener Library also possesses the Venetian edition by the same B. Benati of the spurious writings *In librum Cirilli; In Apoc. de residuo statu ecclesiae;* the *Tractatus de Antichristo, Ioannis Parisiensis;* and *De septem statibus Ecclesiae* of Ubertinus de Casales.

[1] According to Professor Buonaiuti, to admit Joachim's authorship of other writings going under his name, outside the six mentioned above, is a very risky thing (*Gioach. d. F.*, p. 180); but Professor Grundmann inclines to include among the genuine works of Joachim other writings, such as the *Tractatus de vita et regula S. Benedicti* and probably the *De ultimis tribulationibus*; the *De virtutibus*; and the *De Vita solitaria.*

[2] Meanwhile, Professor Grundmann has published several articles containing further investigations on Joachim and the Joachites: 'Kleine Beiträge über Joachim von Fiore,' (*Zeitsch. f. Kirchengesch.*, 1929); 'Papstsprophetien d. Mittelalters.' (*Archiv. f. Kulturgesch.*, 1928); '*Liber de Flore,*' eine Schrift der Franziskaner-Spiritualen aus dem Anfang des XIV Jahrh. (*Hist. Jahrbuch*, 1929).

1928). Aegerter, a brilliant poet and literary writer, was evidently not much concerned with the many problems of historical criticism or doctrinal sources which fill the pages of Grundmann's book. Aegerter's work, in spite perhaps of his intention, is essentially more literary than historical in character; as such, it is a remarkable sample of brilliant French prose and of vivid poetical descriptions. For his purpose, the legendary accounts of the old biographers supplied abundant material for artistic elaboration. His translations from various writings of Joachim, gathered in the second volume under the rather misleading title *L'Evangile Eternel*, give a modern freshness to the thought of the old Prophet, but unfortunately the passages chosen are not always the most representative of the special aspects of the doctrine that they are supposed to illustrate and furthermore, in no few instances, the French rendering is not close enough to the meaning of the original.

From 1928, Professor Buonaiuti began to publish at regular intervals a series of studies on Joachim in the *Ricerche Religiose* (Rome, 1928 ff.). Out of these studies rewritten with many new additions and further elaboration and out of the material already used by himself in the Introduction to the *Tractatus*, Professor Buonaiuti put together a book which, while still in manuscript form, was awarded the Edward Kennard Rand Prize of the Mediaeval Academy of America for the year 1930. It appeared in print the following year under the title *Gioacchino da Fiore, I Tempi, La Vita, Il Messaggio* (Collezione Meridionale Editrice, Rome, 1931).

As the author warns his readers in the preface, this volume is only the first part of a larger study which will cover also the whole history of Joachism up to its last manifestations. This explains why the first part of the book, 'I Tempi,' which might be properly called an historical introduction, appears to be too long and out of proportion with the rest of the volume. The first section of this historical introduction presents in a series of separate chapters a synthesis of the political history of the Normans, Byzantines, Arabs, and finally, of the Swabians and of the Papacy in Southern Italy. The separate treatment of each has the advantage of presenting a more impressive picture of the characteristics of southern civilization under the various dominations and the contributions made by each of these elements to the final outcome of their mixture. On the other hand, it has the disadvantage of unavoidable repetitions and perhaps of less cohesion in the picture of the ensemble. In this part, the author has used the most authoritative historical works, but occasionally has made use also of original sources and documents to support views in which he disagrees with the historians.

The true justification, however, for such a long historical introduction and for its method of exposition is the fact that the historical survey is so made as to bring into light political events and factors only so far as they

have a direct or indirect connection with the spiritual, moral, and intellectual background that explains the rise at that time and in that place of Joachim's prophetic vocation. As a matter of fact, this survey and a new exhaustive study of Joachim's writings, especially of the *Tractatus*, has led Professor Buonaiuti to a new and in some degree original historical interpretation of Joachim's life and works. According to him, it is a useless task and one that leads to misunderstanding to look for a system of theology in Joachim's writings; Joachim's interest in theology was only incidental, as far as certain theological premises affected directly his interpretation of history. Joachim was primarily and essentially a prophet; we find in him 'a typical and complete renascence of the apocalyptic spirit with which the early Christian generations were saturated. The motives behind his spiritual and intellectual activity were not theological: there was in him only a broad and bold hope of religious renovation which could enable the Church to come out of the realm of shadows and symbols and to come in possession of unveiled truth' (p. 8). Still more important is the second fundamental point of Professor Buonaiuti's historical reconstruction of the personality and thought of Joachim. The assumed dependence of Joachim upon Greek and Byzantine theological and mystical influences due to the environment is altogether denied. To Buonaiuti, Joachim appears as 'the faithful interpreter and the bold herald of that social and religious palingenesis which the Cistercian rule introduced into Latin Catholicism of the late Middle Ages' (Intr., p. xi).

The section on 'Religious conditions,' (pp. 75–120) in four short but comprehensive chapters (Byzantine traditions, Benedictine Monachism, Cistercian Reform, and Jewish groups in Calabria), provides many elements to justify the author's conclusions, radically different from those of former writers on Joachim. Byzantine religious traditions, so deeply rooted in Calabria, were thoroughly shaken during the first period[1] of the Norman rule; it was only later, after the consolidation of the kingdom, that Norman policy gave protection and lavished favors on Greek monasteries. During the early period, the upper valley of the Crati became a bulwark of Latin ecclesiasticism, and this was the environment of Joachim's life and work. The assumption that in Calabria, or in general in Southern Italy, the two great currents of eastern and western religious thought and traditions met and merged together is a commonplace. They undoubtedly met, but the process of mutual absorption, as far as religious traditions were concerned, was very slight: 'The spirit of Basilian monachism is essentially different from that of the Latin monasteries which from the eleventh century began

[1]Witness the abolition of scores of Greek monasteries and the transfer of their property to Latin monasteries; cf. Batiffol, *L'Abbaye de Rossano* (Paris, 1891), p. xxv, and Buonaiuti, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

to extend their influence over southern Italy. The traditions which directed even such monastic activities as liturgical observances and transcriptions of manuscripts were different and even opposite in the two great monastic currents, as all traditions which came from Rome were different from those coming from Byzantium.[1] In Southern Italy, the two currents came in contact, but there was no merging of them. The mountains of La Sila marked the dividing line between the two spiritual currents' (p. 84).

Benedictine monachism had lost its spiritual impetus; the contamination with secular political and economic interests and powers had made it unfit to become a new instrument of that spiritual renaissance which was the aspiration and the ideal of many religious souls. The Cistercian reform came in time not only to revive the ascetic ideal, but also as a social and economic movement of primary importance in the history of the times. After the year 1140 and the peace between king Roger II and the pope, to which Bernard of Clairvaux made no small personal contribution, Cistercian monasteries were established in Southern Italy, and it was there that Joachim received his monastic training as a Cistercian and there that he governed a Cistercian community as its abbot before the establishment of the Florensian order. The conception of a 'perfect monachism' which, in Joachim's plan of the Third Age, holds the central place, is essentially the Cistercian conception. Finally, the presence and influence of considerable Jewish groups in Calabria explains the rather important part that their expected conversion has in Joachim's plan and also the reason for his writing a short treatise *Adversus Iudaeos.*

Having thus set the historical background, Professor Buonaiuti approaches in Part II three sets of problems: (1) Concerning the life of Joachim and his relations to the political and religious powers and institutions of his time and environment; (2) Concerning the origins and development of his doctrines and his mystical teaching; (3) Concerning his attitude toward the official Church and the Papacy. On the first point Buonaiuti is more radical than his predecessors in rejecting the traditional biographies. According to his conclusions, Joachim was not from a noble or quasi-noble family, but a peasant. He calls himself 'homo agricola a iuventute mea' (*Expositio super Apocalysim*)[2] His pilgrimage in the Holy Land is also confirmed by another passage found by Buonaiuti in the *Tractatus super Quatuor Evangelia* (Chaps. 97–98). From authentic sources it is known

[1] Buonaiuti (p. 138) rightly remarks that modern historians have greatly exaggerated the importance of Byzantine traditions and elements in Calabria by giving too much weight to official manifestations and documents and overlooking the demographic and institutional evidence.

[2] This passage had been already noticed by Grundmann in *Kleine Beiträge über Joachim von Floris*, p. 154.

that about 1178 he was abbot of the monastery of Corazzo in Calabria, and that a few years later he lived for a while at the Abbey of Casamari in the Roman territory, where he had gone to submit some of his writings to Pope Lucius III. At Casamari he met Lucas, who became his amanuensis and later wrote his biography. The years which followed witnessed his estrangement from the Cistercian order and his founding of the new order of the Florensians.[1] There seems to be no doubt that by royal request Joachim travelled perhaps more than once to Palermo, and that in 1191 he was in Messina, where Richard of England and Philip Augustus of France were passing the winter on their way to the Crusade. But the narrative of the three English chroniclers Roger of Hoveden, Benedict of Peterborough, and Raoul of Coggeshal, concerning the interview of Joachim with the English king and his prophetic utterances, appear in the analysis of Professor Buonaiuti as mostly devoid of historical value (p. 156–168). Joachim's death took place March, 1202. Outside this and a few other details found in contemporary chronicles and documents, there is very little in the old biographies about the life of Joachim that can be accepted without question.[2]

Whatever part Joachim may have taken indirectly in the politics of his times, it seems that his main interest in them was only to discover, in political, social, and religious events, some premonitory and preparatory symptoms of the great incoming renovation. Mention of and cryptic allusions to facts and personalities of his times occur not infrequently in his writings, but always in a prophetic setting and connection. There can be no doubt that, to explain the formation of his prophetic consciousness and the results of his prophetic elaboration, the long prophetic and apocalyptic tradition which was behind him and from which he derived the formal elements of his own prophetic structure, is not enough. There is a new spirit,

[1] The Florensian rule given by Joachim to his monks is unfortunately lost. From the fact that Pope Gregory IX in 1227 forbade the Cistercians to receive in their ranks monks from the Florensian Order, it seems that the Florensian rule must have been more rigid than that of the former. Buonaiuti suggests that very likely a passage of the *Concordia* (Lib. v, 23) contains an outline of the lost rule (*op. cit.*, p. 142, note).

[2] The historical character of the meetings of Joachim with Pope Urban at Verona and the authenticity of both the letter of Pope Clement III to Joachim and the testament of Joachim have been questioned by Professor Buonaiuti with good reason. If the will of Joachim in which the fact that the *Concordia* had been submitted to Lucius III is mentioned is authentic, why did Joachim not mention also the supposed approvals of Urban III and of Clement III? Furthermore, at the time assigned to the meeting of Joachim with Pope Urban and the approval of the *Expositio in Apocalypsim* (1196) this latter work was not yet finished, as is evident from a passage of the same book. As a result, Professor Buonaiuti inclines to consider all these documents as apocryphal, devised by the Florensians immediately after Joachim's death (Joachim's last will is mentioned in the Lateran decree of 1215) as a measure of precaution to save the reputation of orthodoxy of their founder and their order.

a new motive, a new meaning in his vision of history and a new hope in his plan for the future, expressed many times in words like these: 'Libertas a curis mundi non potest haberi perfecte nisi in Sabbato; hoc est in tempore libertatis.'

This new spirit, according to Professor Buonaiuti, has little or nothing in common with the monastic ideals and traditions taught and followed in the Greek monasteries of Calabria; it is rather the contemplative but, at the same time, active, robust, and constructive spirit of the new Cistercian tradition. The ideal Cistercian community, self-sufficient, steeped in renunciation and mystic joy, possessed truly the 'libertas perfecta a curis mundi.' To Joachim's eyes, this was the final solution of all political, social, economic, and religious problems, the 'curae mundi' that accounted for all the evils and the unhappiness of men. The realization of such a solution was, however, conditioned upon the direct intervention of the Holy Spirit, which would impart to each man knowledge and grace to achieve perfection and to persevere in it, walking in light and truth up to the end. It was a dream, undoubtedly, but it was suggested by positive facts which were before Joachim's eyes and which made it possible not only for him, but also for others, like the prior of Canterbury, to see in them the beginning of a radical transformation of the whole religious and social order of the times. These facts were the Cistercian reform and its extraordinary success. In a few years, Cistercian monasteries sprang up everywhere; the appeal of their rigid rule seems to have been irresistible. According to the Canterbury prior, the whole world was turning to the new Testament of the *cuculla*. Now, every Cistercian monastery was not only a centre of religious reform but also a social and economic institution. Janausscheck, in his *Origines Cistercienses*, has illustrated the value and extent of the agricultural undertakings of the Cistercian monasteries of that period. As a result, the Cistercian movement, says Buonaiuti, had become 'a democratic movement which, calling to monastic life large rural masses, liberated them from feudal bondage, conferred on them an autonomous moral personality, put them to a work of extensive reclamation of land, giving at the same time to such work a spiritual value and gaining for them the favor and protection of the royal power, always eager to curtail feudal rights and abuses.'

St Bernard, himself a scion of the feudal class, was the leader of this democratic anti-feudal movement. But though he remained the personification of monastic asceticism of the twelfth century, Bernard was too much distracted by his manifold activities which involved him in all ecclesiastical and political controversies of the times. The great interpreter of the revolution contained in germ in the Cistercian rule was Joachim, 'who, coming himself from the peasant class and having perhaps escaped from feudal servitude by becoming a monk, found in the monastic *libertas* the ideal state of man in the coming age of the Spirit.'

As for Joachim's attitude toward the ecclesiastical organization and the Papacy, Professor Buonaiuti's conclusions and quotations from the sources confirm and strengthen those arrived at by Fournier and Grundmann. The latter's analysis of Joachim's exegetical method is fully accepted by Buonaiuti (*Il Messaggio*, pp. 189 ff.) who gives, however, a perhaps closer view of its function in the elaboration of Joachim's ideas: 'Considered from the point of view of the exegetical method, Joachim's originality is only quantitative. The allegorical symbolism and symmetrical typology which give an almost geometric form to his Scriptural exposition are nothing more than an organic and coherent application of the traditional principles of patristic exegesis. But if we look more closely, this boundless exegetical virtuosity of Joachim which seems to destroy altogether the significance and the real value of the sacred narrative, and discovers in it only prefigurations of imminent events destined to transform Christian society, this mechanical method of scriptural interpretation, which appears as a mere pedantic exercise on the dotted lines of a preexistent tradition, leads in the end to a highly original and personal teaching, inasmuch as there is not in Joachim any servile respect for hermeneutical completeness, but only the bold purpose of a revolutionary religious propaganda. The symbolistic orgy in which Joachim indulges becomes a kind of rite of initiation to a new, solemn, triumphal epiphany of the new gospel. Hence Joachim's works must not be considered or studied as if they contained an ordinate exposition and an organic justification of a system, but rather as the passionate appeal of a preacher[1] of conversion' (p. 194).

In his many books and essays dealing especially with early Christianity,[2] Professor Buonaiuti has emphasized and made almost the centre of his historical interpretation of the Christian message its 'social' character, that is to say, the conception that the Christian way of salvation was not a method of individual asceticism, but rather a high religious standard set forth as the goal of 'associated life.' Creeds and sacraments, piety and hierarchy, abstract rules and organic laws, all the various spiritual, theological, and legal elements to be found in Christianity, are all means for the realization of this essentially social character of Christian religiosity. Their vitality and usefulness last only so far as they fulfill this purpose. The Cistercian rule presents the same character of a reform not of individualistic piety but of 'associated life.' In his very remarkable and suggestive book *Il Misticismo Medievale* (Pinerolo, 1928), Professor Buonaiuti remarked: 'The

[1] Buonaiuti suggests (p. 177) that, like most of the works of St Bernard, some of Joachim's treatises, and especially the *Tractatus*, might have been first delivered as sermons to a monastic audience. The occasional allusions to liturgical celebrations seem to confirm this view.

[2] See especially his *Saggi sul Cristianesimo Primitivo* (Città di Castello, 1923); *Il Cristianesimo nell' Africa Romana* (Bari, 1928); *Le Origini dell' Ascetisimo Cristiano* (Pinerolo, 1929).

Cistercian spirit of solidarity in work, in abnegation and prayer, their love for simplicity in the ritual, devoid of all display of wealth, and performed in a spirit of close brotherhood, their sharing equally the community tasks, so different and yet all equivalent in merit; all this not only brought about a renascence of genuine evangelical experiences in the Cistercian cloisters, but affected also very deeply the outside world of culture, of art, and of politics' (p. 48).

No wonder then that Joachim, who derived from the Cistercian source his ideals and his inspiration, is also primarily an exponent of this type of Christian mysticism that looks for perfection in the experiences of religious associated life: 'Joachim differs from the usual type of Christian mystics because of his ever-present consciousness that there is a link which binds the spiritual destiny of the individual to that of the masses, because of his irresistible tendency to look at the problem of salvation only from the point of view of a universal palingenesis, through which collective spirituality shall and must be lifted up to its highest form of expression' (p. 197).

To Fournier's attempt to connect Joachim's theology with the school of the Porretanus represented by the *De vera philosophia* and to make of his theology the source of his mystic and apocalyptic interpretation of history, Professor Buonaiuti opposes a vigorous denial of both contentions. Joachim not only held St Bernard in great veneration, but derived from his writings principles, ideas, and suggestions which he incorporated in various ways in almost all his works. Sometimes even his phraseology and his images are those of St Bernard (*Tractatus*, Intr., p. lii). On the contrary, in the *De vera philosophia*, St Bernard is described as 'vir vitae venerabilis; cum esset bene potus in nocte cum paucissimis familiaribus suis in ospicio suo, decrevit credi quod aliquid unum numero est Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus' (Fournier, *op. cit.*, p. 67). In spite of the similarities of the trinitarian doctrine of Joachim with that of the Porretanus, the attitude of Joachim against Peter Lombard springs from a different motive than that of the *De vera philosophia*. Joachim on this point is rather the continuator of St Bernard, who had been an intransigent opponent of the incipient cultural movement of the Parisian schools.

According to the abbot of Clairvaux, religious truths could not and were not to be so lowered as to make of them a dry subject of rational speculation; they were to be above all practical and normative laws of religious life. Bernard's prestige and eloquence triumphed over the fascination of Abelard's dialectics. A generation later, when Abelardian dialectics found a systematic organization in Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, Joachim, continuing the Cistercian tradition and assuming the attitude of St Bernard, attacked the trinitarian scholastic doctrine exactly for the same motive, because the scholastic formulae and their interpretation of the Trinity impaired the

pragmatic efficiency of the dogma in relation to the scheme of the Three Ages. The analogy pointed out by Buonaiuti between Joachim's subordination of dogmatic formulae to the pragmatic interests of religious life, with Tertullian's theological methodology based on the *oeconomia*, is very suggestive. Hence it is not Joachim's theology that explains his philosophy of history, but vice versa. The symmetrical succession of the Three Ages in time and space is to Joachim the empirical counterpart that explains the eternal threefold partition of the transcendent hypostases in heaven. 'The spiritual history of mankind appears to Joachim as a wonderful symphony in three movements, each developing analogous motives and themes, disposed in a marvelous symmetry and leading gradually toward the supreme revelation of the Spirit which is Light, Love, and Contemplation' (p. 218).

From his solitude of La Sila, while Europe was rent by bestial hatred and fratricidal massacres, Joachim consulted the oracle and promised to the world peace and freedom in a new and imminent dispensation of grace. Remarkable coincidence: about the time in which the Calabrian prophet closed his eyes to the light of this world, Francis of Assisi, still a worldly youth, was beginning to experience those strange dreams in which he was told that one day 'he would be a great prince.'[1]

Professor Buonaiuti's book is undoubtedly the most original and most suggestive book ever published on Joachim of Flora; we feel through its pages the vibrant soul of the old Prophet and at the same time we are led step by step to the full comprehension of his historical personality and of his teaching by the most rigorous critical method of scientific investigation.

That the revolutionary religious ideas and hopes represented by Joachim's writings found no little response even in the secular literature and in both the popular and the learned poetry of the thirteenth century, was already well known.[2] A full treatment of this subject is now to be found in a new book by Professor Eugene Anitchkof, *Joachim de Flore et les milieux courtois* (Rome and Paris, 1931). We leave to scholars with competent knowledge of Romance literature and philology the task of passing judgment upon the soundness of Professor Anitchkof's rather impressive and

[1] In his *Profile of St Francis of Assisi* (Rome, 1900), Professor Buonaiuti called attention to St Francis' attitude towards the crusades, which constituted an implicit disapproval of those military expeditions. St Francis felt that the Saracens were to be converted by preaching to them Christian religion, and, as a matter of fact, he himself with several brethren undertook the mission of their conversion, which, however, proved unfruitful. This Franciscan pacifist tradition may be traced back to Joachim, who wrote in the *Expos. In Apoc.* (164) 'forte futurum est ut apud illud [the Saracen people] Christiani praevaleant praedicando, magis quam proeliando, usque pene ad defectum et interitionem perducant.'

[2] Rousselot had already remarked concerning Joachim's influence: 'on l'entend non seulement dans les chants des poètes franciscains de l'époque, mais aussi et pendant longtemps dans ceux des diseurs en rimes et des fidèles d'amour' (*Hist. de l'Ev.*, p. 173).

sometimes even startling conclusions regarding the wide expansion of Joachite influences over 'les milieux courtois.' But as far as Joachim's personality and doctrines are concerned (they form the subject of almost half of this book), we regret to say that this work seems to mark rather a step backward from the advanced positions reached through the studies of Grundmann and Buonaiuti.

It is evident that the author is not so familiar with theological problems as he is with literary sources and history; otherwise, he could not have written among others such a statement as this: 'C'est pour sauver l'existence distincte des Personnes [in the Trinity], thèse si chère aux Manichéens, que le principe de l'émanation successive adopté par le Montanisme est devenu un des concepts les mieux ancrés de la théologie basilienne,' a puzzling sentence in which Manicheism, Montanism, and the trinitarian doctrine of St Basil are brought together in a common effort to save the distinction of the three divine Persons through a system of successive emanations! Similar statements couched in a vague and theologically incorrect language, either fraught with questionable meaning or devoid of real significance, abound in this book.

Eastern historians show a great propensity to explain the origins and development of the mediaeval heretical movements in the west merely through eastern influences and propaganda, overlooking the western antisacerdotal movements of the period of the Investiture conflict, fostered up to a certain point even by the Roman reform party.[1] No wonder, therefore, that Professor Anitchkof sees everywhere, even in the monastic institutions of Calabria, living traces of Manicheism, of a Neo-Montanism of eastern importation, and a mixture of other elements of which what he calls 'les idées basiliennes' or 'l'esprit basilien' seems to be the synthesis.

The hasty way by which the author reaches such conclusions is rather disconcerting. For instance, an evidence of Manichean influence is found in the fact that Basilian monachism imposed renunciation of marriage. The author indeed remarks, 'tout monachisme, par le fait seul qu'il défend d'avoir commerce avec les femmes, se rapproche du manichéisme, dont l'un des principes fondamentaux est la négation du mariage' (p. 66). But this rapprochement of monachism and manicheism on account of celibacy is far fetched. The origin of the Christian ascetic tendency which glorified virginity is older than Manicheism; moreover, it did not imply a condemnation of marriage in principle as Manicheism did, and on the other hand, it imposed upon those who freely adopted ascetic life not only celibacy but absolute chastity and purity of body and mind. The Manicheans, Professor

[1] It is fair to say that, on this point of eastern heretical propaganda in the West, Professor Anitchkof's book contains many very useful data not usually found in western authors.

Anitchkof remarks, 'allaient si loin dans cette voie qu'ils préféraient le concubinat, et on trouve dans leurs écrits la glorification des enfants naturels' (p. 66). To prove that this Manichean tradition is found in the Calabrian Greek monastic environment of Merkurion, the author recalls a passage of the life of St Nilus of Rossano, afterward founder of the monastery of Grottaferrata near Rome, in which it is told how Nilus in his youth entered into a marriage or a liaison — it is not clear which — with a girl who gave birth to a child; but when Nilus felt the call of the monastic life he abandoned woman and child and fled from the region. Now, what does this prove? Apart from the fact that this is an episode not uncommon in hagiographic tradition — it goes back to Buddha — does this mean that the monks of the Merkurion looked with favor upon concubinage and glorified bastards? Whether or not Manichean influences affected early Christian monachism is a different question, but the monks of the Merkurion in the eleventh and twelfth century did not need new Manichean influences to appreciate the value of celibacy and renunciation.

No more convincing are the other 'deux points essentiels' mentioned by Professor Anitchkof as evidence of Manichean influences on the Merkurion: 'Les Manichéens étaient tout aussi strictement végétariens qu'on l'était au Merkurion' and 'nous savons que Mani tenait particulièrement à cet art de la calligraphie dans lequel on excellait au Merkurion' (p. 67). When one reflects that these statements apply to monastic life and traditions of the twelfth century, when there was in existence an hagiographic literature many centuries old and still fertile in new productions, in which the theme of ascetic vegetarianism had been worked out in all possible variations,[1] and when one considers that the calligraphic ability of the Merkurion had behind it many centuries of monastic scriptoria and of individual activity of monastic scribes, to speak of vegetarianism and of calligraphy as denoting new Manichean influences in the twelfth century is beyond all understanding.

Neither is the suggestion of Neo-montanistic influences on the Merkurion more successful. Apart from the so-called 'Basilian trinitarian doctrine' which has nothing to do with Montanism, Professor Anitchkof finds a definite montanistic trace in the fact that the gift of prophecy recurs as a

[1] Perhaps one more evidence of the fact that Greek monastic influence affected Joachim very little is his criticism of those monks who denied the use of meat even to sick brethren, as against the provision made to this effect by the Benedictine rule: 'Quid autem clementius quam quod ait Sanctus Benedictus . . . Dandas esse carnes infirmis, quas Graeci negant, indifferenter, quamvis quidam Graecorum dicant magis esse ex usu maiorum quam ex regula sancti Basilii esse aegrotantibus carnium fercula interdicta?' *Concordia*, v, 48; Buonaiuti, *Gioacchino da Fiore*, p. 142; also p. 84, where the difference between the spirit of Greek ascetisism of St Nilus andthat of the Benedictine Rule andof the *Charta charitatis* of the Cistercians is set forth.

constant feature in the lives of saintly abbots and monks of that region. Apart again from the fact that certain analogies between spiritual movements such as the Church experiences from time to time are easily explained by the recurrence of similar situations and by the use of the same religious sources, Eastern and western hagiographic literature, ancient and modern as well, show that the gift of prophecy is seldom lacking in the lives of saints. In one way or another, most saints have prophesied, if nothing else, the approach of their death. The gift of prophecy forms one of the distinctive characteristics of 'privileged souls' who have attained a closer union with God. That prophecy is a special gift of the Spirit is a notion as old as Christianity itself. To seek in it a survival or a direct connection with Montanism is not necessary.

We like to think that Professor Anitchkof has been more fortunate — as undoubtedly he was better prepared — in handling the other and primary object of his study, that is to say, the influence of Joachim's teaching on secular literature and poetry of the thirteenth century. The author's learning and his competence on this field are beyond doubt. If his conclusions are accepted even in part, his book will have performed a great service to literary history and indirectly to religious history by providing us with the most valuable evidence, far-reaching in its implications, of the broad influence exercised by Joachim's teaching not only over ascetic and religious circles, but in the world at large among laymen and secular persons.

How far and how soon this influence spread is still a question that perhaps needs further investigation. Professor Grundmann thinks that Joachim's prophetic reputation did not go very far outside Calabria during his lifetime. This opinion, however, is shown to be at least too conservative by Francesco Foberti, in a recent article ('Nuovi Studi su Gioacchino da Fiore,' in *Ricerche Religiose*, January, 1932) in which, besides several proposed corrections in Joachim's chronology, passages are quoted from contemporary chronicles and documents witnessing the fact that Joachim's fame spread very soon not only through Italy, but also in Germany and even in Poland.

Dr Ernst Benz's 'Joachim-Studien' (*Zeitschrift f. Kirchengeschichte*, 1931) promise to be a valuable addition to Joachite literature. The first essay (the only one published to date), under the title 'Die Kategorien der religiösen Geschichtsdeutung Joachims,' contains a subtle analysis of the premises and implications of Joachim's theology of history. The principle of development or evolution by stages (Law, Grace, Love) which is at the basis of the whole system is considered also in relation to the history of monachism, where it assumes the form of an organic development of Christian ethics (the Gospel according to the letter, the teaching of the Apostles, and the teaching of the Fathers, including the monastic rules), of the social organization (three periods, of slaves, freemen, and friends), and finally, of

revelation as a whole. The problem of the Church, the Sacraments, and the Papacy in the new dispensation, destined to disappear because the *ordo spiritualis* would take their place, is the truly revolutionary doctrine of Joachim. For, by prophesying the imminent coming of an age of pure evangelic morals, he provided his contemporaries with a kind of standard by which they could judge and criticize the papal Church. Furthermore, he gave to the monastic orders the right to consider themselves as the bearers of the spiritual Church, to affirm their independence from the Church of the Pope, nay, to consider it as the anti-Christ. In other words, the attitude toward the Church of the later Joachites, was contained in germ in Joachim's own teaching. This is true enough, but it is not altogether useless to remark that, on one hand, anti-papal and anti-sacerdotal currents were older than Joachism and on the other hand Joachim admonished his followers that obedience is worth more than sacrifice, and that the ecclesiastical authorities were always to be obeyed, even when one had received directly the light of the Spirit.[1]

Another useful addition to Joachite studies and the first to be published in the English language as a direct contribution to them, is Henry Bett's *Joachim of Flora* (London: Methuen and Co., 1931) a new volume of the series, *Great Mediaeval Churchmen*, edited by L. E. Binns. The first three chapters (pp. 1–66) deal with Joachim's life, writings, and doctrines. They are based mostly on Grundmann's work. Buonaiuti's edition of the *Tractatus* reached the author too late to be utilized save in a few notes, and his previous articles in *Ricerche Religiose* seem to have escaped Mr Bett's attention. His work, however, is remarkable for clearness of exposition and scholarly information as well as for some interesting additions to the historical background of Joachim's life and thought. A few inaccuracies are noticeable. To use the term 'Kingdom of the Two Sicilies' for the twelfth century is an anachronism. The Empress Constance is called (p. 14) a niece of king William II, while on the opposite page it is rightly said that she was the daughter of Roger II, which makes her the aunt of William. There is some doubt whether Raynerius the Cardinal is identical with Raynerius the Florensian disciple of Joachim (p. 13, note). On page 26, the remark is made that Joachim was a lover of music, which may have been true, but the evidence given for this statement is the famous passage of the *Expositio in Apocalypsim:* 'Qui vere monachus est nihil reputat suum nisi citharam.' As Professor Buonaiuti has remarked in the *Tractatus* (Intr. p. xiii, note 3), this passage was first quoted by Tocco isolated from its context

[1] It is true, however, that Joachim, with a great deal of optimism, was convinced that as soon as the new *Ecclesia spiritualis* would appear 'quasi de abditis presepii locis' the pope would open his arms; 'accipiet eum in ulnas fidei et dilectionis suae et pronuntiabit in eo esse illum vivificantem spiritum in quo est salus mundi' (*Tractatus*, ed. Buonaiuti, p. 86).

and later was chosen by Sabatier as one of the many mottos prefacing the various chapters of his *Life of St Francis*. In the context, however, the word *cithara* is not used by Joachim in its usual meaning of a musical instrument, but figuratively for 'operationem Spiritus Sancti in qua resonant tres chordae generales.'

The last four chapters of the book contain a fair account of the Joachite movement in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Here also, there is no lack of information and sufficient accuracy, but the chapters strike the reader more as a series of essays on episodes or personalities, with no attempt to present a unified and consistent view of Joachite history. The simple mention of Joachite influences on the Roman tribune Cola di Rienzo deserved a fuller treatment. We have now available an admirable edition of Cola's writings and letters (*Briefwechsel des Cola di Rienzo*, hrgbn. v. Konrad Burdach u. Paul Piur, Berlin, 1912–1929) and furthermore, a brilliant and scholarly biography by the same P. Piur (*Cola di Rienzo: Darstellung seines Lebens und seines Geistes*, Vienna, 1931), in which the spiritual background of the Tribune 'miles Spiritus Sancti et Amicus Dei' is thoroughly analyzed and the full extent of his Joachite ideas carefully weighed. Such as it is, however, Mr Bett's book will be very useful to English readers, and will take with advantage the place of Coulton's short account of Joachim among the 'Precursors of St Francis' (*Five Centuries of Religion*, II, 114 ff.) and of the longer but obsolete account by Lea in his *History of the Inquisition*.

To Joachism and the Joachite, due consideration is given by Miss Vida Scudder in her new book *The Franciscan Adventure: A study of the first Hundred Years of the Order of St Francis* (New York: Dutton, 1931). Being above all 'a study of the social implications in Franciscan history in the light of contemporary thinking,' Miss Scudder's work could not fail to notice the appealing suggestion of Professor Buonaiuti about the social motives behind Joachim's apocalyptic message. But the little space which the author could give to this subject, which is outside the chronological limits of her study, prevented her from making a more extensive use of the social and economic implications of the Cistercian movement in general and of Joachim's ideas in particular.

Apart from the pages dealing with Joachim and Joachism, which in their brevity are excellent and suggestive, Miss Scudder's work is a new and in many ways original historical interpretation of a conflict which assumed a special form among the early Franciscans, but which is also at the bottom of our social organization and our traditions. Social and economic problems, which are the inevitable result of our social and economic structure, have always been present and always have provoked conflicts, revolutions, and reactions. But, as Miss Scudder wisely remarks, 'the experiments of the

Christian social conscience, whether frustrated or triumphant, are entangled both with theological speculation and with personal religion.' This was especially true in that remote period, in which the young order of St Francis, after a long and dramatic struggle, had to sacrifice the ideals of its founder upon the altar of an intransigent ecclesiasticism. The historian of today, however, does not run the risk so much of minimizing the importance of the social implications and motives of movements like the Franciscan to the advantage of theological history, as he does that of going to the other extreme and making of the social and economic aspect of religious history the central and essential part of his historical reconstruction, thus overlooking the theological side. Miss Scudder is always aware of this danger, and even if, in the attempt to interpret Franciscan history in the light of modern thinking, she sometimes is carried a little too far in her conclusions, she never really loses sight of the essentially religious content and significance of the historical process, ideas, and aspirations that she so well analyzes with keen critical sense and with a remarkable wealth of information.

The same sense of measure and the appreciation of true historical values which have guided her in the long analysis of those hundred years of spirited conflicts in the Franciscan ranks, also mark her final conclusions as to the value of that historical experience in the light of our own needs and our own experience. After all, says Miss Scudder, 'it is in the sphere of private life that the old friars speak with most appealing inspiration and warning. The discussion, for instance, about the Poor Use was not wasted. They helped to maintain in the Christian world that delicate self-control towards the things of sense which was as desperately needed then as now. . . . No one has ever been able to define the Simple Life, which is a dry subjective affair and has its complications, but we may at least ponder the certitude of the Little Brothers that it is no mere matter of intellectual disposition, but involves outward standards too' (p. 386–387).

Harvard University

REVIEWS

JAMES L. CONNOLLY, *John Gerson: Reformer and Mystic*. Louvain: Librairie Universitaire, 1928. Pp. xx+408.

'THE desire to fit the life and lessons of Gerson into the needs of the twentieth century ought, we think, to be justification enough for the present work' (p. x). Few will disagree with the author's reasons for believing that his book may thus be justified. There is no more adequate study of Gerson in English than this dissertation; and the man deserves being distinguished from the company with which he is too commonly included. Few, however, will commit themselves for hours to find out how the work is timely; for Dr Connolly not infrequently has multiplied pages by saying in a hundred words what he might have said in fifty. Page 16 is devoted to an imaginary traveller's coming upon the town of Barby, near Rethel, and an iron cross marking the site of St Martin's chapel which served the people of the hamlet Gerson, where the mystic was born, as a place of worship. For all one knows these towns might be in England, because there is no mention in the author's text of the Diocese of Rheims in which they are situated. Some readers, too, may from the tone of his preface suspect that Dr Connolly has a thesis. His claims for Gerson at times seem very considerable, much as one esteems the man, his ideals, purposes, and, making allowances for the unusual times in which he lived, for what he said and wrote and did. Dr Connolly in the course of his work substantiates his claims for Gerson. There are admirable statements why Gerson is not to be counted with Wyclif and Huss as precursors of the Reformation (pp. 91, 92, 249); how he became a mystic to correct the evils of his day (Pt. 2, ch. IV). If, however, one did not read closely on page 47, Gerson would be regarded as a nominalist, quite under the influence of Occam and d'Ailly, his teacher. Hence, his recalling the Thomist Dominicans to a place in the University of Paris (p. 85), his attempt to bring philosophy back to realism (p. 235), and other statements would be hard to understand. Dr Connolly postpones his explanation to pages 286, 351–354, in which all becomes clear. These are faults of organization. Some other statements, however, are not substantiated. Could Gerson have been 'fully aware of the cause of all the disorder and evil that existed' in his day (p. ix)? If he was, Dr Connolly apparently does not take everything into account. Could there have been a connection between the movements in England and France which culminated in parliaments and the Conciliar movement in the Church? Huss does not appear as a nationalist. The bad effects of the Black Death on Church discipline and conditions, economic, social, psychological, etc., are not very directly noted (cf. pp. 6, 7). On page 144, Dr Connolly does refer to economic influences as

affecting fifteenth century life, but in a note he mentions a work on numismatics and Poête's *Une vie de cité*. Nevertheless, Dr Connolly does not lack insight. Witness his observations on preaching in the sixteenth and preceding centuries; on Gerson's being suspicious of women who had visions, e.g., St Bridget of Sweden, St Catherine of Siena, but not of his own French Joan of Arc (pp. 239–240). Not less keen, and very competent, is he in his substantial treatment of Gerson's system of mystic theology.

Very destructive of the effectiveness of the book are the oddly or ungrammatically constructed sentences and typographical inconsistencies and errors which are not noted in the *errata*. Only some can be mentioned. 'None were' (p. viii, line 3 from bottom); 'So that is not astounding that . . . the claims of the popes were disregarded, and themselves dethroned' (p. 2, lines 14–16); 'Not only that, but . . .' (p. 3, bottom); 'It was not without some who hesitated . . .' (p. 240). On page 278 there is a plural subject with its verb in the singular, which may be a printer's error. Does one 'wear a reputation' (p. 7)? *Wyclif* occurs on pages x, 90, but *Wiclif*, pages 3, etc.; *Flagellanti* on pages 5, 236, etc., but *Flagellants* on pages 234 and elsewhere; *St* Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure appear in the same sentence on page 78. *St* Bonaventure is given his title on pages 252, 259, 261, and denied it on pages 193, 226, 249, 286, 287, etc.; thus also, *St* Ignatius Loyola, pages 193, 200, and *St* Augustine, p. 287. *Prelates* is regularly capitalized; *nobles* is not (*passim*); *Clergy* and *clergy* occur on page 6 and elsewhere. Note also *inter alia*, *profited* (p. 2), *correspondance* (p. 31), the Gallicism *lanced* for *launched?* (p. 244). References in notes are sometimes not made explicit by the citing of page numbers (p. 14, note 1). The note numbered 5 on page 43 should be numbered 3.

F. J. Tschan,
Pennsylvania State College

N. Denholm-Young, *Cartulary of the Mediaeval Archives of Christ Church*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xiv+266. $7.00.

Though styled a cartulary, the volume is a calendar in English of the documents in the mediaeval archives of Christ Church. The documents are now divided into two groups. The main collection, which still belongs to Christ Church, was deposited at the Bodleian in 1927. A group which was for a time in the possession of Anthony à Wood constitutes part of the Bodleian collection of charters. Of the latter Mr Denholm-Young includes only those which relate to places mentioned in the documents of the first group. Many of the documents in both groups have been edited previously. Most of the originals relating to Oseney were published *in extenso* by Rev. H. E. Salter in his *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, copies of some of the originals which formerly belonged to the monastery of St Frideswide at Oxford appear in the

cartularies of that house edited by Rev. S. R. Wigram, and the documents in the second group have been calendared by Turner and Coxe. The present editor omits these from his calendar unless he can add something to the summary or copy previously printed. He supplies a useful concordance of the numbers assigned to the Oseney Charters in the archives of Christ Church with those given to them by Salter in his *Cartulary*.

The documents included by Mr Denholm-Young 'relate chiefly to the monasteries which were suppressed to provide for Cardinal College or Christ Church' (p. v). The bulk of them belonged originally to Oseney, St Frideswide, or Daventry, Wallingford, Ravenstone, Tewkesbury, Eynsham, Thame, Bolton-in-Craven, Holy Trinity of York, and the hospitals of St Leonard's, Clattercote, and St Wulfstan's, Worcester, are each represented by a few documents. Only one hundred and fifteen documents pertain to the two colleges.

The documents are mainly charters concerned with the grant, transfer, or lease of lands. Some of the other varieties represented, each in small numbers, are receipts issued by collectors of clerical taxes, manorial rolls, citations and records of suits, tithes, impropriations, and vicarages. The monastic documents range in date from the twelfth century to the sixteenth, coming in majority from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The documents dealing with the affairs of the colleges were issued at various times from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth.

The summaries of the editor appear generally to supply the pertinent information that a reader is likely to seek. There are some exceptions. It would be convenient, for example, to know for what taxes the various receipts were issued (pp. 10–12). With the names of persons and places the editor has taken much care. The numerous dates which he supplies are a particularly valuable addition.

W. E. Lunt,
Haverford College

A. Gardner, *Medieval Sculpture in France*. New York: Macmillan, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xix+491, 498 half-tones in text, and 113 pages of collotype plates. $18.00.

This beautiful volume, which one might expect to be a ponderous monograph, is in fact conceived as an unusually fine textbook, and it makes an immediate favorable impression by its convenient size, its good balance, the ease with which it may be handled, and its excellent presentation. Nor does this successful presentation raise unwarranted hopes, for the contents measure up to a high standard of scholarship. The need of a work of this kind on French mediaeval sculpture has long been felt by teachers and students of the subject. The method is not oppressively archaeological, so that many travelers who visit the French monuments entirely for their own sake will

be able to profit by Mr Gardner's labors. It is quite feasible to carry this book in one's luggage while making a tour of study, and I know of no other way in which such a quantity of carefully studied reference material and so many pictorial references (there are 638 illustrations in all) can be kept so conveniently at hand. The book will probably become standard.

It is quite clear that Mr Gardner has thoroughly assimilated the voluminous literature on his subject, and his ideas show the progress which has been made since the articles in Michel's *Histoire de l'Art* were written. The difficult decision as to the priority of the Cluny sculptures is made in favor of Mr Porter's thesis, which is slowly but surely gaining ground even among French scholars. Since Mr Gardner's text was written, additional evidence has come from the Cluny excavations to support his view. He also inclines toward an early date for the sculpture of St-Gilles in Provence, and here also, I understand, forthcoming studies will strengthen his case. With regard to the Saint-Denis jamb-statues he is hesitant, and inclines to believe that they were added to the portals after Suger wrote his description of the Church. Mr Gardner stresses the influence of Burgundy in this and similar portals, and this advances the work of giving this great school its due. The great Gothic works are fully treated, with copious illustrations. In the latter part of the book there is especially appreciative reference to the work of Claus Sluter and the carvers of the stalls of Amiens.

K. J. Conant,
Harvard University

A. H. Heusinkveld and E. J. Bashe, *A Bibliographical Guide to Old English. A Selective Bibliography of the Language, Literature, and History of the Anglo-Saxons* (Univ. of Iowa Humanistic Studies, Vol. iv, No. 6). Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1931. Paper. Pp. 153. $1.00.

G. P. Krapp, *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records: A Collective Edition. I, The Junius Manuscript* New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. lviii+247. $4.00.

John R. Clark Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.* 3rd edit. Cambridge, Eng.: University Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xv+437. American price $9.00. British price 30 sh.

No literature of the Middle Ages has been more carefully and intelligently studied than Old English; accordingly it is but natural, in view of the comparatively small volume of writings which has come down to us from pre-Conquest England, that the essential features of history and interpretation should be pretty well established, at least as far as the material at our disposal permits. Time, industry, and trained intuition will certainly clear up many minor and perhaps even major points which are still dark and whose correct interpretation will be of value alike to critic and historian, but of recent years little that is immediately striking in fact or theory has been discovered.

Nevertheless, amateurs of Old-English culture, history, literature, and language — the latter both for itself and for its intimate relation to the ever-moving stream of our mother-tongue — have not been idle, and among their post-war activities their most positive contributions seem to have been the ordering of existing material in practical and attractive form. The three works here under consideration, though differing widely from one another, fall essentially into this category. Heusinkveld and Bashe's *Bibliographical Guide* fills up far more completely than the authors' modesty will admit a serious gap which has long existed in the equipment of tools at the disposal of students and readers. It is about as complete as the first edition of a work of this sort could reasonably expect to be; it is intelligently and conveniently arranged; it is well indexed; it is selective yet almost certainly fulfills the authors' hopes 'that the materials actually listed will lead the student to all other works that have been deliberately or inadvertently omitted.' Contemporary Anglo-Latin literature and the interesting and 'coming' subject of place-names and personal names should be represented in the next edition. The new editions of Karsten (No. 18) in Fernand Mossé's translation, *Les anciens germains* (Paris: Payot, 1931), and Paetow (No. 146; New York: Crofts, 1931) are important enough for mention here. In the matter of the language much space has been saved by references to A. G. Kennedy's fine *Bibliography of Writings on the English Language* (Yale Univ. Press and Harvard Univ. Press, 1927), which together with the present work and the current bibliographies of the English Association place all past research at the immediate disposal of the veriest beginner.

Really attractive modern editions of Old-English poems are few and far between; it is, for instance, almost a scandal that no publisher has apparently been willing to print anything remotely resembling a 'library' edition of the *Beowulf* in the original text. This lack is now being filled by Mr G. P. Krapp's edition of the entire corpus of Old English poetry — frankly a rival to Wülker's reëdition of C. W. M. Grein's *Bibliothek*. The Junius Manuscript is the first to appear and with its judicious introduction, ample bibliography, restrained footnote apparatus of variants, and copious notes (pp. 161–247) augurs well for the Vercelli Codex, the Exeter Book, the so-called *Beowulf* Manuscript, and residual material to follow. To the bibliography of *Genesis B* (p. xlvi) can now be added the 1931 edition of Klaeber (with supplement). The volume is well printed and attractively bound; it is a pleasure to read in. It seems to the present writer more than a pity that the long vowels are not indicated — not, to be sure, with that typographical horror the grammarian's macron (tēne getrimede þæm he getrūwode wēl) but with the unobtrusive acute accent or apex (téne getrimede þæm he getrúwode wél). For the effect of this one need only examine Sir William A. Craigie's *Easy Readings in Anglo-Saxon* or turn to any page of a Modern Icelandic book:

Hann féll í október 1918. Þann dag var þvílík kyrrð og ró yfir öllu orustusvæðinu, að í herfregninni stóð aðeins þessi eina setning: Tíðindalaust á vesturvígstöðvunum.

There seems to me to be no question that this should be the procedure in printing Old English for reading (not necessarily grammatical) purposes; what the significance of the apex may have been to the Anglo-Saxon scribes is irrelevant here.

In connection with Krapp's edition of the Junius Manuscript mention may be made of the late Sir Israel Gollancz' beautiful collotype edition of the manuscript (Oxford Univ. Press, 1927) on which Krapp depends; if one reckons with a similar facsimile of the Exeter Book (Lund, Humphries and Co., London) which may be expected in the current year and with Max Förster's excellent facsimile of the Vercelli Codex, the only important single facsimile now needed to give us faithful reproductions of the major poetical texts is of *Cotton Vitellius A. XV* (complete!).

Hitherto it has been distinctly difficult, and especially for the beginner, to obtain a comprehensive view of the exceedingly rich vocabulary transmitted to us by the Anglo-Saxons, a round 20,000 words. The appearance of a third and to all intents and purposes completely new edition of the Clark Hall *Dictionary* goes far to remedy this since it gives us in a consecutive alphabet all known words with their most recent definitions, controlled by recent special publications. The inclusion of words from the twelfth century is a sensible and useful addition. A valuable little supplement lists some 200 words, mainly contributed by Max Förster but received too late to be incorporated in the main alphabet. If a fourth edition is ever undertaken, it is to be hoped that the numerous *ge*-compounds will be listed and defined in their proper alphabetical order; the significance and extensive use of this most important prefix (see, for example, the *NED* under *y-*, prefix) is almost completely lost under the arrangement of listing such words under the next following letter. The resulting economy does not seem to be worth the sacrifice in other directions. In its new garb the *Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* is without rival in its field, it will serve many useful purposes, and is a notable monument to the memory of its author.

Students of pre-Conquest England are at the moment in the remarkably comfortable position of having or of being about to have first-class bibliographies, editions of the poetry and the prose, facsimiles of the principal poetical manuscripts, dictionaries, grammars, and an interesting choice of introductory readers. They lack reproductions of the prose manuscripts (a facsimile of at least one of the Anglo-Saxon chronicles, for example, would be more than welcome for many purposes), a comprehensive treatise in syntax (Mr Callaway should be persuaded to undertake this) and word-formation, an English Old-English dictionary (the latter would do much to

emphasize the richness and flexibility of the pre-Conquest vocabulary), and an etymological dictionary (Clark Hall's numerous references to the *NED*, though extremely useful, are at best a make shift). Is the time quite ripe for a really satisfactory history of Old-English literature, including writings in Latin?

Much has already been done to fill out the picture of English culture before 1066, but much that is interesting both in gross and in detail remains to be done.

F. P. Magoun, Jr,
Harvard University

G. Recoura, *ed. and trans., Les Assises de Romanie*, with a foreword by Jean Longnon. Paris: Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, fasc. cclviii, 1930. Paper. Pp xxiii+350.

The *Assises de Romanie*, though they have long been available to scholars in the edition of Canciani,[1] have been rather generally neglected both by students of feudal law and of the Latin East; and even the best authorities on the states of Frankish Greece have been strangely unaware of the importance of this code of customs and usages of the Morea. Accepted generally as derived from the better known *Assises de Jérusalem*, little attention has been paid to them, and the present study is the first to emphasize their importance and critically to examine the text and the application of the laws. As Longnon says of them in his preface (p. xiii), they are 'un des plus anciens monuments du dialecte vénitien; et . . . un document capital pour l'histoire du droit en général, et en particulier pour les institutions et les mœurs de la Morée féodale.'

Recoura's edition is an example of the finest type of French scholarship. The text has been carefully established and a French translation faithfully made. In addition to the articles of the *Assises* themselves which form the body of the text, the editor has published in appendices several supplementary sets of laws which were added to the *Assises* in some of the manuscripts: the *Capitoli Azonti*, taken from Ibelin; the *Capitoli de Zuan Correr;* the *Capitoli sovra i villani;* and several other documents relating to the redaction of the *Assises* in 1453. To these Recoura had intended to add another appendix containing documents from the Venetian archives showing the application of the *Assises* in the Venetian colonial courts; but Longnon, in editing the work after the death of Recoura (who was drowned while swimming in Sicily in 1925, when still in his twenty-seventh year) saw fit, unfortunately, to suppress these documents through limitations of space.

In establishing his text Recoura followed the precepts of Bédier, selecting the best of the ten existent manuscripts and basing the edition on that with references to variations which occur in the others. Of the ten manuscripts,

[1] P. Canciani, *Barbarorum Leges Antiquae*, iii (Venice, 1785).

nine are derived from a single common source — the so-called *autenticum cancellarie* of Venice — which was sent to Venice shortly after 1421 and deposited in the Ducal chancery. Three of these manuscripts give the official edition of 1453, containing the supplementary articles; but two represent the older version. Of these two, Recoura selected the older, a manuscript now in the British Museum which formerly belonged to Lord North of Guilford and was acquired by him in the East, probably at Naxos, as it contains the *Usances de Naxos*.[1] The manuscript is dated 1423 and is apparently one of the copies made in Venice from the *autenticum cancellarie* and sent to the East.[2]

The results of Recoura's labors produced an edition differing but slightly from that of Canciani, who based his edition on a late fifteenth century Venetian manuscript, as Recoura himself points out. But the thoroughness of the present edition, the sound scholarship evidenced throughout, and the excellent critical apparatus more than justify Recoura's work. Further the convenient format of the volume and its availability should do much to bring from oblivion the text, which has for long remained buried in Canciani's folios.

In the historical and critical introduction which makes up almost half of the volume, Recoura begins by pointing out the neglect of the *Assises* by former scholars — an astounding chapter which heaps obloquy upon the heads of the foremost scholars of Frankish Greece. He then studies the formation of the *Assises* — the traditional legends concerning their redaction, the relation between the usages of the Latin Empire and those of the Morea, and the date of the redaction of the code — and the domain of application of the *Assises*. This is followed by a study of the official Venetian edition of 1453 and a long criticism of the manuscripts.

In the main the conclusions reached are commendably satisfactory, and certainly Recoura has cleared up much of the vagueness which involves the *Assises*. The use of the *Assises* in fifteenth century Negroponte, Cephalonia, and the isles of the Archipelago is demonstrated, and the history of the Venetian redaction of the code is established. But in the sections devoted to the dating of the original compilation of the *Assises* and to the relation of the customs of the Empire and the Morea, Recoura's arguments are not altogether convincing.

[1] Published by P. Viollet in the *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, I (1881), 610–614. Reëdited by Recoura, pp. 330–333.

[2] Four copies of the *autenticum* were made and were sent to the Venetian colonies in the East to be verified as the laws in use. The Negropontians had petitioned the Seignory that their customs might be made official law and had sent a copy to Venice. Copies were sent to the other colonies for verification. In 1453 an official edition was finally promulgated. Recoura, pp. 63–142, discusses the editions and manuscripts.

The general conclusions reached by Recoura are that the *Assises* were first written down, in their present old Venetian form, between 1303 and 1331. In my opinion he encounters several difficulties by insisting that the Venetian was the first written version of the code — difficulties which I do not feel he adequately overcomes. If he would admit an earlier written code most of these obstacles to the date of the present form would be easily overcome.

The date of 1303 Recoura accepts as the *terminus a quo* on the basis of the account in the *Chronique de Morée* of the quarrel between Philip of Savoy and Nicholas III of St Omer, in which the prince demanded of the baron where he found the laws which he was defending and the baron replied by drawing his sword and stating that by the sword the laws had been established and by it would be defended.[1] From this Recoura argues that there could have been no written code of laws at the time, a significance which I am not able to read into the episode. As well claim that there were no royal charters in the reign of Edward I when de Warren offered to defend his title to his lands by his sword! Especially is this significance of the episode open to question in the light of the earlier case which occurred in 1276 when William de Villehardouin confiscated the fief of Acova from Marguerite de Passavant by producing in the court the books of the laws and citing therein chapters which gave him the case.[2] Recoura seeks to discount this evidence of the existence of a code at this time by claiming that the author of the *Chronique* had before him a copy of the *Assises* and that he inserted the episode on the basis of the law before him. Several references to the laws and customs of the country which occur between 1276 and 1303, Recoura explains away as referring only to oral tradition and not to any written code,[3] an argument which he extends to all references to the *Assises de Romanie* either in the Empire or in the Morea before 1303.[4]

It is not the intention of the reviewer to insist that the code edited by Recoura was written before 1276. The inclusion of chapter III — an interpolation from the *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin* (which was written about 1266), the provisions of which, directly opposed to chapter 15, would have lost Villehardouin his case in 1276 — proves that the text as it stands was not in use in 1276. But I do think that there was a written text in use in 1276 and that it was the basis of the later text.[5]

[1] *La Chronique de Morée*, ed. J. Longnon, (Paris: Société de l'histoire de France, 1911), pars 860–866, pp. 341–43.

[2] *Chronique*, par. 519, p. 205. 'si fist apporter le livre dez usages; et prova par devant la court, par le teneur du chapitre . . . ' Chapter 15 of the *Assises*.

[3] In 1278, 1280, 1282, 1290, and 1301. The citations are all given by Recoura on pp. 38–39.

[4] References to code of Empire in 1229, 1269; to that of Morea in 1210; Recoura, pp. 32–35.

[5] The injustice of the trial of 1276 might well have prompted the barons to insert the chapter from Ibelin to prevent any future repetition of that case.

This theory would also eliminate the difficulties which Recoura does not satisfactorily meet concerning the citation of the *Chronique de Morée* in the preface of the *Assises*.[1] For if one can postulate a written code in use by 1276, it can be this code which was cited in the *Chronique;* while the text of the *Assises* as we now have them dates from a period shortly after the writing of the *Chronique*, which has been established by Longnon to have been between 1305 and 1331.[2]

I should then like to set up as a counter hypothesis to that maintained by Recoura that there was an earlier written code from which the present text was derived some time after 1311. This date is due to the fact that it was after that time that the Italians gained the predominance in the Morea, and therefore it would probably have been only after that date that the *Assises* would have been written in Italian. The earlier code I believe to have been written in French.

I should further be inclined to think that this code was, as Buchon concluded, given to the Morea by Emperor Henry in 1209 at the conference of Ravennika,[3] a theory which is strengthened by the letter of Innocent III in

[1] The preface of the *Assises* refers to the voyage of Baldwin II to the west, '*sicomo in lo Libro de la Conquista apertamente se declara.*' Recoura argues that it seems strange that the *Chronique*, the correct title of which is *Le Livre de la Conqueste de la Princée de l'Amorée*, should be cited for this event and not for all the others which the preface mentions which are equally mentioned in the *Chronique*, and that the reference is not to the *Chronique* but to the *Livre dou Conquest* or the *Livre d'Eracles*, the old French translation and continuation of William of Tyre. The account of Baldwin's journey does not occur in the accepted text of the *Eracles* and does in that of the *Chronique* (par. 84, pp. 26–27) but Recoura argues that there are two references to the *Livre dou Conquest* in the *Assises de Jérusalem* which must refer to the *Eracles* and that therefore it is to this work that the preface of the *Assises de Romanie* refers. He tries to bolster up the argument by showing that the reference to the *Eracles* in the *Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois* (of Jerusalem) cannot be found in the *Eracles*, and that there must have been some other text of the *Eracles* which might have included the reference to Baldwin as well as the unidentified reference in the *Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois*. But unfortunately for his argument the reference in the *Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois* is not only easily verified in the *Eracles* (Book XV, chap. XXVII, p. 701 of the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. II) but is even printed by Beugnot in a note to the chapter of the *Assises* (*Assises de Jérusalem*, II, 195).

[2] *Chronique de Morée*, pp. lxxiii-lxxxiv. The fact that an act of 1323–1325 was not included in the text of the *Assises* and was interpolated in manuscript *C*, which Recoura used to argue that the *Assises* had been written in their present form before that date, need not mean that they were written before that time but can be explained on the grounds that the text was meant to be a copy of the older code, and that the act was omitted intentionally as not forming part of the traditional laws and customs.

[3] The preface of the *Assises* says that it was given by Robert to Geoffrey de Villehardouin at the conference at Larissa, when Geoffrey married Robert's daughter and received from his father-in-law the titles of Prince of Achaia and of Grand Seneschal of Romanie, and the overlordship of the Archipelago, performing homage to the Emperor. (*Assises*, pp. 151–153.) The *Chronique de Morée* (par. 185, pp. 65–66) gives the same account, adding the right to coin

1210 complaining that the princes of the Morea have forced the clergy to submit to 'consuetudinibus ac institutionibus quas illic ipsi noviter creavere.'[1] One bit of evidence which Recoura seems to have overlooked is that found in the text of the *Assises* themselves which provide for a system of appeal from the court of the baron to that of the prince and from that of the prince to that of the Emperor,[2] a system of appeal which would hardly have been provided in a code which had its origin only after the fall of the Empire.

Nor is Recoura convincing in his arguments that there was no written code in the Empire. The preface of the *Assises* and the *Chronique* both state that the Emperor Baldwin sent to Jerusalem for a copy of their code and established it in the Empire. Recoura is right in affirming that the *Assises de Jérusalem* did not then exist (save perhaps for the *Livre au Roi*) but he does not prove that the general principles of the older Jerusalemite code, which was lost when Saladin took the Holy City, were not drawn up into a code for Constantinople by Raoul de Tiberias or some other Jerusalemite jurist who settled in the Empire. It can only be a conjecture, but Raoul might have laid the basis for the Imperial code on the older code of Jerusalem before Amaury I altered the feudal relationship. That Raoul was the greatest legist of Outremer at the end of the twelfth century is established by the *Assises de Jérusalem*, and we know that Amaury II asked him to head the commission to rewrite the old laws but that he refused and after a personal quarrel with the king fled to Constantinople. That the *Assises de Romanie* sharply differentiate between the *Liges* and the simple vassals might be a reflection of Raoul's personal antipathy to the attempt of the Jerusalemite monarchs to centralize the state by that process of immediatization which was expressed in the *Assise sur la Ligece* of King Amaury I.

In editing his text Recoura has performed an excellent work; in his historical introduction he has presented an interesting theory. While I have

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money. The account in the preface of the *Assises* would thus seem to have been derived from that of the *Chronique*. (Recoura says the opposite.) But this whole story is confused. For the right to coin money was not given till much later when St Louis bestowed it upon William de Villehardouin; the lordship over the Archipelago was not granted till 1236; and the title of Grand Seneschal was granted, in return for homage, in 1209 by the Emperor Henry to Geoffrey de Villehardouin according to the account of Henri de Valenciennes. (edited by de Wailly, Paris, 1874; pars. 669–670, p. 406.) (See W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant* [London, 1908] p. 86, note, for a criticism of the confusion of the *Chronique* concerning the conference.) J. A. C. Buchon in 1840 was the first to conclude that it was at Ravennika in 1209 that the *Assises* were given to the Morea. Longnon, (*Chronique*, p. 65) accepts this theory. (See Recoura, pp. 25–29.)

[1] Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, CCXVI, col. 338; Recoura, pp. 34–35.

[2] *Assises*, par. 143, pp. 249–250. While the mention of the Emperor in articles 1 and 196 would be applicable to a titular emperor, I do not think that that in 143 would be.

serious doubts as to the validity of the latter there can be no question as to the value of the work as a whole; and it is a cause of great regret that Recoura should have died at the opening of what promised to be a most brilliant career. If I have criticized rather freely his conclusions as to the origin of the *Assises* it has been merely that he presented his case so well that his theory becomes too plausible and needs to be seriously reconsidered before being either accepted or rejected.

John L. La Monte,
University of Cincinnati

Émile Renders (avec la collaboration de J. de Smet et L. Beyaert-Cartier), *La Solution du Problème Van der Weyden—Flémalle—Campin*, Bruges: Charles Beyaert, 1931. Paper. 2 vols., pp. 175, 93+58 plates. 600 Belgian francs.

Something like a score of paintings in Madrid, London, Paris, Dijon, Aix-en-Provence, Turin, Brussels, Frankfurt-am-Main, Berlin, Vienna, Leningrad, and elsewhere have now for a quarter of a century been ascribed to an anonymous master of Flémalle. Until the end of the previous century, these were all held to be from the hand of Rogier Van der Weyden (d. 1464). In 1902, Professor Hulin de Loo, following in the footsteps of other critics, finally advanced the theory that they might be by Jacques Daret of Tournai. But he soon decided that from the facts known about him Robert Campin was better entitled to the credit. This opinion met with such favor that in the National Gallery and the Musée des Beaux-Arts of Brussels these pictures of the Master of Flémalle are confidently ascribed to Robert Campin.

M. Renders has done an important service in subjecting the whole question to a searching criticism, and his results seem to be quite convincing. With the help of M. Joseph de Smet of the Archives de l'Etat in Bruges, the documentary sources relating to this theme have been carefully restudied. The records of the painters of Tournai contain entries regarding a Rogelet or Rogier de le Pasture who became an apprentice in 1427, and after five years, the usual time required from apprentices, a master painter in 1432.

Since 1867, everybody has followed the example of Alexander Pinchard, who assumed that this Rogelet de le Pasture was none other than the painter Rogier de le Pasture, or, as his name was translated into Flemish, Rogier Van der Weyden. But it is now shown by M. Renders that other entries in these selfsame records describe this latter painter, who was a native of the Tournaisis but stationed at Brussels, as being a master painter in 1426. It therefore appears beyond possibility of refutation that there were two painters of the same name who have always been erroneously regarded as one person.

On the assumed identity of the two Rogiers rests the representation that

an important school of painting flourished in the city of Tournai which exerted a very great influence on the Flemish school, celebrated because of the achievements of Hubert and John Van Eyck, of whom Rogier Van der Weyden may well have been a pupil. A protagonist of this view is the group of students led by the scholar M. Jules Destrée. Unfortunately they have injected into the discussion a definitely nationalist tendency, as have the Flemings to a certain degree. They have claimed for the Walloons a very significant share in the glories of Flemish painting. Their teaching has gained general adherence and has appeared as an accepted fact in many books. The work of MM. Renders and de Smet boldly challenges this view and clearly refutes the point that the master painter Rogier Van der Weyden of Brussels is the same as the apprentice Rogelet. Thus the supposition that a splendid school of painting flourished at Tournai appears to rest upon an erroneous interpretation of original documents.

M. Renders also essays to prove that the pictures ascribed to the Master of Flémalle, or rather to Robert Campin, are really from the brush of Rogier Van der Weyden. Unfortunately for the accepted theory, no work is positively known to have come to us from the hand of Robert Campin. M. Renders approaches the problem as a painter, and comes to the conclusion that the current view is untenable. By a careful comparison of the treatment of important details such as the hair, hands, feet, draperies, muscles, and facial expressions in the pictures certainly known to be by Rogier with those ascribed to Robert Campin he proves to his own critical satisfaction that these pictures must be assigned to the earlier years of Rogier Van der Weyden. The reader can readily follow the argument, for the author has placed side by side for the sake of comparative study photographs of parts of the paintings in question. Furthermore, details in the pictures ascribed to Robert Campin are to be found in those by Rogier. Architectural backgrounds are very definitely those found in Brabant, particularly in Brussels. For example, some details undoubtedly were drawn from the decorations of a church in Brussels, probably the south porch of the transept of Our Lady of the Sablon, which Rogier was abundantly able to study since he lived nearby.

Undoubtedly M. Renders' work materially advances the discussion of the problem. Flemish art as a cultural problem has not received the attention in English-speaking lands which it deserves. In Rogier's works we see what high development Gothic masters were capable of attaining independently of the artists of the Italian cinquecento such as Masaccio and his followers. The Flemish artists provide a very enlightening comparison with the humanist preoccupations of painters south of the Alps. Rogier's influence in the fifteenth century is undoubtedly more extensive outside Italy than that of any other master, excepting the Van Eyck brothers. M. Renders'

solution of the problem will exalt the position of Rogier Van der Weyden among artists of the fading Middle Ages, if critics in the future sustain his contentions which it seems almost impossible to overthrow. The study, which is dedicated to the late lamented Professor Des Marez, archivist of Brussels, and to the scabini of Brussels, is provided with many extraordinarily splendid reproductions in copper, and the paper and typographical execution are a model of excellence.[1]

HENRY S. LUCAS,
The University of Washington

J. E. SHAW, *Essays on the Vita Nuova.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1929. Paper. Pp. 236.

THESE essays treat of various subjects: the date of the *Vita Nuova*, the meaning of its title, the significance of the work, and the interpretation of certain controverted passages, such as: 'e che dirà ne lo inferno' and 'ego tanquam centrum circuli' and 'morràti morràti' and 'non è del presente proposito.'

The author shows an extraordinarily accurate and minute knowledge of the contemporary literature on these subjects. His book is a most reliable survey of all the suggestions, hypotheses, and guesses that have grown thick, in these last years, around this lovely little book. But he does more than survey; he plentifully contributes, undismayed by the unending array of contrasting arguments which he himself has masterfully reviewed.

Given the nature of the questions treated, his contributions could, naturally be nothing more than guesses issuing from the failure of previous guesses; up-to-date solutions, arbitrarily arrived at, of still indeterminate problems. Solutions that betray everywhere the author's unwillingness to stop before unsurmountable obstacles, his fondness for juggling possibilities into prob-

[1] The whole debate about the problem can be followed in the remarkable work by M. Jules Destrée, *Roger de le Pasture-Van der Weyden*, Brussels: Van Oest, 1930; cf. the same author's brief popular works *Van der Weyden* (*Roger de le Pasture*), Brussels: Kryn-Perché, 1926, and *Le Maître de Flémalle*, Brussels: Kryn-Perché, 1930; and his articles 'Roger Van der Weyden et le prétendu maître de Flémalle,' *La Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne*, LIII (Jan.–May, 1928), 1–14, 80–92, 137–152, LIV (June–Dec., 1928), 113–124, 169–180, LVI (June–Dec., 1929), 117–136. M. Renders has discussed his position in the following articles: 'A Master Wilhelm of Cologne and an Appeal to technical Art Critics for a Solution of the Enigma of the "Maître de Flémalle",' *Apollo, a Journal of the Arts*, VIII (1929), 4–8; 'The Riddle of the Maître of Flémalle,' *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, LIV (1929), 285–303; 'Rogier Van der Weyden,' *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXXII[e] Année, 2[e] semestre (1930), 10–25; (jointly with Frédéric Lyna) 'Le Maître de Flémalle, Robert Campin, et la prétendue École de Tournai,' *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXXIII[e] Année, 2[e] semestre (1931), 289–297. There is an important article by P. Jamot, 'Roger Van der Weyden et le prétendu Maître de Flémalle,' *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXX[e] Année, 2[e] semestre (1928), 259–282. For S. Reinach's objection and M. Renders' reply, see *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, LV (1929), 55–56.

abilities and these again into certainties, and his endeavor to apply would-be mathematical precision to subjects that do not admit of such rigorous treatment. I shall illustrate these points by three examples:

1. In the essay which bears the title 'Morràti, Morràti,' Mr Shaw wants to prove that these two words do not mean 'you will die' but rather: 'she will die.' Dante, as we may recall, is here describing his sickly nightmare (*Vita Nuova*, 23). After having thought of the inevitability of Beatrice's death, he sees in his dream faces of women which he describes as 'crucciati.' These women address to him the above words: 'morràti, morràti.' Ordinarily these words are understood to mean: 'you will die,' and Dante himself so interprets them in his prose comentary to the passage. Mr Shaw, however, is not satisfied with this explanation and naturally, in order to change it, must first dispose of Dante's commentary. This he does by attributing to the poet a conscious alteration of the meaning of the words. In the dream, the said ladies had actually appeared as jealous furies clamoring for the death of their fortunate rival, Beatrice. And Dante had so represented them in the poem. When, however, he came to write the prose explanation he felt ashamed of this scene of jealousy (how scrupulous!) and decided, in the words of Mr Shaw (page 138) 'to obliterate the one jarring incident of the dream.' Alas! in vain. For the searching ingenuity of a modern scholar was destined to frustrate the poet's falsification.

How did Mr Shaw discover this hitherto unknown trick of Dante? What enabled him to reconstruct this dramatic incident? And by what system of oneiromancy did he succeed in extracting out of what Dante calls the 'vain and fallacious phantoms' of the nightmare historical personages and true events? He does it all by rectifying the meaning of *crucciati* and rigorously deducing therefrom.

This true meaning of *crucciati* is shown by the democratic criterion of the majority of instances to be 'angry' rather than 'distressed' (page 136). Then the argument proceeds: Why should women be angry either in a dream or in real life? Naturally, because they are jealous. Why should they be jealous? Mr Shaw has ample data on the subject. 'It is evident,' says he on page 137, 'from the story and from other poems of the canzoniere, that there were women who had cause for jealousy.' And he proceeds to enumerate a few of these ladies and the reasons for their rancour. And, finally, being jealous *et avec cause*, what else could they do but 'be glad of her death'? (page 137). They express this vindictive joy by the words 'morràti, morràti' which must therefore mean '*you*'ll die.'

By postulating an exegetic mystification on the part of Dante, Mr Shaw has given us not only a new interpretation of the text but new biographical data as well, and the facts of an hitherto unknown sentimental crisis. Per-

haps some day he will find out who the other ladies of the dream are (the ones that are crying and wailing), and who the man is who announces the death of Beatrice.

2. My second example deals with the most important essay of the book, the opening one, in which the author is confident to have established more accurately the date of the *Vita Nuova*. His argument is as follows: It can be shown from Convito II, 12 that the *Vita nuova* is anterior to the Canzone *Voi che intendendo*. This canzone in turn can be dated. It belongs to August, 1293. It follows therefore that the *Vita Nuova* was written before August, 1293. How has the date of the said canzone been determined? As follows: Dante tells us (*Convito*, II, 2) that two synodical revolutions of Venus after the death of Beatrice, the Donna Gentile, appeared accompanied by Love. The problem now is to show that this 'apparition' is simultaneous with the writing of said canzone. And that is demonstrated as follows: The Donna Gentile, though indeed she had appeared before, was seen *to be in the company of Love* only at the time of the writing of said canzone. This chronological question therefore can be settled by proving first that before the time of the canzone the Lady had not been in the company of Love; and, second, that at the period of the canzone she was. The arguments adduced by Mr Shaw in order to prove the two sides of this metaphorically companionate *liaison* of Love and of the Donna Gentile are not, it seems to me, very conclusive.

Dante himself declares that the two *were* keeping company actually at the time when Mr Shaw says they were not. These are the poet's words (*Vita Nuova*, 35): 'Ben è con quella donna quello amore.' Mr Shaw replies that these words appear in the poem; yes, but not in the prose commentary — and what counts is the latter. As a result, we have the rather perplexing situation of Dante's affirming this companionship when writing the poem, denying it or somehow disclaiming it in the prose commentary, and again affirming it (under changed circumstances) in the *Convito*, as though it were happening for the first time. Mr Shaw asks us to ignore the first affirmation. We shall do so if it will help any, and also overlook Dante's retention of the assumed iteration.

But is it true that the prose commentary keeps Love and the Lady apart? Dante, again, seems to say *no* (ch. 35): 'E non puote essere che con quella pietosa non sia amore,' a very emphatic affirmation, couched in a very unmistakable 'modal' form. But Mr Shaw disagrees and tells us (p. 17) that 'this thought is not a certain conviction,' so that the argument of companionship is now shifted to one of 'certainty of conviction.' But what has conviction to do here? Surely something did happen between Love and the Lady. Dante tells us that it required a 'forte immaginazione' to destroy it, and it caused great repentance. What was this something? Mr Shaw tells

us (p. 21) that in the period of the *Vita Nuova* the Lady 'aroused nothing but "diletto," "piacere," "appetito," and "desiderio",' (do these ever, in Dante, fail to appear as concomitants of love?), and adds (same page) that 'she did not, at that time, obtain any hold upon the poet's *mente*, upon his rational soul.' By which we are to understand that all the sorrow and repentance at the close of the *Vita Nuova* are for an act which did not pertain to the rational soul but was limited to his 'sensitive soul.' Indeed, a novel kind of human psychology, fraught with extraordinary ethical possibilities.

And what would Dante say of this failure of the Donna Gentile to 'obtain a hold on the poet's *mente?*' If he did not think we were silly in engaging in this logico-erotical hair-splitting, he would tell us first to read Sonnet XXII of the *Vita Nuova*, in which addressing the said Donna Gentile, he writes: 'Gentil *pensero* che parla de vui sen vene a dimorar meco sovente E ragiona d'amor si dolcemente Che face consentir lo core in lui L'anima dice al cor: Chi è costui Che vene a consolar la nostra *mente*, etc.' He then would ask us if a 'noble thought' which discourses of 'love' and 'consoles the mind' is limited to the sensitive soul? And he would refer us to the prose commentary of said sonnet where he tells us that 'la battaglia dei pensieri vinceano coloro che per lei [the Donna Gentile] parlavano,' and ask us if it is possible that *pensieri* fail 'to obtain a hold on the *mente*,' or if their victory could possibly mean their defeat. Finally, quoting to us his words of *Convito* II, 2: 'E si come è ragionato per me nello allegato libello [the *Vita Nuova*] più da sua gentilezza che da mia elezione venne ch' io ad esser suo consentisse,' he would ask us if *gentilezza* operates by any chance on the 'sensitive soul' or if it is possible for a human being to give assent without the consent of reason.

In all this discussion Mr Shaw seems to lose sight of the elementary postulates of Dante's ethics. He forgets that everlasting duel between *libitum* and *licitum*, between our sense of duty and our sense of pleasure, which must continue until we reach the top of our sacred mountain and can proceed to dismiss our Virgil. In this struggle, Reason is often gagged by our *libido*, but never choked. For Dante, and for many others as well, Reason can be gagged only because she allows it, and without this assent on her part guilt, demerit, or repentance would have no meaning. In Dante's moral universe no human being can say that 'desires,' 'appetites,' etc., triumph without 'taking a hold of the human mind.' Of course Reason, after it has allowed itself to be bound, may again break its bonds and shudder at the sight of the former *voluntary* bondage. That is what happens at the close of the *Vita Nuova* when Reason, with the help of the God-sent 'forte immaginazione,' liberates itself and wins a battle which it had once lost 'vinceano coloro che per lei parlavano,' and which it had lost, because it had *wanted* to lose it.

Very little, therefore, can be said to prove the disunion of Love and the Lady in the *Vita Nuova*, which constituted the first part of the argument. Equally inconclusive are the reasons adduced to prove the second part, which should prove the said union of the two in the canzone *Voi che intendendo*. We have there the same struggle, the same victory. The two pivotal points of the argument seem therefore to be very arbitrary and far from justifying the statement (page 35) that 'the *Vita Nuova* was almost certainly composed between June, 1291, and August, 1293.' This may indeed be so, but does not follow from the arguments of the essay.

My third example of the arbitrariness of Mr Shaw's method deals with the question of allegorical interpretation, which, owing to its importance and to our incomprehension, can often be effectively played as a joker. Dante calls the literal meaning 'a beautiful *lie*' (*Convito*, II, 1, 3). He qualifies it (*Convito*, II, 12) as a 'parola *fittizia*' and fully shows it to be such. Yet with these statements before him, Mr Shaw can tell us (page 28) that *both* explanations (the allegorical and the literal) were *true* for him, (Dante), and proceed to build his argument in conformity, as he believes, with Dante's intention, while negating this very fundamental statement of the poet.

* * * * *

The competence which Mr Shaw gives evidence of in dealing with contemporary Dantesque literature is far greater than his familiarity with what we might call the scientific side of Dante's scholarship.

I shall give one example: viz., his astronomical remarks on pp. 40 ss., and emphasize it, because it is incomprehensible that he should give so many pages to this science, build so much on its data, criticize so vehemently other people for their mistakes, and at the same time show such a complete lack of familiarity with its elements.

In discussing the question as to whether the ancient astronomers had any notion of a 225-day (sidereal) revolution of Venus, he remarks (page 41) that if the ancient astronomers 'say nothing of this period of 225 days which is so interesting to the modern mind, it is probably because it had no particular significance for them. Had the matter been quite clear to Ptolemy, and had he pondered it sufficiently, he might have been led to discard the epicycle of Venus and present her with a simple orbit *revolving about the earth* once in 225 days.'

It is disturbing to see the great scientist of antiquity so superciliously lectured by one who, not suspecting the complexity of the problems that faced him and the genius with which he solved them, candidly tells him to commit a blunder that anyone could avoid. For with the sun moving around the earth in 365 days, how could Venus, when made to revolve around the earth in 225 days, maintain itself within the 46th degree distance from the sun, as it is always observed to do?

And when, on page 41, Mr Shaw states that 'it could be *observed* that after 225 days Venus *returned* to a previous position with regard to the fixed stars,' he is evidently trying, as philologians are wont to do, to get scientific information out of the etymology of words (sidereal, in this case), but not very successfully. For the man in the sun would indeed be able to make the said observation, but as far as we terrestrians are concerned Venus is *never* 'observed to return to a previous position in regard to the fixed stars in 225 days.'

And as to the doubt whether the 225-day revolution of Venus meant anything for the ancients, it is obvious that even a child could, from the then known data, have made the elementary calculations which give the 225 days. All that was needed was to multiply the time of the synodical revolution of Venus (584 days) by a fraction whose numerator is 365 days and whose denominator is 365 days plus said synodical revolution (584 days). But such a step could be taken only by one who was already started on a heliocentric hypothesis; in other words, Ptolemy could easily have done it if he had been Copernicus; Aristarchus or even Heraclides might have, if they had been Ptolemy.

On page 42, speaking of the moon's epicycle, Mr Shaw again makes a serious break when he states that 'for the moon Iacopo gives 19 years.' Weak though he was in astronomy, this son of Dante yet knew enough not to make such an elementary blunder. Here are his words (chap. xv of *Il Dottrinale*):

> In anni dicennove
> La luna a puncto muove
> il suo cerchiare *oblico*
> con quel dell' *epicico*,
> per cui regola è facta
> che si chiama la Pacta.

As is obvious from the text, Iacopo speaks of *two* motions, that of the epicycle and that of the oblique deferent, which two (as he thinks) bring a lunar phenomenon back to the same point after 19 years. Iacopo speaks here not of the revolution of the epicycle but of the decennoval or metonic cycle, at the end of which the new moons return to the same degree of the Zodiac as 19 years previously. And that the epact (Pacta) is determined by this cycle, if any one did not know it, could be seen by referring to Sacrobosco's *Computus Ecclesiasticus*, chapter 'De Aetate lunae . . . et cyclo decennovenali'; and also chapter 'De aetate lunae aliter invenienda,' in paragraph beginning 'Primus igitur Cycli decennovenalis epactam, etc.'

Another side of scientific scholarship which Mr Shaw should approach with greater prudence is text criticism. I have noticed among the few Latin passages of the book some phrases stamped by Mr Shaw as erroneous by a scornful *sic*, which yet seem to me to be correct; and others which should

have been questioned and were not. So, for instance on page 166 we read: '. . . declarando michi qualiter ipsa domina erat anima olim generose domine *Beatrice* filie condam domini [ ] quosiquidem intellecto. (sic) Respondi etc.', where the criticized words are perfectly all right. For *intellecto* is here the participle in abl. abs. construction with *quo*, which should be separated from the *siquidem*, which latter word is here used in its normal mediaeval meaning. And naturally the period should be removed before *Respondi*, which is the main verb of the sentence beginning with *quo siquidem*. And if anyone could possibly have any doubt, all he has to do is to turn to the mediaeval Italian translation of the passage quoted by Mr Shaw on the same page, which says: 'la quale cosa poi ch'ebbi, etc.' On the other hand, *Beatrice* of the above quoted text cannot stand, the genitive being required.

Dino Bigongiari,
Columbia University

J. W. Thompson, *The Middle Ages*. New York: Knopf, 1931. Two volumes. Cloth. Pp. xxx+1069+xliv. $12.50.

To write a general history of the Middle Ages even in a thousand pages has become a very difficult task, much more onerous than it was twenty or thirty years ago. This task requires unusual skill, long and painstaking work, an almost encyclopedic knowledge, and above all a good deal of courage. For this accomplishment Professor Thompson deserves unstinted credit. His attempt to supply a detailed narrative and description of the various aspects of mediaeval history and to lead us through an analysis of political, ecclesiastical, social, and cultural developments to a complete and organic synthesis of mediaeval civilization has, at least in part, been carried to a successful realization. We are also giving the scholarly author only his due in remarking that historical events and institutions which in so many books degenerate into dry and inert material for dissection assume, in Professor Thompson's work, a new life and color by virtue of his vivid narrative style, of a certain warmth which pervades its pages, and of his remarkable ability for dramatization, combined with a charming human and even sentimental touch which enlivens his exposition.

It is of course almost impossible to do full justice to the material comprised by fifteen centuries of the most complex and involved history. In examining a work of this type, no reviewer aware of his personal limitations can afford to disregard this truism. Sins of omission and commission are to be expected; slips of attention are inevitable. Errors in judgment are likely to occur concerning matters for which the author must rely on second-hand information. But when the ledger posts the assets of Professor Thompson's work to offset its liabilities, the soundness and utility of his enterprise cannot be contested.

While it is perhaps unjust to single out an isolated portion of Professor Thompson's work for detailed criticism, we cannot escape the impression that his chapters dealing with ecclesiastical history, doctrines, and institutions, all of which possess primary importance in mediaeval life, are comparatively the least successful section of his entire work and actually require careful revision. To avoid undue extension of the present review, it seems desirable simply to list the more serious inaccuracies and questionable statements contained in these chapters alone in the order in which they appear in the book.

According to Professor Thompson, the expansion of Christianity 'in the upper strata of Roman society seems to have been very rapid' (p. 32). Such is not entirely the case: the rare names of 'aristocratic' Christians, some of them doubtful and most of them female, suggest the opposite conclusion. According to Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.*, v, 21), Christianity made headway among the Roman aristocracy only during the reign of Commodus, and even then mostly among women (cf. Hippolytus, *Philosophoumena*, ix, 12). The Roman senatorial and intellectual classes remained pagan in considerable numbers almost up to the end of the Western Empire.

The author's outline of the institutions of early Christianity is relatively meager and derives to some extent from a distorted perspective. These institutions have a meaning in the general history of the Middle Ages only if described in the process of development which leads to the later phases of their evolution. To present them as institutions with fixed characteristics uniform everywhere is conducive only to erroneous appreciations in later periods. Institutional diversity rather than uniformity was peculiar to early Christianity. Generalizations such as the following: 'The *civitas* was the seat of the bishop and the first dioceses were identical with the provinces. . . . Wherever there was a *flamen archiereus* there arose an archbishop; wherever there was a *flamen civitatis* there arose a bishop' (p. 32) are bold and precarious. In the ancient Church each Christian community, however small, usually had a bishop. In Roman Africa alone, there were several hundred episcopal sees. The early name for an episcopal district was παροικία, not *diocesis*, and the term 'archbishop' as applied to the ancient period is an anachronism. Nor is it accurate to assert that the *Chorepiscopi* were 'itinerant rural priests' (p. 33). This is a moot question, but there is no doubt that they were bishops, originally perhaps of small places, who gradually lost their autonomy to bishops of nearby cities. Canon 57 of the Council of Laodicea (380) forbade the ordination of bishops for small places and suggested the delegation thither of *periodeutai* or 'itinerant priests.' The chorepiscopate survived, however, but with varying character in the diverse countries and periods of its existence. No less questionable is the statement that 'in the fourth and fifth centuries country priests received the charge,

hitherto reserved for bishops, of administering baptism and hearing confessions' (p. 33). Even in cities, presbyters administered baptism and penance considerably before this date. In case of need, even deacons could perform these functions (cf. *Constitutions* of Hippolytus; Tertullian, *De Baptismo*, 17; St Cyprian, *Ep. 18:* 'si presbyter repertus non fuerit, et exitus urgere coepit, apud diaconum quoque exomologesim facere delicti sui possint, ut manu eius ad poenitentiam imposita veniant ad Deum in pace'). But here again, we must not generalize as if there were uniformity of practise in the whole Church.

Turning to doctrinal controversies, Professor Thompson remarks; 'For the most part these controversies are fortunately too remote from the ordinary course of historical events to require treatment' (p. 36). 'When doctrine, however, involved polity, as it did in the fourth and fifth centuries, some historical explanation becomes necessary' (p. 36). We regret to remark that such historical explanation as he offers even for this period is altogether unsatisfactory, being based for the most part on wrong premises and betraying a certain lack of information. Of the whole doctrinal development of the first three centuries practically nothing is said; it is merely summarized in the single sentence: 'The Montanists of Phrygia and the Donatists of Africa were powerful local Christian sects, but their influence had little extension beyond the provinces from which they emanated' (p. 37). This is true in part of Donatism, but not of Montanism, which spread from Phrygia throughout practically all other Christian centers. To overlook that there were Montanist groups in Rome, Africa, and elsewhere, and that Montanism affected the Church considerably in both its beliefs and its institutions, is a very serious slip.

No less deplorable is the complete misunderstanding of the Arian controversy. It is an historical anachronism and a doctrinal misstatement to present the situation in Professor Thompson's terms: 'These [two camps] were the orthodox group led by Athanasius, archdeacon of the Church of Alexandria, and the Arians, so-called from Arius, a deacon in the same Church. Both were profoundly versed in speculative theology and typical exponents of the Alexandrian school. The followers of the first were trinitarians; those of the second may be called unitarians' (p. 37). It seems almost impossible to accumulate more inaccuracies in the space of three short sentences. Being only a young deacon at the time, Athanasius was not the original leader of the anti-Arian opposition. At the Council of Nicaea he was a secondary figure; it was only after his election as bishop that he became the target of the Arians and the most able defender of orthodoxy. It is, however, inaccurate to call the orthodox party the 'Athanasian' party even after Athanasius became a prominent figure. Arius himself was not a deacon, but a presbyter. To call him a 'representative of the Alexandrian school' is also

wrong. A native of Lybia, Arius was a disciple of Lucian at Antioch, and represented the Antiochean school. The Arian controversy was precisely the outcome of the divergent tendencies of the Antiochean and the Alexandrian schools. Finally, to call the Arians 'unitarians' is misleading as to the fundamental position of Arianism and of the controversy itself. Professor Thompson also repeats the famous assertion that the difference between orthodoxy and Arianism was a single letter (iota) in the two words *homoousios* and *homoiousios*. For a long time historians of Christian doctrine have been protesting against this same misstatement, and have shown that the term *homoiousion* came into use more than twenty-five years after Nicaea, and it was not the catchword of the Arians but of what are known as semi-Arians. But who reads their works?

Contrary to Professor Thompson's statement (p. 39), it was not Eusebius of Nicaea but Eusebius of Nicomedia who baptized Constantine. To assume that if Constantine had lived longer 'the orthodoxy of the future would have become Arianism instead of Athanasianism' is a rash judgment for which history offers no justification. As a matter of fact, Constantine could not have done more for Arianism than his successor Constantius actually did between 350 and 360, and there is reason to believe that he would not have met with the same resistance. There was, indeed, much more than a doctrinal controversy at the bottom of the Arian question. In the last analysis, the teaching of Arius led to a process of rationalization of faith which would have destroyed the mysterious supernatural character of revealed truth. This process in its turn would have taken away from the Church, as an institution, its supernatural character as an agency of salvation and a channel of grace and of charismatic powers, with the consequent loss of even the *raison d'être* of its hierarchical organization and of its sacramental system. Then as later, the Church had no choice but to oppose a stubborn resistance to an attempt of this kind in view of the vital question involved.

Of subsequent doctrinal controversies nothing more is said in the chapter under discussion. We do, however, find in it a strange statement to the effect that 'monasticism was never tinctured with heresy' (p. 42). Nestorianism and Monophysitism are mentioned in the Chapter on the Byzantine Empire, and the latter is termed 'a new form of older Arianism' (p. 140) which, as far as Monophysitism is concerned, is a rather surprising notion.

With respect to the institutions described in Chapter II, the author's contention that under the Christian Emperors Church property was wholly exempted from taxation is not entirely accurate. Valentinian's decree of 439 (which was not the first of its kind) forbidding persons of wealth to enter holy orders was not intended to prevent them' from escaping the payment of taxes on their property' (p. 47), but rather to deter them from deserting the class of the *curiales*, to which they belonged, and from thus avoiding its

obligations. The barbarian kings also put severe restrictions on the recruitment of the clergy among freemen obligated to military service, and it seems that the bishops of Gaul occasionally used to ordain to the priesthood slaves who thus became free. This practice does not, however, signify that the Church 'recognized in the bishops the *right* of ordaining slaves without the consent of their masters,' as Professor Thompson states, purporting to quote a Canon of the Synod of Orleans (511). The canon in question correctly understood does not recognize this right; on the contrary, it imposes upon the guilty bishop the heavy penalty of paying to the slave's master double the price of the slave thus ordained. Of course, the validity of the ordination was recognized, but this was a theological question.

The author's statement that the reproduction of the Verona palace on a *coin* of Theodoric 'is the oldest and most authentic representation of the architecture of the Goths' (p. 118) is also rather puzzling. What we actually have here is only a *seal* of the late twelfth century which shows a castle with two pointed towers and a portico in the foreground. This has been thought to represent Theodoric's palace, but the dome and the towers are probably Carolingian. At any rate, it is somewhat far-fetched to speak of Gothic architecture in this connection, if such indeed is the implication of Professor Thompson's observation. The earliest date of the *Lex Romana Wisigothorum*, which is attributed to the year 506 (p. 134), must be brought back to the reign of Euric (466–485).

Whether Justinian's policy toward the popes was 'singularly open and liberal' (p. 135) depends on the point of view of the writer; very likely Pope Silverius, who was violently deposed (537), and his successor Vigilius, who paid dearly for his connivance at the crime in that he later suffered prison and exile, would not share Professor Thompson's optimistic view. It seems also rather too generous to credit Justinian with the expansion of Christianity 'along the Malabar coast' (p. 136), when the work was actually done by the persecuted Nestorians outside the Empire. We miss, however, any mention of Justinian's Pragmatic Sanction, which is so important for the grant to the Italian bishop of the right of supervision over the municipal and provincial administration.

Alboin, the first Langobard king, was bad enough, but there is no evidence that he 'drank Kunimund's blood from his skull' (p. 168). What Paul the Deacon says is that Alboin at a banquet drank *wine* from Kunimund's skull, an ancient Langobard custom, and with cruel irony forced his wife Rosamund, the daughter of Kunimund, to drink also 'with her father.' The opinion that the Langobards in Italy 'took all the land, reducing the proprietary class to dependency and thrusting down the body of peasantry to a worse condition of serfdom' (p. 171) is more than questionable. Paul the Deacon's *History of the Langobards*, our only source on this point, says that

many Roman nobles were murdered 'ob cupiditatem,' and that the others, 'per hospites divisi, ut tertiam partem suarum frugum Langobardis persolverent, tributarii efficiuntur' (II, 32). Though this passage is somewhat obscure and is variously interpreted by German and Italian historians, there is no doubt that the confiscation 'of all the land' is clearly excluded, for the landowners who were not killed had to give only a third of their crops to the conquerors who settled among them as *hospites*. Furthermore, the theory that the peasantry was reduced to slavery (the German interpretation) is far from convincing, and has been stoutly opposed by Italian scholars.

The author's reference to the protest made by Pope Gregory I to the Emperor Maurice on the promulgation of the latter's new law concerning monastic institutions (p. 175) also requires revision. The law did not 'curtail the endowments of the monasteries,' but forbade the admission to the clergy of functionaries in the public administrations; it was an old law going back to the times of Constantine and sanctioned by the Church in two decretals of Pope Innocent I (404). Pope Gregory made no objections to this part of the new edict, but protested against the other provision of the law which prevented soldiers from becoming monks. It is, however, not quite exact to say that in this connection 'the Pope's wrath broke forth.' On the contrary, the Pope's letter is written in the most submissive terms. 'Iure privato loquor,' says Gregory, because 'dominis tacere non possumus.' He begs the Emperor to withdraw the law, but at the same time he asserts that he has done his duty in carrying out the order and in communicating it to the bishops: 'Ego quidem iussioni subiectus eandem legem per diversas terrarum partes transmitti feci.' He then concludes his observations by saying: 'I have done my duty towards both: to the Emperor I have shown my obedience, and as far as God is concerned, I have not hidden what I thought.' This is certainly not the language of an outburst of rage. Neither does historical evidence justify the allegation that Gregory 'endeavored, though *unsuccessfully*, to extend the appellate jurisdiction of the papacy over the eastern bishops' (p. 175). To mention only one instance in which the See of Constantinople was involved, Gregory once received an appeal from two priests condemned in a synod by the Patriarch, and requested the latter to send to Rome the *gesta* of the synod. After some delay, the Patriarch complied with this request, thus recognizing the jurisdiction of the Pope. As a result, the two priests were reinstated. In this connection it would have been useful to mention the controversy over the title of Oecumenical Patriarch assumed by the bishop of Constantinople and energetically condemned by Gregory.

Among the praises bestowed by Professor Thompson upon Gregory for his ability as an administrator of the patrimony of the Church, we find the

remark that 'the lot of serfs and slaves was there at least as bad as that of those on lay properties,' and further, that Gregory's 'treatment of peasantry on the Church lands was harsh' (p. 178). We do not know upon what evidence these statements are based, for Gregory's letters give a different impression. In his answers to appeals against abuses by the *conductores*, the Pope almost always takes the side of 'rustici nostri' against the former. He bids the *rectores* to indemnify the *coloni* in the amounts taken from them, and insists on the principle: 'nos sacculum Ecclesiae ex lucris turpibus nolumus inquinari.' Furthermore, in many letters Gregory authorizes large distributions of victuals and money to the poor of the various localities, for after all he considered himself and his representatives as 'dispensatores in rebus pauperum.' It is hard to believe that a man following such a policy could have been harsh to his coloni and slaves. Obviously he was not an easy-going master; he expected everyone to do his duty and followed closely all details of the administration, but there is no instance of his unfair or unjust treatment of the peasantry of the patrimony.

Mentioning that at the Roman Synod of 731 there were present ninety-three western bishops and also many nobles, the author comments as follows: 'Church and State, the Church and feudalism, were too interwoven to permit of separation of the two classes' (p. 182). To speak of feudalism in Rome at that period seems rather premature, but this observation is evidently dependent upon another statement found on p. 173 to the effect that 'Byzantine Italy exhibits one of the most curious origins of feudalism.' We do not know exactly what is meant here by 'feudalism.' The weakening of the Byzantine power resulted not in the creation of what could be called a feudal régime, but rather in the rise of local autonomous administrations in which the citizens formed the army. We might, if anything, see in these new political bodies the forerunners of the latter *communi*. As a matter of fact, several of them developed into republics or into almost republican organisms. On the other hand, feudalism in the strict sense remained unknown in Southern Italy up to the time of the Normans. If, however, the term 'feudalism' refers to the military aristocracy which, especially in Rome and its district, very soon came to play an important rôle, the term ought to be explained and the origin and character of this aristocracy outlined.

The chapter on the Temporal Power of the Popes is perhaps one of the weakest of the whole book. The policy of the popes is made to hinge upon the motive of political ambition and territorial greed; other motives far more important are passed over in silence. A little more attention to the real situation with which the popes were confronted would have better explained the genuine motives behind the papal policy. The author relies too little on the sources. Otherwise, he would not have said without any reservation that there are 'singular analogies of language and sequence of identical

ideas between the Donation of Constantine and the Pact of Kiersey' (p. 186), for the simple reason that we do not possess the text of the latter. The passage of the *Liber Pontificalis* in the life of Hadrian which is supposed to reproduce its content is, as Professor Thompson remarks in another chapter (p. 243), an unreliable document, so much so that Charlemagne did not carry out its provisions.

The secularization of ecclesiastical lands was practised without scruples by the Merovingian kings, but to assume that 'it was a theory of public law that the king had eminent domain over the Church's possessions' (p. 217) is not warranted by any evidence. As a matter of fact, the Merovingian kings at times disposed freely even of non-ecclesiastical properties, transferring them from their legitimate owners to other persons. Such action was an exercise of abusive power, for these lands were neither part of the royal fisc nor in any way connected with royal domains. As Lesne (*La Propriété ecclésiastique en France*, I, 448) remarks: 'Les rois ne croyaient pas être en droit d'user specialement des biens d'église, mais ceux-ci n'échappaient pas au sort commun.' The opinion that from the Frankish period the kings claimed a *dominium regium* over ecclesiastical properties is based upon an erroneous interpretation of a canon of the Synod of Paris of 556.

The author is excessively severe in his treatment of monasticism (Chapter IX), looking at its principles and practices from a modern and somewhat hostile point of view. The dark side of its history and its ascetic exaggerations are well enough emphasized, but nothing is said of its religious and social significance. The reader carries away the impression that monasticism, especially in the early period, was a mere matter of hysterics. That St Basil had 'an intuitive perception of the economic power of monasticism' (p. 221) in the sense that he 'actively promoted the endowment of monasteries' is against all evidence. His rule is much more severe than the author implies. To speak of monasticism as of 'a new type of clergy, the regular clergy' (p. 222) in that early period is to anticipate the events of several centuries. To call Rufinus 'Jerome's secretary' (p. 227) is an exaggeration. On the same page, mention is made of St Placidus' attempt to establish a monastery in Sicily; the fact is doubtful and the account of it is wholly legendary. The rule of St Benedict, briefly mentioned on the same page, deserves a larger and a more adequate treatment. It is strange to read (p. 228) that Gregory I was 'educated in the Monastery of St Andrew's in Rome,' after the author had rightly mentioned a few pages before that the monastery of St Andrew had been founded by the same Gregory after he was Prefect of Rome. As a rehabilitation of monasticism, however, we find several good pages on the Irish and English monastic institutions and their missionary work.

Very important is the question which the author raises by the assertion than in the year 776, after the rebel Lombard dukes were defeated by Charles, 'their institutions and their laws were abolished,' and that 'in culture-history this is a long reach towards the prevalence of territorial law' (p. 243). That the institutions were changed and that Frankish counts superseded the Lombard dukes is true; it is true also that Frankish laws and especially the *Lex Salica Emendata* and the *Pactus Legis Ripuariae Temporibus Caroli Renovatus* were introduced into Italy as a consequence of the presence of a new Frankish element in the Italian population. But the assumption that Lombard law was abolished and that this was a step toward the prevalence of territorial law is altogether without foundation. The personal character of the laws remained unchanged, and during the Carolingian period we have plenty of evidence of the coexistence in the various Italian regions and ethnical groups not only of Frankish and Lombard laws, but also of the *Lex Gundebada*, of the *Lex Visigothorum*, of the *Lex Alamannorum*, and of the *Lex Baiuwariorum*. A capitulary of Pippin, king of Italy, states; 'Ubicumque culpa contigerit unde faida crescere potest, pro satisfactione illius, contra quem culpavit, *secundum ipsius legem* cui commisit emendet' (*Cap.* XCI, 5). In 792 Charlemagne, insisting upon the point that 'unusquisque homo *suam legem* plene haberet conservatam,' gave order to his *missi* 'per singulos inquirere qualem legem haberet ex nomine' (*Cap.* XXV, 5). The personal law applied also to the possessions, and it was a principle of the jurisprudence of the time 'ut Langobardus et Romanus successiones iuxta suam legem haberent.'

The restoration of the imperial dignity in the West in the person of Charlemagne and his coronation on Christmas Day (A.D. 800) are very well described (pp. 259–263), and their significance and implications well illustrated. But still to call the Empress Irene an 'iconoclast' as late as 800 is a serious misstatement, for it ignores that it was Irene who in 787 called the second council of Nicaea, which with the intervention of the Papal legates, reëstablished the cult of images in the East. It also seems unjustified to assume that 'feudally the pope was a vassal of the king who conquered the Exarchate and gave it to him' (p. 265). This claim, which we find in almost the same words in Napoleon's edict deposing Pius VII, has no historical basis. To apply to the Donation of Pippin the principles of feudal law is an anachronism, and there is no hint in the sources that any relation of feudal vassallage was established between the king and the pope.

The chapter (XV) on the Mediaeval Church (858–1075) covers a great deal of ground and will prove very useful to students, though here too there is no lack of challengeable general assumptions and of errors in detail. Such a statement as: 'the priesthood was invested with a sacerdotal character

not attached to it before, through the doctrine of transubstantiation' (p. 423) is indefensible. Important as it was, the theological question of the Transubstantiation was not the source of the 'sacerdotal character' of the priesthood, which was based on the general sacramental system going back to the ancient Church. The passage dealing with the 'creation' of the college of cardinals in 1059 needs revision. The term *cardinalis* was from the fifth century used of every clergyman permanently attached to a church, and the Roman *cardinales* were merely the clergymen holding offices in the Roman churches. It was not the first time that the election of the pope had been entrusted to them and to the suburbicarian bishops, to the exclusion of the laity. Such a system had been introduced in 769, and remained in vigor up to 824, when it was abolished by the *Constitutio Lotharii*. The decree of 1059 was, with few changes, a renewal of the synodal decision of 769. The cardinal-bishops played the most important part in the selection. Strangely enough, the author says that these cardinal-bishops were 'not actually bishops' (p. 435), though immediately thereafter he gives the names of their episcopal sees. Was it not the cardinal-bishop of Ostia who had the right to consecrate the new pope? And how could he perform an episcopal consecration without being himself a real bishop? The suburbicarian bishops were actually bishops, as they are now. It was only in March 1932 (and thus very recently) that the administration of those dioceses was united to that of Rome. Furthermore, the decree of 1059 does not limit the number of cardinals to 'seven cardinal-priests and twelve cardinal deacons' beside the cardinal-bishops. It says merely, 'mox sibi *clericos cardinales* adhibeant.' These *clerici cardinales* were the presbyters, deacons, and subdeacons of the Roman Church; sometimes even *clerici* in minor orders were computed among the *cardinales*, as in the act of election of Gregory VII which says: 'Congregati in Basilica beati Petri ad Vincula, nos sanctae et apostolicae Ecclesiae cardinales clerici, acoliti, subdiaconi, diaconi, presbyteri, presentibus venerabilibus episcopis, etc.'

A rather serious slip is the statement which attributes to Gregory VII the institution of the papal 'protection' and the payment of the *census* (p. 436). The *census*, which had its origins in *terrae censales*, was as old as the ecclesiastical patrimony itself; the *census* dependent upon the grant of *tuitio* or upon the *recommendatio* had been long in existence before Gregory VII. We have an example of it in the charter of foundation of the monastery of Vezeley under Nicholas I. Later, the *recommendatio* came to be closely connected with the *libertas romana* in the case of monasteries which, by putting themselves under the immediate protection and jurisdiction of the Holy See, enjoyed exemption from local authorities. The *census* became the evidence of this *libertas*. One of the main purposes of this institution was to prevent the seizure of monastic property by princes and feudal lords under any pretext, for by the *recommendatio* the Church of Rome acquired the right of

high domain over them. What Gregory VII did was to make effective this independence of monastic institutions which paid the *census* to Rome. Gregory VII did not die at Monte Cassino (p. 457) but at Salerno, and Henry VI died in Messina and not in Palermo (p. 513), where he was buried in the Cathedral.

Chapter XXII (The Church and the Papal Monarchy) deals mostly with ecclesiastical institutions such as were to be found in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This subject, which usually receives little attention in general histories, is treated at length by the author, and forms one of the most useful portions of his book, especially in view of the fact that a general history of mediaeval ecclesiastical institutions has never been written. The difficulty of the subject, a fully competent treatment of which requires not only a comprehensive knowledge of history, but also a close familiarity with theology and Canon Law, explains the many pitfalls into which even the best-intentioned historian is liable to fall. The author, for instance, must have relied upon a poor source when he states that the difference between 'anathema' and 'excommunication' was that the former was '*only a threat.*' That the bishops from the fourth to the twelfth century 'delegated the jurisdictional right to the archdeacon' and that the episcopal *curiae* began to be formed in the twelfth century, cannot be stated as a general rule and for all places.

It would be interesting to know in which chapter of the *Third* Lateran Council (A.D. 1179) the author found that the council 'asserted the right to dispose of persons and property not its own' and the declaration that 'the property of heretics was confiscated to the Church and not to the governments' (p. 646). The only related passage that we find in the canons of this council is the following: 'Confiscentur eorum bona [of the heretics] et liberum sit principibus huiusmodi homines subjicere servituti' (Can. 27). But there is no word to the effect that the confiscation was to the Church and not to the Princes. The meaning of this canon is explained by the Canon 3 of the *Fourth* Lateran Council (1215), which says more explicitly: 'Bona huiusmodi damnatorum [convicted heretics] si laici fuerint confiscentur; si veri clerici, applicentur ecclesiis a quibus stipendia perceperunt.' Only in case of clergymen convicted of heresy was their confiscated property attributed to the Churches from which they had received their salary. In the same canon, we find the famous decision of which Innocent III made use in the crusade against the Albigensians, and by which a ruler who refused to drive heretics away from his lands was to be excommunicated; if he still persisted in his attitude a year later, he was to be denounced to the pope, who would absolve his subjects from their oath of fidelity 'et terram exponat catholicis occupandam, qui eam, exterminatis hereticis, sine ulla contradictione possideant; *salvo iure domini principalis.*' It is perhaps this canon

that was misunderstood and generalized as if the council assumed the right to dispose of property not its own. The case of an excommunicated and deposed ruler is a special one and the severe measure, though new and excessive, had its justification in the legal ecclesiastical tradition as it was understood by contemporaries. Nor does it accord with historical evidence to assert that Innocent III was 'the founder of the Inquisition.' The inquisition of heretics in various forms and by various means existed long before; as for the regular and permanent tribunal with its peculiar method of procedure which we call the Inquisition, it was founded by Gregory IX. Persecution of heretics is a black spot in Christian history, but in dealing with this unpleasant aspect of mediaeval life, the facts that those heretical movements had also a social character and economic implications, and that secular rulers were often more eager than ecclesiastical authorities to exterminate them, ought to have been taken into account in presenting a picture of the ecclesiastical activities and institutions directed against the heretics.

The short paragraph given to Canon Law is rather disappointing; we are told in it that 'From time to time partial *codifications* had been made, notably that undertaken by Dionysius the Scythian in the sixth century, the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals and the code compiled by Regino of Prum in the ninth century, and the *Decretum* of Burchard of Worms in the eleventh century' (p. 649). The work of Dionysius cannot be called a 'codification' even in a broad sense, being merely a chronological collection of canons and of decretals; even when systematic collections were made, they were private compilations of varying value and content, but not codifications. Even the *Concordantia discordantium canonum* of Gratian was never given an official character as a whole, as Professor Thompson assumes (p. 761) to have been done in 1234. The official promulgation of that year concerned only the Decretals of Gregory IX collected by Raymond of Pennafort. In the same passage, the author describes Canon Law as being merely 'Roman Law . . . modified by the Councils and the Popes in points where it disagreed with the principles of the Church.' This is not an unusual historical definition of Canon Law but, if used without the necessary restrictions, qualifications, and explanations, is more apt to confuse than to clarify one's idea of it.

The description of the organization of a diocese and of the episcopal rule (pp. 650–661) is in the main correct and reliable; it has, however, the defect of presenting a greater uniformity than existed in fact in the various countries. Sometimes the divergencies due to ancient customs and privileges were more important than the similarities. Less satisfactory is the treatment of the sacraments (pp. 663–667), in which the lack of a more accurate knowledge of the doctrinal background is gravely felt. The doctrine 'that the personal character of the priest' does not invalidate the acts of sacramental administration performed by him (the phrase 'has nothing to do

with the effectiveness of his services' is equivocal and implies much more than the doctrine does) is not of mediaeval origin; it goes back to the ancient Church, and came forth for the first time in connection with the controversy over the validity of baptism conferred by heretics. This doctrine suffered a temporary eclipse during the conflict over the Investitures, but was soon reinstated, for without it the whole sacramental system would have been permanently disabled. The definition of Baptism as that 'by which that portion of original sin which the child brought into the world with him is alienated' (p. 664) gives the impression of a humorous caricature rather than of a serious attempt at definition. Why 'a portion of the original sin'? And what is the exact meaning of 'alienated'? From one point of view, the Eucharist is undoubtedly the most important of the sacraments, but to add that it is 'the one on which the Church's authority fundamentally rests' (p. 664) is an unwarranted identification of mystical and juridical values in the Church. That the bread and wine of the Eucharistic service are converted into the body and blood of Christ was not a decision made for the first time at the Lateran Council of 1215 (p. 664); it was an old doctrine and belief which we find clearly stated, to omit earlier references, in Justin Martyr's *Apologia* (Ch. lxv). The question at the Lateran Council concerned the 'mode' by which this conversion took place and other theological implications.

More astounding is the statement that 'it has been historically proved that penance is the adoption and amalgamation by the Church of pre-Christian Irish methods of dealing with crime, first by Irish Christianity and later with the extension of Irish influence to the continent by the Latin Church' (p. 664). The Irish nation may have many other responsibilities before history, but there is no need of charging it also with the institution of penance. The author here evidently confuses *penance* in general, with the *penitential discipline* represented by the *Libri Poenitentiales* of Celtic origin. They are two different things, for the former consists primarily in the Doctrine and practice of the right assumed by the Church to forgive sins in the name of God, or in other words the doctrine of the power of the Keys, which had a long historical development centuries before Celtic Christianity was heard of. The latter concerns only the *satisfaction*, and only one of the acts of penance. The value and importance of the *Penitential Books* must not be exaggerated; their origin is still obscure (P. Fournier and G. Le Bras, *Histoire des Collections canoniques en Occident*, I, 52). They were and remained always private compilations even when adopted on the continent by local synods and bishops. They were used in various ways and various places without uniformity, and finally disappeared altogether. It is true that especially on account of the new principle of 'composition,' serious abuses crept into penitential practice, but, as Professor T. P. Oakley (*Eng-*

lish Penitential Discipline, pp. 193–196), has rightly emphasized, the Penitential Books had an important place in civilizing the Barbarians by aiding secular legislation in the repression of crimes. Furthermore, Edgar's famous law on 'vicarious satisfaction' quoted by the author (p. 665) as evidence of general abuses has been shown by Professor Oakley to be a rather exceptional instance which found no imitators. And last but not least, the influence of the Germanic system of pecuniary compensation upon the penitential system was over-exaggerated by K. Hildebrand (*Untersuchungen über die germanischen Poenitentialbücher*, 1851) and much more by later historians.

The suggestion already made by others that St Anselm's theory of atonement is 'a reflection of the feudal world' (p. 665) has been shown again and again to be without any foundation. The two fundamental ideas of Anselm's theory, viz., the notions that a satisfaction for sin is due to God, and that Christ had suffered and died for men, were aleady traditional in ancient Christianity; the originality of Anselm was in combining them. Satisfaction for sin is found in all religions, and 'sin offerings' were conspicuous in Judaism; the idea that Christ suffered in our place and for us was also part of the old 'ransom to Satan' theory, as well as of the theory to which St Augustine applied the metaphor of the 'mouse trap.' There was no need for Anselm to derive the idea of 'compensation,' from the 'vicarious' practices of ecclesiastical penance, or from feudal customs. In conclusion, the statement of the author that 'the marvelous functioning of human mind has no more amazing illustration than this theological elaboration of the doctrine of atonement out of penance derived from tribal and feudal usages' (p. 666), appealing as it may be to the imagination, has very little authority to commend it.

Equally defective is the definition of Holy Orders as 'the sacrament of ordination to the priesthood. . . . Part of the ceremony is the *tonsura*.' The *tonsura* is not a holy order, and is conferred in a special ceremony of admission to the *clericatus*. The Holy Orders are seven: four minors and three majors, and are conferred in separate ceremonies, the former very often in succession, the latter at definite intervals. The rise of the Mendicant Orders (pp. 671–674) deserves a fuller treatment, though the little that is said of them is in general correct. But there is a singular slip in a footnote (p. 672) in which it is said: 'The Franciscans and the Dominicans were not monks but *regular canons*.' This could be said in part of the Dominicans in their early stage, but never of the Franciscans, who began as a lay order and not as an order of priests or of canons.

An omission to be much regretted is that of the Joachite movement which had not only a religious, but also a considerable social and political importance. The historical notions of mediaeval philosophy scattered in Professor

Thompson's two chapters on Education and Science are vague, fragmentary, and abounding in generalizations, some of which are more than questionable. No one familiar with this subject would accept such a sweeping statement as: 'With Anselm's formulation of what is known as the *scholastic philosophy*, medieval philosophic and religious thought acquired uniformity and fixity' (p. 752).

This list of inaccuracies, which could be considerably extended by combing the other chapters, must not, however, give the impression that the book as a whole is unreliable or deficient in information. In dealing with the political and social aspects of mediaeval history Professor Thompson is more accurate and more successful than in treating its religious aspects. Even in this respect, his slips are very often not due to lack of information, but rise from a certain unsympathetic attitude of his mind towards mediaeval religiosity taken as a *forma mentis* of those times. As a matter of fact, he is ready to understand the emotional side of mediaeval religion, (see, for instance, the passage on the cult of the Virgin Mary, p. 670), but he seems unwilling to penetrate the logical justifications of ecclesiastical policies and institutions in the light of the mentality of the times.

The book needs a thorough revision as to details, a little more caution in making generalizations, a little more understanding of the mediaeval religious mind, a more complete knowledge of ecclesiastical institutions. Above all, in order to achieve a better historical balance, even at the cost of less brilliancy, the book would profit greatly if the author would indulge less in sweeping judgments and literary amplifications, and if he would so rearrange certain chapters as to avoid repetitions, gaining thereby enough space to fill the considerable gaps without adding to the already impressive bulk of his treatise.

George La Piana,
Harvard University

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BOOKS RECEIVED

Under this heading *Speculum* will list the titles of all books and monographs on mediaeval subjects as soon as they are received from author or publisher. In many cases the titles here listed will be reviewed in a future issue.

T. Arnold and A. Guillaume, *The Legacy of Islam*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xvi+416. $3.00.

M. Asín Palacios, *Abenházam de Córdoba y su Historia Crítica des las Ideas Religiosas*, vol. IV. Madrid: Tip. de la Rivista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos, 1931. Paper. Pp. 267.

W. S. Carpenter and P. T. Stafford, *Readings in Early Legal Institutions*. New York: Crofts, 1931. Cloth. Pp. 357. $3.00.

F. S. Cawley, ed., *Hrafnkels Saga Freysgoða*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. 1+82.

F. Edler, *Glossary of Mediaeval Terms of Business, Italian Series 1200–1600* (Selections from Pt. I). Planographed as manuscript. Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1931. Paper. Pp. xii+56.

P. Fournier and G. Le Bras, *Histoire des Collections Canoniques en Occident depuis les Fausses Décrétales jusqu'au Décret de Gratien, Vol.* I (De la Réforme Carolingienne à la Réforme Grégorienne). Paris: Recueil Sirey, 1931. Paper. Pp. xv+463.

G. G. Fox, *The Mediaeval Sciences in the Works of John Gower*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1931. Paper. Pp. 164. $3.00.

H. A. R. Gibb, ed., *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*. London: Kuzac & Co., 1932. Cloth. Pp. 368. 15 Shillings.

I. Gonzàlez-Llubera, ed. and trans., *Josep ben Meir ibn Sabara: Llibre d'Ensenyaments Delectables* (*Sèfer Xaaixüim*). Barcelona: Editorial Alpha, 1931. Paper. Pp. xxv+188.

G. W. Greenaway, *Arnold of Brescia*. Cambridge (Eng.): The University Press; New York: Macmillan, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xi+237. $3.00.

E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. 162. $3.00.

D. Hartley, *Mediaeval Costume and Life*. New York: Scribners, 1931. Cloth. Pp. x+142. $5.00.

Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, Vol. XIII. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931. Paper. Pp. 332.

H. Hermannsson, *The Cartography of Iceland* (*Islandica*, Vol. XXI). Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Library, 1931. Paper. Pp. 81+27 plates.

M. Joynt, ed., *Tromdámh Guaire* (*Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series*, Vol. II). Dublin: Stationery Office, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xv+55. £0/3/–.

J. Keil and A. Wilhelm, edd., *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, Vol. III, *Denkmäler aus dem Rauhen Kilikien* (Publications of the American Society for Archaeological Research in Asia Minor). Manchester (Eng.): Manchester University Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xiv +237. 58 plates. 40 Shillings.

F. M. Kelley and R. Schwabe, *A Short History of Costume and Armour, 1066–1800*. New York: Scribners, 1931. Cloth, 2 vols. in one. Pp. xii+82 (32 plates), x+86 (35 plates). $7.50.

A. M. Kropp, *Ausgewählte Koptische Zaubertexte*. Brussels: Fondation Egyptologique, 1930–1931. 3 vols. Paper. Pp. xii+121, xv+287, xii+255.

E. Martin-Chabot, ed. and trans., *La Chanson de la Croisade Albigeoise, éditée et traduite du Provençal* (I. *La Chanson de Guillaume de Tudèle*). Paris: Champion, 1931. Paper. Pp. xxv+304. Frs. 27.

W. P. Mustard, ed., *The Eclogues of Henrique Cayado*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. 98. $1.50.

J. G. O'Keeffe, ed., *Buile Suibhne* (*Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series*, Vol. I). Dublin: Stationery Office, 1931. Cloth. Pp. vii+110. £0/3/6.

F. M. Powicke, *Medieval England 1066–1485*. New York: Holt, 1931. Cloth. Pp. 256. $1.25.

F. M. Powicke, *The Mediaeval Books of Merton College*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. vi+287. $7.00.

G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, Vol. II. Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins, 1931. Cloth, 2 pts. Pp. xxxv+1251. $12.00.

H. P. South, *The Proverbs of Alfred Studied in the Light of the Maidstone MS*. New York: New York University Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. vii+168.

F. M. Stenton, *The First Century of British Feudalism, 1066–1166* (The Ford Lectures, 1929). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932. Cloth. Pp. vii+311. $4.00.

F. van Steenberghen, ed., *Siger de Brabant d'après ses Œuvres Inédites*. Vol. I, *Les Œuvres Inédites* (*Les Philosophes Belges*, Vol. XII). Louvain: Institut Supérieur de Philosophie de l'Université, 1931. Paper. Pp. vii+355.

E. W. W. Veale, ed., *The Great Red Book of Bristol*. Introduction (pt. I): *Burgage Tenure in Mediaeval Bristol*. Bristol (Eng.): Bristol Record Society, 1931. Boards. Pp. vii+343.

G. Wallerand, ed., *Henri Bate de Malines: Speculum Divinorum et Quorundam Naturalium* (*Etude Critique et Texte Inédit*). Fasc. I (*Les Philosophes Belges*, Vol. XI). Louvain: Institut Supérieur de Philosophie de l'Université, 1931. Paper. Pp. (34)+239.

C. C. J. Webb, *John of Salisbury*. London: Methuen, 1932. Cloth. Pp. viii+186. Six shillings

ERRATUM

SPECULUM VI, 610 ff., for *Carghill* read *Cargill*.

SPECULUM
A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

A CRUSADER[1]

By DANA CARLETON MUNRO

WHAT was a Crusader like? What led him to take the cross? What did he believe? What was his mental equipment? How did he react to the new conditions which he found in the Orient? These and a host of other questions arise as soon as we think of the Crusades as real events, participated in by real men and women, and not merely as a succession of facts and dates. Some of these questions can be answered and some can not. But the very silence of the sources on some subjects is significant for the interests and points of view of the Crusaders.

It is impossible to answer such questions as those suggested above until we limit the inquiry. The Crusades went on for centuries. They were participated in by all the various classes of society in almost every section of western Europe. Consequently we must begin by limiting our inquiry to the Crusaders of one period. Naturally we prefer the beginnings, the First Crusade, and the early years of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. It would be futile to take a later period, to select a Richard the Lion-Hearted or a Saint Louis. They came too late and neither is typical of even a considerable proportion of those who took the cross. It would be equally futile to select Peter the Hermit, or Godfrey of Bouillon, or any other of the leaders in the First Crusade.

We must also exclude the most ignorant: Guibert of Nogent tells of the children accompanying the so-called Peasants' Crusade, who asked when they came to the first city if it were Jerusalem. Such a lack of knowledge is picturesque but does not give a true picture. It is necessary to emphasize this fact, because popular accounts have tended to seize upon the exceptional statements which overstate the ignorance and credulity of the Crusaders and to omit the facts which illustrate the planning done by the Pope and some of the leaders. The route to be followed by each one of the great divisions in the

[1] Presidential address was at the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Medieval Academy of America, April 29, 1932.

First Crusade was carefully chosen, one following the so-called road of Charles the Great; one down through Italy, across the sea to the Bulgarian coast, and thence through the Byzantine Empire; a third almost directly east from southern France; all to meet at Constantinople. We know that the Pope set August 1 for beginning the expedition so that the Crusaders might leave home when the harvests were well advanced, when they might find fodder for the animals which were taken along to serve as a food supply for the host, when they might traverse the hot country of Anatolia at a favorable season of the year. Of course, these plans went awry because of obstacles and delays which could not have been foreseen by pope or leaders.

In selecting an individual, or individuals, we are also limited because very few of the Crusaders remained in the Orient; almost all of those who succeeded in reaching Jerusalem returned home after their vow had been fulfilled. Of those who remained, aside from the leaders, there are very few of whom we know anything except a few incidents in their lives. Fortunately, there was one man who went on the First Crusade, who remained in the East for thirty years, who wrote an account of the expedition and of the early years of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. This was Fulcher of Chartres. He was probably about thirty-six years old when he set out on the First Crusade. He came from Chartres and probably had been educated for the priesthood. He was apparently fairly well read in the classics but he shows little evidence of having taken advantage of the educational opportunities offered at Chartres, then a famous center of learning. Our statements about him have to be tentative, as all that we know has to be gleaned from what he tells in his chronicle and a very few bits of information from other contemporaries.

Like his contemporaries, Fulcher wrote in a 'rustic' style, as he himself says, and used words and constructions that would have perplexed and irritated either Cicero or a scholar in the time of the Renaissance. He was fond of plays on words, a common method of fine writing in his day. He introduces proverbs and quotations from classical authors and especially from the Bible; he manufactures speeches to put in the mouths of his characters; he drops into poetry. The modern judgment is that his style is unusually good for his time, but it is interesting to note that both then and later others rewrote his Chronicle in order, as they thought, to improve it. He quotes a few documents. He gives a relatively large number of dates; be-

cause he used different systems of computation, these have often been misunderstood both by his contemporaries and by modern students. He is not consistent even for the date on which the year began.[1] As he was not with the army at the capture of Antioch or Jerusalem, his Chronicle is not so valuable as some others for the events of the First Crusade, but it is the best source of information for the early years of the Kingdom.[2]

In his long account he unconsciously gives many a glimpse of his own character, of his thoughts and actions, of his reactions to the new environment. Reading his words, we are impressed with his truthfulness, and gradually there emerges a man whom we feel that we can know and trust. As we are able to check and corroborate some of his statements by the accounts of other contemporaries, Christian or Muslim, our confidence in him is enhanced. But we realize that he was above the average in intellect, in education, in religious fervor, and that he had fuller information about the events.

His motive for taking the cross was undoubtedly religious fervor and enthusiasm, a desire to worship 'where His feet have stood.' He believed that if he met death on the expedition he was assured of Paradise, as the Pope had promised at the Council of Clermont. Undoubtedly this religious fervor was the motive which impelled the vast majority at that time to take the cross. Of course, there were other motives: ambition, desire for gain, love of adventure, joining because others were joining, which reënforced the religious appeal. In some cases, e.g., Bohemond, it would be preposterous to emphasize the religious motive; and yet even for Bohemond the chance of winning salvation in addition to temporal goods would have been of some weight; he was undoubtedly influenced by the psychology of the time in which he lived. The fact that after the first days religious fervor waned and that the Crusaders thought and sinned in very human fashion, until danger impelled them again to seek God's aid, does not prove that their religious zeal was not real at first. It is a commonplace that those who are converted at a camp meeting or by an Aimée McPherson seldom remain continuously in a state of grace. And if we are to understand the inception of the Crusades we

[1] Hagenmeyer states that he always used December 25, but he overlooked one passage in which Fulcher used January 1.

[2] The best edition is H. Hagenmeyer, *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana (1095–1127)*, Heidelberg, 1915.

must realize that many were influenced by the enthusiastic preaching of Peter the Hermit and others whom we should now call revivalists, who got their results by methods similar in many ways to those used by a Billy Sunday.

The zeal of the Crusaders in the early days is illustrated by Fulcher's account of the start:

The isles of the sea and the kingdoms of the whole earth were moved by God, so that one might believe that he saw the fulfillment of the prophecy of David, who said in his Psalms: 'All nations whom Thou hast made shall come and worship before Thee, O Lord; and shall glorify Thy name,' and so that those who have reached the holy places may say justly: 'We will worship where His feet have stood.' Concerning this journey one also reads very many other predictions in the prophecies.

Oh, how great the grief, how deep the sighs, what weeping, what lamentations among the friends, when the husband left the wife so dear to him, his children also, and all his possessions of any kind; or his father, his mother, his brethen, or his other kindred! And yet in spite of these floods of tears which those who remained shed for their friends about to depart, and in their very presence, the latter did not suffer their courage to fail, and, out of love for the Lord, in no way hesitated to leave all that they held most precious, persuaded that they would gain a hundredfold in receiving the recompense which God has promised to those who follow Him.

Then the husband announced to his wife the exact time of his return, assuring her that if he lived he would return to his country and to her at the end of three years. He commended her to the Lord, gave her a kiss, and promised to come back to her. But the latter who feared that she would never see him again, overcome with grief, was unable to stand, fell almost lifeless to the ground and wept over her dear one whom she was losing in life, as if he were already dead. He then, as if he had no pity — and nevertheless he was filled with pity — and was not moved by the lamentations of his wife or children or friends — and yet he was secretly moved — departed with mind firmly set upon his purpose. The sadness was for those who remained, and the joy for those who departed. What more can we say? 'This is the Lord's doing; it is marvellous in our eyes.'[1]

This passage suggests that the host led by Stephen of Blois and the two Roberts, which Fulcher joined, was not so encumbered as were other divisions of the Crusades. To quote Ekkehard,

[1] This and most of the other translations are taken from A. C. Krey, *The First Crusade*, Princeton University Press, 1921. There are sometimes slight changes in the wording.

The majority set out encumbered with their wives and children and all their household effects. . . . Almost all the Teutonic race . . . laughed to scorn the many legions of knights . . . the many companies of foot-soldiers, and the crowds of country people, women, and little ones . . .

As the two Roberts and Stephen had planned to cross over by sea from Italy, it would have been more difficult for the mass of poor people, women, and children to have arranged to accompany them; but that there were women even in this host is proved by one of the miracles which will be mentioned later.

At Rome Fulcher gives a glimpse of the anarchy resulting from the papal schism:

. . . when we had entered the church of St Peter, we found before the altar the supporters of Wibert, that pseudo-pope, who, sword in hand, wickedly seized the offerings placed on the altar. Others, too, ran about on the roof of St Peter's itself and threw stones down where we were prostrate, praying. For when they saw any one faithful to Urban, they straightway wished to kill him. In one tower of the church were adherents of Pope Urban, who were guarding it well in faithfulness to him and, as far as they could, were resisting his adversaries. We grieved much to see such an outrage committed in that place; but we could do nothing except to desire that it be avenged by God. Many who had come thus far with us waited no longer, but at once, with disgraceful cowardice, returned to their homes.

The last sentence should be noted, as it illustrates the lack of coherence among the Crusaders. Each one had taken an individual vow and was not subordinate; men were constantly leaving the host to go home. Fulcher says if all who had taken the cross had gone on the Crusade there would have been six million. This statement illustrates one of Fulcher's weaknesses, which was shared by almost all the other writers, a tendency to exaggerate, to give fantastic numbers, especially in telling of slaughters of the infidels, with a corresponding tendency to minimize the losses of Christians in battles. Fulcher himself later recognized this:

As to the number of dead or wounded in this or any other battle, it is not possible to determine the truth, for such great numbers cannot be computed by anyone, except approximately. Often when different writers deceive, the reason for their deception is to be attributed to adulation; for they try to enhance the glory of the victors and to extol the valor of their own land for people present and to come. From this it is very clear why they

so foolishly and falsely exaggerate the number of dead among the enemy, and minimize, or remain entirely silent, about their own loss.

Fulcher spent the winter of 1096–1097 in southern Italy, in the spring crossed over to the Bulgarian coast, and thence proceeded to Constantinople, which he greatly admired. He was with the main army at Nicaea and on its march through Anatolia. He depicts vividly the peril at the battle of Dorylaeum:

The Turks crept up, howling loudly and shooting a shower of arrows. Stunned, and almost dead, and with many wounded, we immediately fled. And it was no wonder, for such warfare was new to us all . . . What further shall I say? We were all huddled together, indeed, like sheep shut in a pen, trembling, and frightened, surrounded on all sides by enemies, so that we were unable to advance in any direction. It was clear to us that this befell us as a punishment for our sins. For whomsoever luxury defiles, those, indeed, avarice, or some other vice, corrupts. The air was lashed with a great outcry from men, women, and children, as well as from the pagans, who rushed upon us. Now there was no hope of life left to us. We then confessed that we were debtors and sinners and humbly begged mercy from God . . . Then many, fearing that death was near, ran to the priests and confessed their sins to them.

According to one account, women who were with the host felt so certain that the Christians would lose that they dressed in their best clothes to meet the victorious Turks.

After the Christians had won this victory Fulcher gives an account of the march through Anatolia:

Then, indeed, we continued our journey quietly, one day suffering such extreme thirst that many men and women died from its torments . . . In these regions we very often were in need of bread and other foods. For we found Romania, a land which is good and very rich in all products, thoroughly devastated and ravished by the Turks. Still, you would often see this multitude of people well refreshed by whatever little vegetation we found at intervals on this journey throughout barren regions. This happened by the aid of God, who from five loaves and two fishes fed the five thousand. Wherefore, glad and rejoicing, we declared that these were gifts of the mercy of God. Truly, one would not know whether to laugh or to cry from pity, when many of our men without packmules, since many of theirs had already perished, loaded sheep, goats, hogs, and dogs with their supplies, such as clothing, and food, and whatever luggage was necessary for pilgrims. The skin of those animals was worn by the weight of the baggage. And knights with their armor on sometimes even mounted oxen.

Before they reached Antioch, Fulcher left the main host and accompanied Baldwin as his chaplain to Edessa. He remained there as long as Baldwin did, and took part in his expeditions. He visited Jerusalem for the first time when Baldwin went there in the winter of 1099, after the capture of the Holy City. When the latter received the news of his choice as Godfrey's successor, Fulcher says that Baldwin was somewhat grieved at the death of his brother but rejoiced more over the inheritance. Fulcher accompanied him to Jerusalem, and spent the rest of his life there, except for brief expeditions on which he accompanied the King as his chaplain. Probably, at some indeterminate date, he ceased to hold this office and he may have become prior of the Mount of Olives, but this is not certain. He lived to be about 70, dying in 1127 or 1128. He probably began to write his history in 1101 and continued the task intermittently for more than a quarter of a century.

He was a witness of the stirring events and he was a keen observer. He was in a position to know the facts. He did not usually record those which might have reflected an unfavorable light upon Baldwin; possibly this is the reason why his account of the events at Edessa is so meagre. But he shows little partisanship and little antagonism to the patriarch Daimbert, who was such a thorn in the King's flesh, although he does say that at the time of Baldwin's entrance into Jerusalem most of the clergy were hostile to the patriarch.

Withal, Fulcher was very human. When the Turks in ambush at Dog River threatened to exterminate the small band with Baldwin Fulcher says, 'I would have preferred to be at Chartres or Orleans, and many others felt the same way.' Just then martyrdom did not appeal to him. But he admired the readiness of others to offer up their lives, which he emphasized in his preface. He tells of the joy felt in heaven and by the Crusaders when a warrior, to rebuke the blaspheming of others, spurred on his horse and rode to certain death among the Turks, crying, 'If any of you wish to sup in Paradise, now come with me and eat with me, for even now I am going thither.'

Fulcher's trust in God is evident throughout the chronicle. God gives victory even when the number of the enemy is overwhelming. We had only 260 horsemen and 900 footsoldiers; the enemy had 11,000 horsemen and 21,000 footsoldiers. 'We knew this but because God was with us we did not fear to attack them.' Again when the pagans were said to number 15,000 and the Christians only 2,500, he

writes: 'For omnipotent God, never unmindful of his people, unwilling that the wicked should destroy His Christians who for love of Him and for the glorification of His name had come to Jerusalem from distant lands, suddenly put that impious race to flight.'

God permitted Crusaders to be killed for increase of salvation, Turks for their destruction. God ordered the traitor at Antioch to betray the city to Bohemond. God frequently warns His people and chastens them but is appeased by the prayers of the Virgin. On the other hand, God punishes sin among the Crusaders; at Antioch they had committed fornication with Muslim women and this had invited God's wrath. Later God permitted Roger of Antioch to be killed by the Turks, because of his sins, and especially his adultery. The Crusade of 1101 failed because of the sins and pride of the Crusaders. Other illustrations of such punishments have already been given.

In this belief that the sufferings and failures of the Crusaders were punishments for their sins Fulcher voices the general opinion. In the letter which the leaders wrote to the Pope in September, 1099, they said,

'Because, indeed, some were puffed up by these successes, God opposed to us Antioch, impregnable to human strength. And there He detained us for nine months and so humbled us in the siege that there were scarcely a hundred good horses in our whole army. God opened to us the abundance of His blessings and mercy and led us into the city, and delivered the Turks and all of their possessions into our power.

'Inasmuch as we thought that these had been acquired by our own strength and did not worthily magnify God Who had done this, we were beset by so great a multitude of Turks that no one dared to venture forth at any point from the city. Moreover, hunger so weakened us that some could scarcely refrain from eating human flesh. It would be tedious to narrate all the miseries which we suffered in that city. But God looked down upon His people whom He had so long chastised and mercifully consoled them. Therefore, He at first revealed to us, as a recompense for our tribulation and as a pledge of victory, His lance which had lain hidden since the days of the apostles. Next, He so fortified the hearts of the men, that they who from sickness or hunger had been unable to walk, now were endued with strength to seize their weapons and manfully to fight against the enemy.'

Later, Walter the Chancellor, in his History of the Wars of Antioch, attributed the destruction wrought by the earthquake of 1115 to the sinful life of the people, of which he gives a vivid description.

It was a commonplace among the contemporaries that the Crusades had been predicted by the prophets in the Old Testament. Fulcher in a passage already given quotes two verses from the Psalms. He omits the 'very many other sayings of the prophets' because it would be tedious to recount them; Ekkehard and others had no such fear of boring their readers.

When they set out from Brindisi one ship was wrecked and four hundred men and women were drowned. Fulcher says that this redounded to the praise of God because crosses were found imprinted on the shoulders of some of the corpses. A later author says that this led many to set out on the second journey. Raymond of Agiles and Ordericus Vitalis recount other incidents when crosses were found, miraculously imprinted on corpses. But Guibert, in his History of the Crusades, blames Fulcher for accepting this story. He does not deny that such a miracle was possible but he urges Fulcher, 'if he is still alive,' to consider whether the story is true. He recalls that from the very beginning of the expedition vulgar people, even women, inflicted upon themselves wounds in the shape of a cross and by applying herbs kept these fresh and red in order to show them as miracles. Guibert adds that a well-known abbot, who was afterwards Archbishop of Caesarea, because he had no means of paying his expenses on the Crusade cut a cross in his forehead which he said had been made by an angel, and thus acquired fame and money.

Many miracles were seen by the Crusaders at Antioch. Fulcher was not with the army there, but does repeat some he had heard. He believed in miracles, as did everyone in his time, but he does not recount as many as other writers did. From Josephus he borrows the account of two rivers with miraculous characteristics. In general, he seems to use *miracle* as a synonym for something wonderful or even strange. He says, e.g., it was a miracle that the enemy fled for three days although no one pursued them; it was a miracle that the few Christians at Jerusalem, in the early days of the Kingdom, were able to hold out against so many enemies.

Noteworthy is the only reference by Fulcher to the absence of the miracle of the Holy Fire in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on the day before Easter, 1101. 'All were perturbed on account of the fire which we did not have at the Sepulchre on the Sabbath.' Anyone who has witnessed the scenes in the Church, where for a thousand years the coming of the Holy Fire has been eagerly awaited, will

realize that Fulcher was not guilty of overstatement when he said that 'all were perturbed.' Noteworthy also is Fulcher's omission to state that the fire did come on Easter Day. His copyists felt it necessary to make up for his neglect and gave full accounts of the miracle; one of their accounts has been erroneously attributed to Fulcher by some editors of his Chronicle. The story is too long to tell here, and it can not be proved that the delay was caused by dissatisfaction on the part of the Greek clergy and that the fire came when their grievances had been redressed by King Baldwin and the Patriarch. But Fulcher knew the facts from his long years of service in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and he may have held the opinion expressed later by Gregory IX that the fire was a 'pious fraud.' We are inclined to believe that here, as elsewhere, he preserved a discreet silence about a matter which he did not consider edifying.

Because its finder was fatally injured in the ordeal of fire by which was tested the genuineness of the 'Holy Lance' found at Antioch, many, including Fulcher, did not believe in it. But all believed in the 'True Cross' which had long been concealed at Jerusalem and was revealed only after the capture of the city by the Crusaders. To it Fulcher ascribed the victories won when it was carried 'as a solace' on the field of battle. The pagan fled terror-stricken at sight of it. When the King, trusting in his own strength, did not take the Cross with him, he was defeated. But the Franks in Jerusalem seem very soon to have lost confidence in the power of the Cross, as Fulcher records their unwillingness to have King Baldwin take it with him on an expedition in the North, their grief when they were compelled to allow the King to have his way, and their joy when the Cross was safely returned. Although no victory was won on this occasion, the Cross may have averted complete disaster, and this seems to have been its rôle when carried on other expeditions.

All the contemporaries were interested in heavenly portents, especially comets and eclipses. Ekkehard writes:

> Moreover, the sign which was described before as seen in the sun, and many portents which appeared in the air, as well as on the earth, stimulated many, who had been backward before, to undertakings of this kind. Some of these portents I have deemed it desirable to insert here, but to tell all would certainly take too long. For we, too, about the Nones of October, saw a comet in the southern sky, its radiance extending out obliquely like a sword; and two years later, on the sixth day before the Kalends of March,

1099, we saw another star in the east changing its position by leaps at long intervals. There were also blood-red clouds rising in the east, as well as in the west, and darting up into the zenith to meet each other; and, again, about midnight, fiery splendors rushed up in the north; and frequently we even saw torches of fire flying through the air, as was proved by many witnesses. About three o'clock one day some years before this, Suigger, a certain priest of exemplary life, saw two knights rushing at each other in the air, and after they had fought for a long time, the one who bore a large cross, with which he seemed to strike the other, emerged as victor. At the same time, the priest, G——, who now belongs to the monastic profession with us, having paid the sheep which is owed to Christ in place of the first born of the ass,[1] was walking one day at the noon hour in a wood, with two companions, when he saw a sword of wondrous length (which came, he knew not whence) carried up on high by a whirlwind. Until the great height hid it from his eyes, he not only saw the metal, but heard the crashing of the weapon. Some men who were keeping watch in a horse pasture also reported that they saw the semblance of a city in the air, and that they saw divers companies, both on horseback and on foot, hastening to it from different directions.

Fulcher also saw the first comet mentioned by Ekkehard:

We beheld a certain prodigy in the sky, which, shining in brilliant whiteness, appeared in the shape of a sword with the point towards the East. We did not know what it portended for the future; but we left the present and the future to the Lord.

In 1106 a much brighter comet was visible for more than fifty days. This was the famous comet which on one of its previous appearances had predicted the death of Julius Caesar, but of this Fulcher was ignorant. Concerning it and also of one seen in 1126 Fulcher said, 'We presume to augur nothing as to its meaning but we leave it wholly to God.'

In 1117 they saw two eclipses, the first of the moon, the second of the sun. Of the former Fulcher says, 'We accepted that for a sign. From the redness some conjectured that blood would flow in battle; from the blackness others predicted a famine; we commit this entirely to the will and Providence of God, Who in the sun and the moon predicts from their eclipses what the future will bring.' The eclipse of the sun was a much more serious portent, and was followed by the deaths of Pope Paschal, King Baldwin, his wife, Patriarch

[1] See *Exodus*, iii, 13.

Arnulf, Emperor Alexius, and 'very many other great men.' While Fulcher states that some gave this interpretation he himself most humbly left the meaning to God. From his carefully chosen words we get the impression that he was less superstitious than his associates; not so inclined rashly to interpret heavenly portents.

The Crusaders showed little interest in the peoples and religions with which they came into contact. William of Tyre is the first to give much information about the natives. The leaders in their letter to the Pope, written at Antioch in September, 1098, say: 'For we have fought the Turks and other pagans, and also heretics, Greeks, Armenians, Syrians, Jacobites.' Fulcher quotes this letter but does not mention Jacobites elsewhere, nor does he anywhere name the Maronites, who were at times a great aid to the Crusaders. The other chronicles are equally silent, lumping all the dissident sects under the name of Syrians; nor do they mention Jews in the Holy Land.

They all have much to say about the Emperor Alexius and the general opinion was very hostile to him. The only exception is Stephen, Count of Blois, who in his first letter to his wife, written at Nicaea in 1097, praises the Emperor from whom he had received great gifts and much honor. The attitude of the others is in striking contrast. Raymond of Agiles says, 'He showed such gratitude to the army that we shall always curse him and proclaim him a traitor.' The author of the Gesta calls him *iniquus*, *nequissimus*, *malignus*. Ekkehard styles him perfidious, perjured, a tyrant. The Chanson d'Antioch shows that the same opinion was held by the more humble Crusaders. Fulcher is more restrained;[1] he says that the Emperor's aid and advice was essential to their success; he tells of Alexius' gifts. But some years later, in writing of Bohemond's Crusade against the Emperor, he describes the latter as very hostile to 'our people,' a tyrant who used fraud or violence to injure pilgrims. Here he was voicing a feeling common after the failure of the Crusade of 1101, and pregnant of future conflicts.

Ekkehard describes the Turks and Saracens as base people, with a sacrilegious religion, enemies of Christ, men of the devil. Fulcher in one passage speaks of them as *gens detestanda;* elsewhere he refers to their cunning and deceitfulness; but like the author of the *Gesta*

[1] The so-called 'Bartolf of Nangis' is equally restrained. 'Bartolf,' who went on the First Crusade, rewrote part of Fulcher's Chronicle, abbreviating it in some places, but adding much information of value from his own experiences.

he recognizes their bravery, 'a valiant race of very expert archers.' He is not interested in their religion, which he terms idolatry.

He speaks more frequently of the Armenians than of any of the other native Christians. In particular he tells of the bold rescue of Count Joscelin and King Baldwin by faithful Armenians, and of the escape of Joscelin with the aid of an Armenian peasant whom he had formerly befriended. The Count, dressed in the clothes of the peasant's wife and carrying her young baby in his arms, rode on an ass led by the peasant. The baby made trouble because it got hungry. Fulcher also speaks of marriages between the Franks and native women, as will be noted later.

The chroniclers give us few descriptions except of battles and brutality, few glimpses into private life. We are glad to learn from his chaplain that Count Raymond, after bathing in the Jordan, put on a clean pair of hose and a new doublet. To Fulcher we are indebted for some word pictures. 'Oh, how fitting and how pleasing to us all to see those crosses, beautiful, whether of silk, or of woven gold, or of any kind of cloth, which these prilgrims, by order of Pope Urban, sewed on the shoulders of their mantles, or cassocks, or tunics, once they had made the vow to go.' He also speaks of 'sounding trumpets,' of battle cries, of gay cloths spread in the streets of Jerusalem. He is the only one, except 'Bartolf,'[1] of those who went on the First Crusade to describe Constantinople.

We were not allowed to enter the city many at a time. Only five or six each hour were permitted; thus, while some were leaving, others were then entering to pray in the churches.

Oh, what a great and beautiful city is Constantinople! How many churches and palaces it contains, fashioned with wonderful skill! How many wonderful things may be seen even in the streets or courts! It would be too tedious to enumerate what wealth there is there of every kind, of gold, of silver, of every kind of robes, and of holy relics. There traders at all times bring by boat all the necessities of man. They have, I judge, about twenty thousand eunuchs constantly living there.

He was much interested in geography, especially unusual features such as intermittent springs or the Dead Sea which he tasted to see if it really were salt. He speaks of carrier pigeons and sugar-cane, he

[1] 'Bartolf' does not give as full a description of the city, but does tell of its fortifications, and especially of the many foreigners, whom he lists, who came to trade at Constantinople.

describes various strange animals and monsters found in Asia, but he takes these descriptions from classical writers.

Like Suger, Fulcher had the gift of tears, so highly prized in the Middle Ages. As Mackenzie in his *Man of Feeling* supplied an 'Index to Tears,' so might an editor do for Fulcher's chronicle. He and others wept copiously and frequently. When in 1105 conditions seemed desperate, those who remained at Jerusalem wept and by their prayers and alms besought the aid of God; the mothers would not suckle their babes until the ninth hour in order that the latter forced by hunger should also join in the weeping.

For a Crusader, Fulcher experienced a rather remarkable revulsion of sentiment about warfare. Like the others, he had felt no aversion to brutality and at times rejoiced in the Christians who met martyrdom, but in one passage after he had witnessed a battle and the terrible sufferings of his fellow-Christians he breaks out into an invective against war, even when waged against pagans, which might entitle him to be called a pacifist.

The Crusaders in the early years of the Kingdom felt proud of their accomplishments and were enthusiastic about the new colonies in the Holy Land. Fulcher, well-satisfied in his old age, gave expression to this feeling and in an often quoted passage described the favor of God to the Crusaders and the fortunate conditions in the Holy Land:

> Consider, I pray, and reflect how in our time God has transferred the West into the East. For we who were Occidentals now have been made Orientals. He who was a Roman or a Frank is now a Galilaean, or an inhabitant of Palestine. One who was a citizen of Rheims or of Chartres now has become a Tyrian or an Antiochian. We have already forgotten the places of our birth; already they have become unknown to many of us, or, at least, are unmentioned. Some already possess here homes and servants which they have received through inheritance. Some have taken wives not merely of their own people, but Syrians, or Armenians, or even Saracens who have received the grace of baptism. Some have with them father-in-law, or daughter-in-law, or son-in-law, or step-son, or step-father. There are here, too, grandchildren and great-grandchildren. One cultivates vines, another the fields. The one and the other use mutually the speech and the idioms of the different languages. Different languages, now made common, become known to both races, and faith unites those whose forefathers were strangers. As it is written, 'The lion and the ox shall eat straw together.' Those who were strangers are now natives; and he who was a sojourner now has

become a resident. Our parents and relatives from day to day come to join us, abandoning, even though reluctantly, all that they possess. For those who were poor there, here God makes rich. Those who had few coins here possess countless besants; and those who had not had a villa, here, by the gift of God, already possess a city. Therefore, why should one who has found the East so favorable return so the West? God does not wish those to suffer want who, carrying their crosses, have vowed to follow Him, nay even unto the end. You see, therefore, that this is a great miracle, and one which must greatly astonish the whole world. Who has ever heard anything like it? Therefore, God wishes to enrich us all and to draw us to Himself as His most dear friends.

The material is scanty; the historian must read between the lines; he must above all avoid rash generalizations. It is evident that Arnold was right, human nature has not varied much throughout the ages. While it is not possible to form a picture of an average Crusader, as elusive a character as the 'economic man,' it is possible to form some concept of Fulcher's character and limitations, and through him of the acts and points of view of other Crusaders in the time of the First Crusade and in the years when the Kingdom of Jerusalem was still a strong and prosperous colony.

Princeton University

CLUNY EPIGRAPHY

By RICHARD WINGATE LLOYD
Member of the Mediaeval Academy's Mission at Cluny,
with additions by KENNETH JOHN CONANT

I

ACCOMPANYING this article will be found drawings of the lettering of the three inscribed capitals (those numbered 2, 6 8) from the ambulatory of the abbey church of Cluny. All of the drawings are (except one copy) reductions of rubbings taken in Cluny in 1929 by Mr Bernard C. Heyl, Miss Julia Y. Atkinson, and Mr Richard W. Lloyd. The inscriptions on Capitals 2 and 8 are V-cut, as are one and halves of two others on Capital 6. The fourth was painted, and is now all but effaced; of the others, one was partly carved, and probably completed in paint; another, entirely carved, has square-sunk letters at the beginning. This style of cutting was probably suggested by ancient Roman inscriptions which had lost their inset bronze characters, and perhaps it was intended to fill these letters, like the eye of the figures, with some dark material. Four mandorlas show no trace of inscriptions to the naked eye, but electrical investigation may reveal them. It is possible that the carved inscriptions were painted in addition.

The mandorlas are from 2′–5″ to 2′–7″ (0 m. 74 to 0 m. 79) high; their individual letters measure from $1\frac{3}{4}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches (0 m. 045 to 0 m. 064); while the zone is about 3 inches (0 m. 076) high, with lettering from $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches (0 m. 032 to 0 m. 038) high. The inscriptions were read, if at all, from a visual distance of about thirty-five feet. Inexperience and uncertainty about making them effective might account for the various methods of handling, or haste might be assigned as a reason for the missing and painted inscriptions, since one of the capitals (number 5) was put into place with the foliate carving unfinished.

In the study of the inscriptions certain difficulties have arisen, due in part to the special problem here and in part to the more general perplexities inherent in epigraphy. The original problem was briefly this: on grounds quite apart from the inscriptions, certain distinguished archaeologists have reached the conclusion that these capitals were to be dated in the period 1088–95. Opposing members

of the profession have claimed a later date, the second quarter of the twelfth century, one reason being that the character of the inscriptions was such as to favor the later date.

Hence it becomes necessary for the partisans of the earlier date to show that nothing in the inscriptions stands in the way. If possible, it should be shown epigraphically that the early date is probable as well as not impossible. Here enter the difficulties due to the method of dating by epigraphy. In the first place, it is new and not yet perfected. It is also a rather crude method. Such changes as occur in the character of letters are neither very striking nor very rapid. In addition there is much irregularity, especially in the period under consideration. For, while one man might be using the letters hallowed by long tradition, another would be inclined to translate into stone the latest characters developed by the palaeographers — always in advance of the workers in stone. Another serious weakness of epigraphical dating is that there is usually no sure evidence that the inscription itself is contemporary with the monument on which it is found. In the specific instance of Cluny, perhaps the greatest difficulty is that the difference of opinion as to the date of the capitals is only thirty-five or forty years, a period rather too short for any distinguishing divergencies yet found in epigraphy.

It is a comparatively simple matter to prove that all or nearly all of the Cluny letters were used elsewhere before 1088–95, but so far this has involved going rather far afield for examples — to Poitou, Languedoc, Spain, and Rome. Although we know that influences from precisely these regions played upon Cluny, this is at best a negative and not very satisfactory method. For, as Mr Schapiro has pointed out, an inscription, though of course it may show influences, is something more than a mere assembly of letters selected from many sources. Instead it has a certain unity and character of its own. A stronger proof would result if it could be shown that the work at Cluny fitted into a definite group of inscriptions and so might be dated stylistically. But, as Mr Porter has observed, deducing dates from greater or less crudity or development is a very ticklish though popular method.

Cluny is likely to be advanced. Its inscriptions will perhaps show more development than those of its later neighbors — just as seems likely in the field of pure sculpture. But this might conceivably result in there being no exact parallel to Cluny to be found in the nar-

row range of dated Burgundian inscriptions. Thus it might be that the inscriptions were really done in 1088–95, but the proof of this might be made possible by their advanced character.

In the process of finding earlier and contemporary corresponding examples of the Cluny letters, the field has by no means been exhausted. It should be noted here, with grateful acknowledgement, that among other material, considerable use has been made of M. Deschamps' *Paléographie des Inscriptions Lapidaires* (Paris, Société Générale d'Imprimerie et d'Edition, 1929) and of Mr Schapiro's careful review of it in the *Art Bulletin* (XII [1930], 101). The letters found at Cluny, and comments, follow; they are reproduced in Plate I.

A^1 This is the normal and more common form of the period. There are twenty examples varying in angle of opening and style of cutting, but all are of the same type.

A^2 Two possible examples, nearly effaced, in the painted inscription; the form occurs long before 1088.

A^3 Two nearly identical examples. This exact type has not been found but such forms as A^4 and A^5 seem near enough.

$Æ^1$ This broken form represents $Æ^2$, which has not been found elsewhere, but A^6, with a similar tail, has been found on the Sahagún tomb, *ca.* 1093; A^7 occurs at Rome in 1090, and A^8 at St-Benoît-sur-Loire in 1096. Diphthongs of a more regular type $Æ^3$ are also found.

B^1 This form is satisfactorily dated. (One example)

B^2 This broken letter may be either B^3 or B^1, more likely the former. This is found in 1093 and as early as 1056, although as M. Deschamps says, it is 'rare jusqu'à la fin du XII^e siècle.'

C^1 Thirteen slightly varying examples are essentially alike. This is the more common type of eleventh century, which dies out in the twelfth.

C^2C^3 This form gradually replaces the square form, but is to be found in the middle of the eleventh century. (Four examples.)

D^1 Nineteen examples, of which five are in the painted inscription. This is the common type, easily found before 1088.

D^2 Only one example of this type occurs at Cluny. This is a more advanced type. The earliest dated example so far observed elsewhere is of 1096.

E^1 This is the common eleventh-century variety, easily proved to

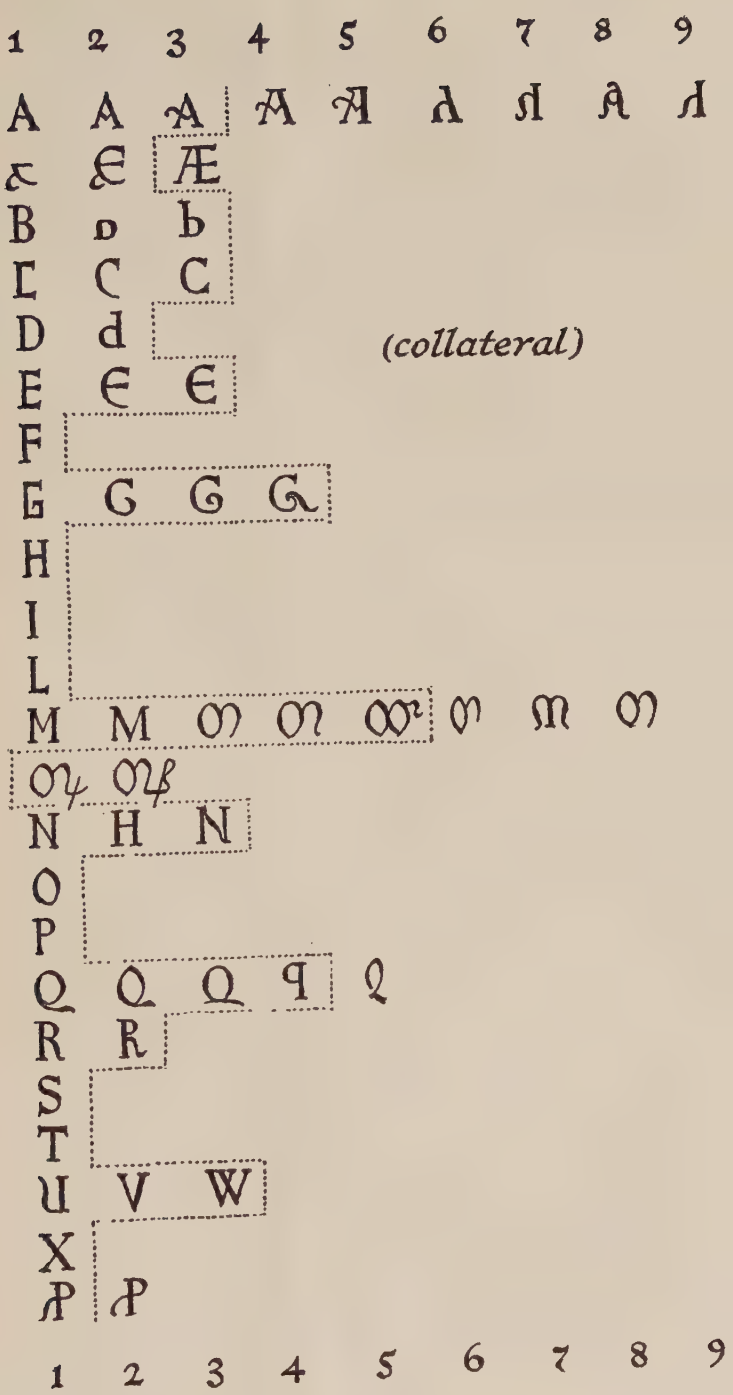


Plate I

The Alphabet of the Inscribed Capitals, with Collateral Comparative Letters

exist before 1088. (Twenty-nine examples, of which two are painted)

E^2E^3 Five examples, of which one is painted. This form is found to be increasing in popularity in later eleventh-century. It can be found as early as 1001 at Rome.

F^1 The usual eleventh-century variety. (Five examples)

G^1 The square G is earlier than the round. An exact duplicate of the Cluny type has been found at Toulouse, 1093. At Cluny there are five examples, of which one is painted.

G^2G^3 Two examples. This rounded form becomes more and more frequent in later work, but it goes back to 1003 at Rome.

G^4 One example. This form has not been paralleled exactly. Dated examples are not sufficiently like it to be satisfactory. The serif of the G, however, is very like the tail of the Cluny R.

H^1 One example. The usual eleventh-century type.

I^1 Thirty-seven examples, of which one is painted; the usual eleventh-century type.

L^1 Eight examples; the usual eleventh-century type.

M^1M^2 Twelve examples; (one painted) with center extending partly down, and two with center extending entirely down to the lower line of the letter. There may be no significance in this slight difference. The former is the more common, but the latter can be found as far back as *ca.* 1050.

M^3M^4 This is the greatest problem. The best example is a single one in Spain and dated 1105 (or *possibly* 1075) while Cluny has seven examples. This M occurs on the Victor shrine at Xanten (*ca.* 1129). M^6 occurs at St Sernin, Toulouse, in 1093; M^7, on the Sahagún tomb, 1093. OR^1 for *orum* occurs in 1050, 1056, 1096; OR^2 in 1069. The last two are probably derived from manuscript forms. M^8 occurs in 1097.

M^5 One painted example. The type has not been found elsewhere, but compare with the preceding.

N^1 Twenty-two examples, of which two are painted; the commonest form.

N^2 One example, used for N. Satisfactorily dated, 972 and *ca.* 1080–1085.

N^3 Two painted examples; the type occurs at St-Benoît-sur-Loire, 1085 and 1096.

O^1 Nineteen carved and two painted examples showing slight variations, especially as to roundness. Similar variations on single inscriptions are found, 1063 and 1068.

P^1 Twelve examples; the common eleventh-century form.

Q^1Q^2 Seven examples. Both these forms have been found before 1088.

Q^3 This character may be intended for Q^2. It resembles Q^5, found in 1093 at Toulouse: it is also found in 1032.

Q^4 Two examples; this has been found in examples dated before 1088.

R^1 There are seventeen examples of this character at Cluny. They show some variations over the whole range, but do not lend themselves to easy groupings by types. However, sufficient parallels have been found.

R^2 One painted example; the type occurs at Elne in 1069.

S^1 Forty-six carved and two painted examples. Variations exist especially as to proportions and serifs, but all are the same type and identified.

T^1 This is the common pre-uncial T; thirty-three carved and three painted examples.

U^1 There are five examples with the usual slight variations of this round later form of U. The round U can be found, however, as early as 999 (in Rome).

V^2 Common early U; thirty-eight carved and three painted examples.

W^3 This double form of U occurs at Moissac, 1063, and as a W in Toulouse, 1093.

X^1 Two examples with straight arms have been identified.

PR^1 This is *pro-*, not A^9 as occasionally read heretofore. It is not a common abbreviation and has not been exactly paralleled as to its tail — but this tail is merely that of the Cluny R reversed. PR^2 occurs in 882.

Summarizing this we find that every letter has been found exactly before 1095, except $Æ^2$ D^2 G^4 M^4 M^5 Q^3 and of these only M^4 M^5 are of importance.

So much for the 'negative' evidence; namely, that there is nothing in the letters to prevent a date of 1088–1095. There is also a certain amount of affirmative evidence. It will have been noticed that there were often two or more forms of one letter of which one was the earlier variety. By studying the relative proportion of those, we find evidence pointing to the probability of the early date for Cluny. Taking up the paired forms in succession, we find the ratios noted in

Figure 1. It will be seen that the general weight lies in the direction of the earlier and simpler forms. M. Deschamps regards as most significant the forms of A, M, N, T. At Cluny the latter two are all of the early variety — with no round N or sickle-shaped T forms.

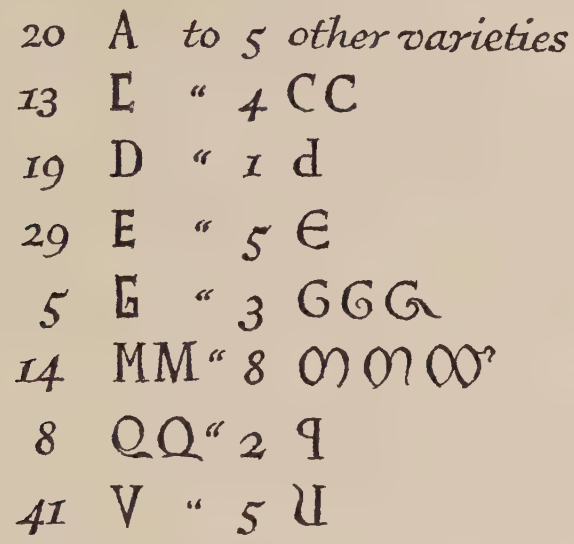


Figure 1
Ratios between Letters of the Cluny Capitals

Of the A the proportion is four to one in favor of the earlier forms; with the M, however, the proportion is just under two to one. These relative proportions are indicated only since, as yet, there seems to be no way of using mathematics more exactly.

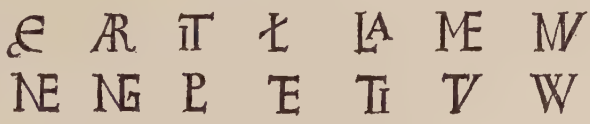


Figure 2
Combinations of Letters on the Cluny Capitals

Another form of affirmative evidence is to be found in the presence of certain combinations of letters, as shown in Figure 2. All but five of these have been found before 1088, three in 1096, and only two (NG and PL) have not yet been turned up elsewhere. Aside from the identification of these forms, their very presence also points toward

an early though not determinable date. For such combinations were characteristic of the middle eleventh century and tended to disappear in the twelfth, although the process of change was not uniform and does not seem to lend itself to any numerical measurement.

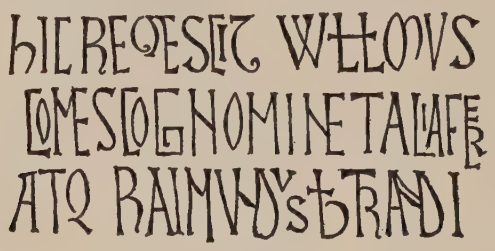


FIGURE 3
CARVED INSCRIPTION ON SOUTH TRANSEPT OF ST SERNIN, TOULOUSE
Hic reciescit Willelmus comes cognomine Taliafer
atq[ue] Raimundus Bertrandi

Much further work could be done in pursuing the study of the undated letters and combinations. Related inscriptions might be studied as whole compositions, to find those which exhibit as nearly as possible all the characteristics and the proportions of those on the

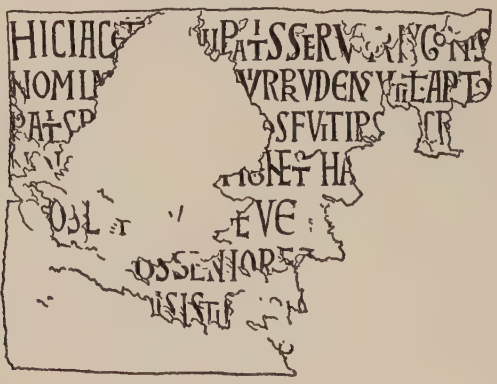


FIGURE 4
EXTERIOR CARVED INSCRIPTION FROM THE
SOUTH MINOR TRANSEPT

Cluny capitals. A good example is presented in an inscription brought forward by Mr Porter.

This inscription, reproduced as Figure 3, in V-cut letters on a slab, is let into the exterior transept wall of the church of St Sernin at

FIGURE 5
THE CHAPEL OF ST GABRIEL

Toulouse. It records the burial there of Guillaume Taillefer (†1037) and Raymond Bertrand (†1050 — not 1150, as given in the *Congrès Archéologique* for Toulouse, 1929). The date of the transfer of the bodies is quite certainly 1091 or 1093; there is every possible chance that the inscription is strictly contemporary, and a glance shows its relationship to the Cluny inscriptions. In view of this and the foregoing analysis, it is clear that the date 1088–1095 is acceptable for

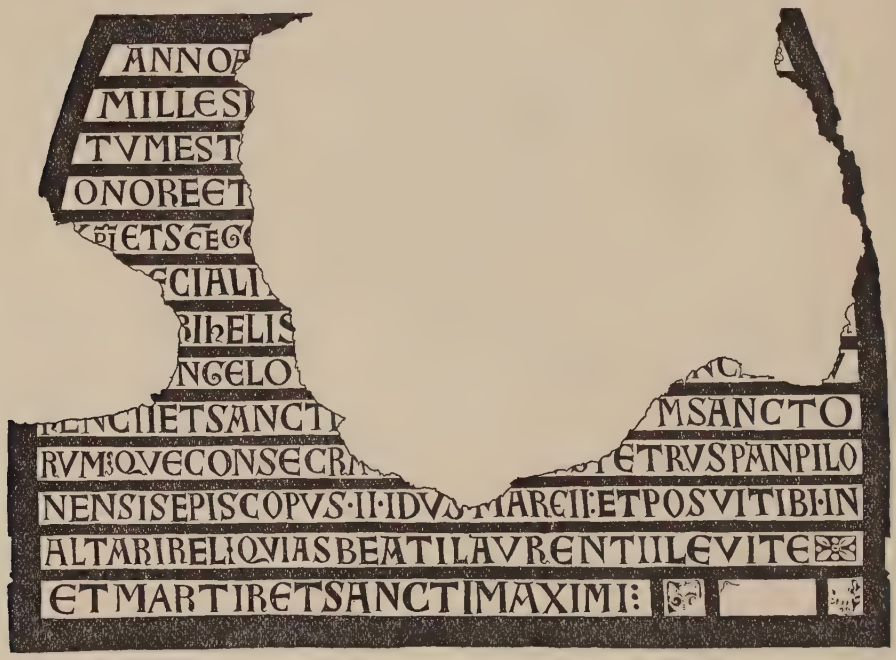


Figure 6

Inscription in the Chapel of St Gabriel

The original measures 5′–1¾″ (1 n. 57) across at the base line

the Cluny inscriptions, as it is for the carving and placing of the ambulatory capitals on quite independent grounds.

II

On the exterior of the short western wall of the south minor transept at Cluny appears the wreck of an epitaph (Figure 4), which has lettering resembling that of the ambulatory capitals, particularly Capital 8. Immediately to the west comes the ladder-like arrange-

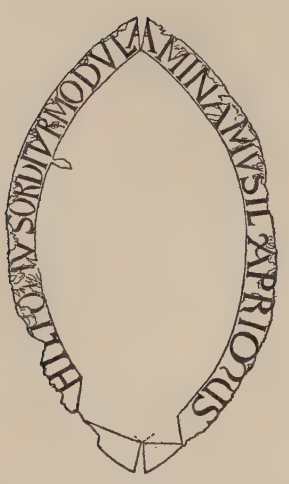
ment of through-stones in the choir wall which seems to indicate an interruption between two building campaigns. The lower part of the great transept was begun as early as 1100 in all probability; the sanctuary was well along by 1095, and it would seem that the minor transept must have been under way by 1095 at least. Since in 1107, or thereabouts, Saint Hugh speaks of the church as 'having been constructed,' it is fair to suppose that the little court adjoining the minor transept was cleared of scaffolding and building material by that date, or a few years before, and thus became a suitable burial place. The epitaph speaks of the deceased as 'servitor Ugonis,'

Figure 7
Carved Inscription on a Keystone of the Nave, Vézelay

which might mean that he died before Saint Hugh (†1109). This is a likely *ad quem* for the epitaph, although there was a colorless Abbot Hugh who ruled for a few months in 1122. For details concerning the dating of the building, the reader is referred to Speculum v (1930), 77 ff.

III

The article just cited gives, at p. 83, the chronological details concerning the Chapel of St Gabriel in the square tower of the existing transept (Figure 5). The inscription which dates the chapel was added, in all probability, just after the dedication or as a memento shortly after the death (in 1115) of the consecrating bishop — say between 1105 and 1117. Figure 6 is a reduction of a full-size tracing made at the cost of no small discomfort by Mr Conant. A comparison of its epigraphy with that of the capitals leaves the impression of



A. *Hic tonus orditur modulamina musica primus* (carved, V-cut)

B. *Subsequitur ptongus numero vel lege secundus* (carved, V-cut)

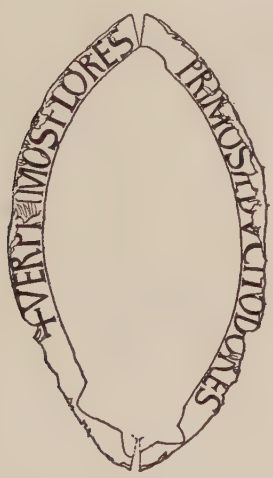
C. *Tertius impingit X̄pmque resurgere fingit* (carved, V-cut)

D. *Succedit quartus simulans in carmine planctus* (carved, V-cut)

FIGURE 8
INSCRIPTIONS OF CAPITAL 2
(THE FIRST FOUR TONES OF PLAINSONG)

A. *Dat cogn[osce]ndu[m] Prudentia q[u]id sit agendu[m]* (carved, V-cut)

B. [?*Spicas fer* (painted?)] *vens q[u]as decoq[u]it Æstas* (carved, V-cut)



C. +*Ver primos flores* (*carved, square-sunk*) *primos producit odores* (carved, V-cut)

D. *Dat nos monendu[m] Prudentia q[u]id sit agendum* (painted)

FIGURE 9
INSCRIPTIONS OF CAPITAL 6
(PRUDENCE-SEASONS)

A. *Ostendit quintus quam sit quisq[u]is tumet imus* (carved, V-cut)

B. *Si cupis affectum pietatis respice sextum* (carved, V-cut)

C. *Insinuat flatu[m] cu[m] donis septimus almum* (carved, V-cut)

D. *Octavus sanctos om[nes] docet esse beatos* (carved, V-cut)

FIGURE 10
INSCRIPTIONS OF CAPITAL 8
(THE LAST FOUR TONES OF PLAINSONG)

more conservative design and slightly later date. As a control upon this inscription, the well-known inscription from the keystone of an arch in the nave of the abbey church of Vézelay is presented (Figure 7). This inscription is generally believed to date from the period when the church was under repair after the fire of 1120. Although there is little agreement as to the interval, the *terminus ante quam* is the dedication of 1132. To many it seems reasonable to suppose that the keystone was made while the church was 'modo fumosa' from the disaster, in which case it would fall but little later than the St Gabriel inscription at Cluny; but it is also related, by its somewhat freer manner, to the inscriptions on the Cluny capitals.

WAS OLD RUSSIA A VASSAL STATE OF BYZANTIUM?

By A. A. VASILIEV

THE question of the political dependence of the ancient Russian state upon Byzantium is of great importance. Was it a vassal state of the Empire, or an independent sovereign state, absolute in its authority? We find historical indications that the Russian metropolitans, for example the metropolitan Alexis in the fourteenth century, required obedience from the Russian princes in matters which had almost nothing to do with ecclesiastical administration, and that to enforce their demands they used the weapon of excommunication and complaint to the Patriarch of Constantinople.[1] It has further been pointed out that the Byzantine government steadily desired to establish political as well as religious influence over Russia. Finally, some historians call Russia a province of Byzantium and write, 'All the laws of the Greco-Roman emperors were binding upon Russia from the moment of their publication in Constantinople.'[2]

The great difficulty of the problem is that our sources give no direct and clear statements as to Russia's political dependence on Byzantium. But it is essential to attempt to clarify the question as far as our scanty evidence allows.

The old Russian state of Kiev, on the river of the Dnieper, from its foundation in the ninth century A.D. to the reign of Prince Vladimir at the end of the tenth century was politically absolutely independent of Byzantium. The treaties of the first Russian princes, Oleg and Igor, and a portion of the treaty of Svyatoslav, which have been preserved in the old Russian chronicle, were clearly made by independent parties, although one of the belligerents was vanquished. In these documents no preference is given to the Christians in Russia. Russia at that time was officially pagan, and the Greek Christians of Byzantium on the one hand and 'the unbaptized Russes' on the other, on an equal footing pledged themselves by oath to maintain the treaty 'as long as the sun shines and the world endures henceforth and forevermore.' An official account of the reception of the

[1] See M. Dyakonov, *The Power of the Rulers of Moscow* (St Petersburg, 1889), p. 9 (in Russian).

[2] V. Ikonnikov, *Essay on the Cultural Importance of Byzantium in the History of Russia* (Kiev, 1869), p. 296. P. Sokolov, *A Russian Bishop from Byzantium* (Kiev, 1913), pp. 185, 226. Both in Russian.

Russian Princess Olga at the court of the Emperor of Constantinople in 957 has come down to us. This shows that the reception 'of Elga, Princess of Russia (ἀρχόντισσα Ῥωσίας)'[1] was arranged on absolutely the same pattern as that of the Arab (Saracen) envoys, who were extremely important to the Empire in the tenth century. In all receptions given Olga and her retinue, in all entertainments and gifts bestowed on the distinguished guests, nothing indicates any political dependence of Russia. Olga arrived in Tsargrad and was met there as an independent Princess of Russia.

We have also at our disposal the official formulae of address used by the Byzantine government for foreign rulers, both independent and vassal. That used to 'the Prince (ἄρχων) of Russia' ran as follows: 'Charter of Constantine and Romanus, the Christ-loving Emperors (βασιλεῖς) of the Romans, to the archon of Russia,' and was the formula applied in Byzantium to independent rulers; the address to vassal peoples and states ran as follows: 'Order (command, κέλευσις) of the Christ-loving despots (not βασιλεῖς)' tosuch and such.[2]

According to this evidence, we conclude that up to the epoch of Vladimir the Saint no question arises of any political dependence of Russia upon Byzantium.

Under Vladimir circumstances changed. In 987 the throne of the Byzantine Emperor, Basil II, was tottering, for Bardas Phocas' successful revolt in Asia Minor was already threatening Constantinople. Basil II, unable to suppress the revolt with his own forces, called on Vladimir, succeeded in making a friendly agreement with him, promised him the hand of the Greek princess, Anna, perhaps Basil's own sister, and received from him a body of Russian troops, 6000 soldiers, the so-called 'Varangian-Russian Druzhina' (company). With this help Basil succeeded in crushing the revolt of Bardas Phocas. Some difficulties arose between Byzantium and Russia over the settlement of affairs. But these were adjusted, and the Byzantine princess was sent to Russia; Vladimir adopted Christianity in 988 or 989. This was the beginning of the conversion of Russia to Christianity.

It is not entirely clear what was the result of this agreement between Vladimir and Basil. It is a debatable point whether Vladimir remained an independent ruler like his predecessors, or, as a Rus-

[1] *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, p. 594.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 690–691.

sian historian says, 'became not only the brother-in-law of the Emperor, but also a Greek vassal.'[1] Of course, Basil did not give his sister in marriage to a northern barbarian and pagan merely because he desired to see Vladimir and his country christianized. The Byzantine *basileus* was not only a missionary, but first of all a statesman; therefore some change in relations between Byzantium and Russia must have taken place, and a change not in favor of the young northern state.

Real evidence of the political dependence of Russia upon Byzantium was the appointment from Constantinople and the arrival at the Russian capital on the Dnieper, Kiev, of a Greek metropolitan; he was a representative not only of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch but also of the Emperor, and his activity and influence went far beyond purely ecclesiastical matters. In a letter from the Patriarch of Constantinople to the Russian Prince, Andrei Bogolyubski, in 1160, concerning the latter's deposition of a bishop of Rostov, we find clear evidence that in Russia secular affairs were subject to the jurisdiction of a bishop who was sent from Constantinople. The letter runs as follows: 'You persecute a bishop, the head of the spiritual and temporal power.'[2]

There is some difference of opinion as to who was the first metropolitan of Kiev. According to some, it was Leon, who was sent to Vladimir from Constantinople in 991[3] according to others the metropolitan see of Kiev was established in 1039 under Yaroslav, and the first metropolitan was Theopemptos.[4] I should add that in the Russian Primary Chronicle, under the year 1039, the name of the metropolitan of Kiev is mentioned for the first time; the name is Theopemptos.

Without attempting to solve this question, I think that even in

[1] P. Sokolov, *op. cit.*, p. 35. In his recent book on the history of the *Origins of the Russian State*, G. Laehr, giving no mention of our problem, remarks only that after the conversion, in the course of some decades following, Russia became a church province (*Kirchenprovinz*) of the Byzantine patriarchate. G. Laehr, *Die Anfänge des russischen Reiches. Politische Geschichte im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1930), p. 89.

[2] *The Russian Historical Library*, VI (St Petersburg, 1908), p. 68. *The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles*, IX, 225. Both in old Russian.

[3] Y. Golubinsky, *History of the Russian Church*, I, part 1 (sec. ed., Moscow, 1901), 281 (in Russian).

[4] M. Prisyelkov, *Outlines of the Ecclesiastical and Political History of Kievan Russia* (St Petersburg, 1913), p. 77 (in Russian).

the first half of the eleventh century there is perhaps some evidence of Russia's political dependence upon Byzantium. I refer to the account of Michael Psellus, a Byzantine writer and scholar of the eleventh century, who was an eye-witness of the attack of the Russian fleet on Constantinople in 1043. His title, 'On the revolt of the Rhos' (*περὶ τῆς τοῦ Ῥῶς ἐπαναστάσεως*) may be interpreted as applying to a people dependent upon Byzantium and revolting against their suzerain.[1]

One may ask why the trade treaties between Byzantium and Russia ceased at the time of Svyatoslav, in the second half of the tenth century. We know that hostilities took place under both Vladimir and Yaroslav; but there is no mention of treaties. This may be explained by the fact that the peace settlements between Russia and Byzantium, especially under Yaroslav, were made when political relations between the belligerents had already changed. Yaroslav, who, after his unsuccessful insurrection, was again under the power of his suzerain, could not have made terms of trade. Russia must have traded as Constantinople prescribed without any special treaty.

Furthermore, it was usual for almost all vassals of the Empire to receive honorary court titles. Our sources, though to be sure the later ones, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, mention that the Russian Prince bore a Byzantine title, *stolnik* (*ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης*); and the conferring of this title upon the Russian Prince is associated in legendary form with the name of Constantine the Great and even with that of Augustus. In other words, the antiquity of this title for the Russian Prince is emphasized. Particularly interesting is a statement of the Byzantine writer, Maximus Planudes, who died in 1310. He says that the Emperor Augustus has already bestowed the title of *stolnik* upon 'the Prince of the Ros'; and he himself knows from contemporary knowledge that a certain Russian envoy sent the following words to the Emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus (1282–1328): 'My master, the king of the Ros, *Stolnik* of Thy Sacred Majesty, obsequiously prostrates himself before Thy Sacred Majesty.'[2]

[1] K. Sathas, *Bibliotheca graeca medii aevi*, IV (Athens–Paris, 1874), 143–144. Michel Psellos, *Chronographie*, text and French translation by E. Renauld, II (Paris, 1928), 8.

[2] *ὁ αὐθέντης μου ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ῥῶς ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς Τραπέζης τῆς ἁγίας βασιλείας σου προσκυνεῖ δουλικῶς τὴν ἁγίαν βασιλείαν σου.* The text is published by H. Haupt, 'Neue Beiträge zu den Fragmenten des Dio Cassius,' *Hermes*, XIV (1879), 445. This text is also reprinted in *The Russian Historical Library*, VI, Supplement, 273–274.

The question whether this passage refers to the Grand Prince of Russia or the King of Galicia is not of particular importance to us: it is important that the Russian Prince received such a title in early times.[1]

A second statement is that of a Byzantine historian of the fourteenth century, Nicephorus Gregoras, who tells a historical fact in legendary form. According to him, Constantine the Great conferred the title of *stolnik* on the Russian ruler (ἡγεμών),[2] the title of *princeps* on the Peloponnesian ruler, of *megaduke* on the ruler of Attica and Athens, etc.; and he adds, 'Time has destroyed the memory of these titles; some of them time has entirely covered and swept away in the waters of oblivion'; others have become uncertain and obscure.[3]

It is obvious that these two statements, in spite of their legendary element and the names of Augustus and Constantine, have preserved a kernel of historical truth, namely that at some time which I am not yet able to determine, the Russian Prince received the title of *stolnik*. Perhaps this introduction of the Russian Prince into the Byzantine *Table of Ranks* occurred simultaneously with the marriage of Vladimir to the Byzantine princess and his conversion to Christianity; perhaps somewhat later.

It is not from the point, perhaps, to mention a drawing from the Library of the Academy of Art, at Leningrad, dated in the year 1651, but preserved in a copy made at the end of the eighteenth century. The drawing, of a fresco which once adorned the Cathedral of St Sophia of Kiev, represents Yaroslav the Wise with his family; Yaroslav, holding in his hands a model of the temple of St Sophia, approaches a figure arrayed in imperial robes.[4] This drawing has rather embarrassed some scholars, who felt that Yaroslav, with the model of St Sophia in his hands, should not have approached the Emperor, but Jesus Christ,[5] since the presentation of the model of a church to a layman, and not to Jesus Christ or the Holy Virgin, was not to be

[1] See P. Sokolov. *op. cit.*, pp. 37–38. In my opinion the style of the passage given above is better suited to the Grand Prince of Moscow than to the King of Galicia.

[2] Nicephori Gregorae, *Historiae Byzantinae*, VII, 5(Bonnsed., I, p. 289): ὁ δὲ Ῥωσικὸς (ἡγεμὼν) *τήν τε στάσιν καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης παρὰ τοῦ μεγάλου κεκλήρωται Κωνσταντίνου.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] J. Smirnov, *Drawings of Kiev in the year 1651 from copies at the end of the eighteenth century* (Moscow, 1908), pp. 454–455 (in Russian).

[5] N. Kondakov, *Portraits of the family of a Russian Prince in miniatures of the eleventh century* (St Petersburg, 1906), p. 37 (in Russian).

justified or confirmed by any of our known sources. But these objections may be overruled if we take into account the fact that the Byzantine Emperor was considered not only as a mere man; indeed in his representations his head, like those of Jesus Christ, the Holy Virgin, and the Saints, was surrounded by a halo (*nimbus*). The drawing may be thus interpreted: Yaroslav presents the model of St Sophia of Kiev, which he dedicated in 1039, to his suzerain, the Byzantine emperor.

In the second half of the eleventh century and at the beginning of the twelfth, the idea of the political dependence of the Russian Princedom upon Byzantium undoubtedly did exist in Western Europe. We have a very interesting statement from a German writer of that time, Adam of Bremen; 'The capital of Russia (*Ruzziae*) is Kiev (*Chive*), vying with the power of Constantinople and the most famous ornament of Greece' ('aemula sceptri Constantinopolitani, clarissimum decus Graeciae').[1] Only if he had considered the Russian state a vassal or subject state to Byzantium, would he have made such a statement. In the twelfth century we have another very interesting account in the work of a German writer, Otto of Freising. He says that the King of Germany, Conrad III, appealed to the Byzantine emperor to punish some Russians who had killed and robbed some citizens of Germany. The Emperor replied that in the affair which had taken place in Russia (in Rossia) he had acted according to the friendly and familiar relations existing between Byzantium and Germany.[2] The King of Germany would have complained to the Emperor only if he were acquainted with the fact of the political dependence of Russia upon Byzantium. However we do not know what Russia this refers to, because towards the close of the eleventh century Galicia, with Galich as the capital, became a separate principality in the southwest, and in the twelfth century it grew into considerable importance. Even Kiev, for a short while, was under the power of the southwestern princes. At the same time a real centre of the Russian state in northeastern Russia, the principality of Suzdal, was growing and gaining in power.

[1] *Adami Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*, II, 19.

[2] *Ottonis Freisingensis Gesta Friderici*, I, 25–26. See Dyakonov, *op. cit.*, p. 15. C. Grot, *From the history of Ugria* [Hungary] *and the Slavs in the twelfth century* (Warsaw, 1889), p. 65. Both in Russian.

In connection with our problem I think may be explained some brief and rather obscure records in the Russian chronicles on the expulsion from Russia to Tsargrad of vanquished claimants to the throne. For example, in 1079 the Prince Oleg Svyatoslavich was exiled 'overseas to Tsargrad.' In 1130 the princes of Polotsk, with their wives and children, were exiled by Mstislav 'to Greece because they had violated the oath.' This may be explained by the fact that the petty princes who revolted against their ruler were held to account not only by the Russian Prince, but also by the suzerain of Russia, the Byzantine Emperor. They were exiled as dangerous and undesirable not only to the Russian Prince, but also to the Emperor.

It goes without saying that political dependence was especially painful as the Russian state grew in power, particularly when it was headed by a strong-willed and ambitious prince like Andrei Bogolyubski, in the second half of the twelfth century. This remained true even though the dependence at that time was felt more morally than actually. At the same time, after the transfer of the central power from Kiev to the northeast, Byzantium was topographically more distant, and communication between the two countries became more difficult on account of the continuous migrations of different nomads in the south. Andrei Bogolyubski began to disobey directions from Constantinople, and, in spite of a special order from the Patriarch, refused to restore to the chair of Rostov a bishop whom he had deposed. Unwilling to share his power with his younger brothers, Andrei expelled them from the territory of Rostov; and, as we read in the Russian chronicle, they 'went to Tsargrad.'[1] The Emperor received the exiles hospitably, apparently considering them as vassals who had appealed to his protection.

At the time of Manuel Comnenus, who was deeply interested in Russia, the problem of the vassal states, Russia inclusive, came again to the front.[2]

It has been pointed out by competent historians that Vsevolod the Big Nest, at the close of the twelfth century, was the first Prince who systematically, for the entire course of his long life, bore the title of

[1] Russian Chronicles: *Ipatievskaya, s. a.* 1162; *Voskresenskaya, Complete Coll. of Russ. Chr.*, VII, 77; *Nikonovskaya, ibid.*, IX, 229 (in old Russian).

[2] G. Vernadsky has published a very interesting article in *Byzantion*, IV (1927–1928), 269–276: 'Byzantino-Russian Relations in the Twelfth Century.'

Grand Prince.[1] True, the authors of the old Russian chronicles sometimes gave this title to earlier rulers, even beginning with Oleg. But these titles were either later interpolations or solemn titles bestowed in exceptional cases, for example the moment of the prince's death. But the official title of *Grand Prince* was an innovation. According to conditions at the end of the twelfth century, the Russian prince hardly could himself have assumed such a title. Vsevolod could receive it only from the Byzantine Emperor at whose court he had stayed for a time. Manuel Comnenus had been glad to welcome him as a prospective vassal when, as we have seen, he was expelled from Russia by his brother, Andrei Bogolyubski. Andrei was unwilling to recognize the sovereignty of Byzantium, and Manuel hoped to confirm the relation of suzerain and vassal by giving Vselovod the title of *Grand Prince.*

In the thirteenth century we turn quite a new page in the history of Russia: it was the epoch of the so-called Tatar yoke. The Tatars conquered and ruled Russia for two centuries. Of course under these circumstances any real Russian political dependence upon Byzantium disappeared. But as usual the metropolitan was sent to Russia from Constantinople, and he became the sole representative of the Empire and of the idea of the universal power of the Emperor.

This was also the epoch of the decline of the Empire under the Palaeologi. At the end of the fourteenth century, the Emperor Manuel II called on Basil I, Grand Prince of Russia, among other rulers, for help against the Turks, and Moscow discussed the question of granting 'alms to those who are in such need and misery, besieged by the Turks.'[2] In the mind of the Russian Prince, this was quite another Empire, another power, another suzerain, from what the Byzantine Empire had formerly been — another and a weaker Empire. Nevertheless, the former ideology was preserved, as is obviously shown by the documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

An official document of the fourteenth century addressed by the Sultan of Egypt to the Emperor John VI Cantacuzene has come down to us. This document gives the pompous title of the Emperor, who

[1] L. Goetz, 'Der Titel "Grossfürst" in den ältesten russischen Chroniken,' *Zeitschrift für osteuropäische Geschichte,* I (1910), 30; 59. See also A. Presnyakov, *Formation of the Great-Russian State* (Petrograd, 1918), p. 38 (in Russian).

[2] *The Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles,* XI (1897), 168, (in old Russian).

is called 'Emperor of the Bulgars, Asanians, Wallachs (Vlakhs), Russians (Ros), and Alans.'[1]

From the official correspondence of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries between the Emperors and the Russian Princes, as well as between the Patriarchs and the Russian Metropolitans, we may point out a number of interesting allusions to our problem. In a *chrysobull* of 1347 the Emperor John VI Cantacuzene commanded that the bishop of Little Russia should be henceforth subject to the Metropolitan of Kiev. In another document the envoys of the Russian Metropolitan arrived at the court of the Emperor 'to honor him, and humbly presented to him their writings.' In addition, the Russian Metropolitan received his title 'with the permission of the Highest and Holy (Byzantine) Emperor.'[2]

It is to be noted that the Russian Princes sometimes treated with less regard the Emperor who was weakened and hard pressed by the Turks. In 1393 the Patriarch wrote to Basil I, Grand Prince of Moscow, with regard to the measures he had taken toward the Novgorodians, who had been disobedient to the Metropolitan: 'If we, on account of our common sins, have lost cities and lands, it does not follow from this that we have to suffer disdain from Christians . . . . With sorrow I also learn of some words spoken by Your Nobility about my Mightiest and Holy Autocrat and Emperor. It is said that You do not allow the Metropolitan to mention in the diptychs the Holy Name of the Emperor, — a thing which has never been possible before — and you say: "We have the Church, but we have no Emperor nor wish to know him." This is by no means good. . . . If, with the will of God, the Pagans have surrounded the possessions and the land of the Emperor, yet up to this day the Emperor has the same coronation from the Church according to the same ritual and with the same prayers; he is anointed with great consecrated oil and elected Emperor and Autocrat of the Romans, i.e., of all Christians . . . . If the Great Emperor, the Lord and Master of the Universe, invested with such power, has been reduced to such straits, what might not other local rulers and small princes endure? . . . Thus, it is by no means good, my Son, if you say that "we have the Church, not the

[1] Joannis Cantacuzeni *Historiae*, IV, 14 (Bonned., III, 94).

[2] Miklosich et Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi*, I (Vienna, 1860), 261–252, 352; II (Vienna, 1862), 17. Zachariae von Lingenthal, *Jus graeco-romanum*, III (Leipzig, 1857), 702. *The Russian Historical Library*, VI, Supplement, 19–22, 67–68, 181–182.

Emperor." It is impossible to Christians to have the Church, but not to have the Emperor . . . . As the Holy Apostle foreseeing the future (says) that Christians shall have only one Emperor . . . . If some other Christians assume to themselves the name of Emperor, all these things are abnormal, illegal, and more pertaining to tyranny and violence."[1]

This document presents the idea of one sole Emperor both for Byzantium and for Russia. In a later letter of the Grand Prince Basil II to the last Byzantine Emperor, Constantine XI, written in 1451–1452 (in other words, on the eve of the final collapse of the Empire), the Russian ruler makes clear the recognition of Byzantine power in secular affairs. 'You have received Your Imperial scepter and Your land in order to unite all Orthodox Christianity in Your dominions, as well as to protect powerfully our dominions of Russia and all our religion.'[2]

It is not surprising that after Constantinople was captured by the Turks in 1453 and after the last Byzantine Emperor and the last protector of the Greco-orthodox world was killed, the Russian Grand Prince should assume the position of Greek-orthodox sovereign. The niece of the last Byzantine Emperor had married Ivan III, of Russia. Moscow began to be compared with 'seven-hilled Rome' and called 'the third Rome.' At the beginning of the sixteenth century, a Russian scholar, the monk Philotheus, wrote, 'Two Romes have fallen, and the third stands, while a fourth is not to be.'

Our problem is obviously vague and obscure, and our evidence so scanty that contradictory conclusions may be drawn, ranging from the statement that old Russia was an absolutely independent state to the opinion that old Russia was nothing but a province of Byzantium. As far as I am concerned, after many doubts and hesitations I have reached some conclusions that unfortunately are far from definite. In the first place, we deal with the Byzantine doctrine of the suzerainty of the Empire over Russia. This was a political doctrine concerned not only with Russia, but also with other peoples and states, in different epochs and under various circumstances. Very often the doctrine was stronger in theory than in fact. Such was

[1] Miklosich et Müller, *op. cit.*, II, 189–192. *The Russian Historical Library*, VI, Supplement, 269–276.

[2] *The Russian Historical Library*, VI, 577. See also P. Sokolov, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

the case with Russia. However, from the point of view of the Byzantine government Russia obviously belonged among the vassal states of the Empire, especially after the marriage of Vladimir with the Byzantine princess and the conversion of Russia to Christianity at the close of the tenth century.

The attitude of Russia was somewhat different. The arrival of the Byzantine princess and, as a result of the conversion to Christianity, the appearance of the Byzantine metropolitan, as a representative of the spiritual and secular interests of the Empire, created a new state of things; a certain dependence upon Byzantium came into being. But, gradually, as Russia grew in authority and gained in power, she realized that the Byzantine Empire was unable effectively to impose her suzerainty; accordingly the political connection, which was never strong, grew looser and weaker and finally was hardly traceable, although the idea of the Emperor as sole ruler of the universe and of the orthodox world continued to exist in Russia till the very fall of Byzantium. At any rate, the opinion of some historians, whom I have cited at the beginning of this article, that Russia was a province of Byzantium, and that all the laws of the Byzantine emperors were binding upon Russia from the moment of their publication in Constantinople, is nowise justified by our scanty and vague evidence. This was undoubtedly the desire and aim of the Byzantine government, but it could never have been carried into effect.

Finally, the idea of Byzantium's suzerainty over Russia took deep roots in Western Europe, and the mediaeval European writers, at least in the twelfth century, considered old Russia a real vassal state of the Byzantine Empire.

The University of Wisconsin

LE *PSAUTIER* DE STUTTGART (*LANDESBIBLIOTHEK NO. 23*)

PAR D. DEBRUYNE

I. LE TEXTE

UN SIMPLE coup d'œil suffit pour montrer que ce manuscrit est un *Psautier* 'gallican,' c'est-à-dire qu'il nous donne la deuxième revision de Jérôme faite sur les *Hexaples*. Mais si nous voulons entrer dans le détail et apprécier la qualité, bonne ou mauvaise, de ce texte, ils est inutile ou même dangereux de le comparer avec les éditions, car il n'existe malheureusement aucune édition critique. Nous sommes donc obligés de comparer avec les manuscrits, et alors on constate aussitôt une variété déconcertante dans les manuscrits anciens et une divergence non moins déconcertante dans les jugements des critiques modernes. Des spécialistes renommés ont prôné récemment comme bon un texte du *Psautier* gallican que je dois condamner comme mauvais. La cause de ce désaccord d'appréciation est qu'on a oublié de poser la question préalable: quels critères avons-nous pour juger de la valeur d'un *Psautier* gallican? Cependant, Rahlfs[1] avait donné quelques indications très justes, qu'il suffisait d'approfondir et d'étendre.

Le premier et principal critère, ce sont les citations, non seulement anciennes, mais contemporaines: celles d'Augustin, qui dans ses *Enarrationes* cite et commente pour huit *Psaumes* (lxxvii, lxxviii, lxxxii, civ, cv, cviii, cxxxv, et cl) un texte fortement corrigé par le gallican;[2] celles de l'auteur lui-meme, Jérôme, qui cite dans ses lettres le texte complet de deux *Psaumes* (xliv dans la *Lettre 65* en 397, et lxxxix dans la *Lettre 140* en 418), qui explique un grand nombre de *Psaumes* dans ses *Tractatus*,[3] qui discute environ 180 passages du *Psautier* gallican dans sa *Lettre 106*[4] adressée à Sunnia et Fretela. Depuis longtemps on a reconnu que cette célèbre lettre est le commentaire authentique du *Psautier* gallican. Une leçon que Jérôme affirme se trouver dans ce *Psautier* doit être acceptée, même si elle est contraire au grec et à l'hébreu, même si elle est très rare, même si elle ne se trouve dans aucun manuscrit. Les autres citations sont également importantes, mais elles n'ont pas la même valeur décisive.

Le deuxième critère, c'est la comparaison avec le grec, en particulier, avec le grec hexaplaire, pour autant que nous le connaissons, et avec

[1] 'Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters' (*Septuaginta-Studien*, II [1907], 114).

[2] Cet emploi du gallican par Augustin a été démontré par P. Capelle, 'Le Texte du Psautier Latin en Afrique' (*Coll. Bibl. Lat.*, IV [1913], 143–158).

[3] Édités par Dom G. Morin dans les *Analecta Maredsolana*, III, pt. 2 (1897) et 3 (1903).

[4] Je crois avoir démontré que cette lettre est fictive; cf. D. DeBruyne, 'Le Lettre de Jérôme à Sunnia et Fretela sur le *Psautier*' (*Zts. für neutestamentliche Wiss.*, 1929, pp. 1–13).

l'hébreu, car c'est sur le grec hexaplaire et parfois sur l'hébreu que la revision a été faite.

Dans une récente étude[1] j'ai longuement établi la valeur de ces deux critères et j'en ai fait l'application à une série de manuscrits anciens dont voici l'énumeration et les sigles:

R = *Vat. reg. 11* (VIII^e siecle)

C = *Catach. de S. Columba* (VI^e siècle?), édité par Lawlor, *Proceedings of the Irish Acad.*, XXXIII (1916), sect. C, no. 11. Le manuscrit comprend les *Psaumes* xxx^{10}-cv^{13}, mais beaucoup de feuillets sont mutilés.

L = *Lyon 425*, Paris *Bibl. Nat., n. a. l., 1585* (V^e–VI^e siècle); fragments.

Φ = Texte plus ou moins alcuinien d'après trois *Bibles* du IX^e siècle.

Φ^z = *Zurich C 1.*

Φ^v = Rome, *Vallic. B 6.*

Φ^p = Rome, Saint-Paul-hors-les-Murs.

W = *Psautier* en notes tironiennes à Wolfenbüttel (VIII^e–IX^e siècle), ed. C. Lehmann (1885).

U = *Psautier* d'Utrecht (VIII^e–IX^e siècle), ed. en facsimile (1874).

T = *Reichenau 38* à Karlsruhe (IX^e siècle), collationné par Allgeier et adopté comme type du *Psautier* gallican dans *Die altlateinischen Psalterien* (1928).

Voici quelle a été la conclusion de cette étude: les deux critères appliqués indépendamment conduisent au même résultat: ils favorisent le groupe *RCΦWU* contre *T* et les editions. Quand il y a désaccord dans le groupe, ils favorisent *CR* contre *ΦWU*. Quand il y a désaccord entre *R* et *C*, ils favorisent tantôt l'un tantôt l'autre. En un seul passage (*Ps.* lxxi, 18) la *Lettre 106* va contre tous les manuscrits, et il faut admettre qu'ici les manuscrits se trompent. Nous n'avons nullement l'intention de nier les fautes qui se trouvent dans *R* et *C*, mais nous devons apprécier les manuscrits par les bonnes leçons qu'ils contiennent. Or, si nous n'avions pas *C* et *R*, nous ne connaîtrions souvent le bon texte que par les citations; si nous n'avions pas *T* et tous les manuscrits du même type, nous ne perdrions rien. Quand les citations font défaut, quand le grec permet plusieurs traductions, il faudra suivre en général le groupe *CR*. Voilà le troisieme critère.

* * * * *

Appliquons maintenant ces critères au *Psautier* de Stuttgart (*S*). Quelques exemples suffiront:

v, 9: in conspectu meo viam tuam *RΦUWS*^{1} = *Epître 106*, gr. *S*, héb.; in conspectu tuo viam meam T S^2.

[1] 'La Reconstitution du Psautier Hexaplaire Latin', *Revue Bénédictine*, 1929, pp. 297–324.

xi, 4: linguam $R\Phi UWS$ = gr. S^c, héb.; et linguam T.

xiv, 5; innocentes $R\Phi UWS$ = gr.; innocentem T.

xvii, 13: nubes eius $R\Phi^{vz}US^1$ = héb.; nubes WTS^2.

xviii, 6; viam ÷ suam $R\Phi^{vz}$ = *Ep. 106;* viam $W\Phi^zT$.

xxi, 2: respice me $R\Phi UWS$; respice in me T.

xxi, 32: adnuntiabunt *solum* $R\Phi^{vp}UWS^1$ = gr., héb.; caeli TS^2.

xli, 8: ※ad: abyssum $R\Phi^{vz}S^1$ = héb.; abyssum Φ^pUWS^2T.

xliii, 10: egredieris *solum* $RC\Phi UWS$ = *Ep. 106*, gr. BS^1, héb.;+deus T.

xliii, 26: exsurge *solum* $R^2\Phi UWS^1$ = *Ep. 106*, héb.;+domine R^1CTS^2.

xlvii, 5: reges *solum* $R\Phi UWS$ = *Ep. 106*, gr. S, héb.;+terrae CT.

lviii, 10: susceptor meus *solum* $RC\Phi UWS$ = *Ep. 106*, gr. S, héb.; + es T.

lxii, 12: laudabitur omnis qui iurat $R\Phi^{vz}S^1$ = gr., héb.; laudabuntur omnes qui iurant Φ^pUWS^2T.

lxvii, 25: viderunt ingressus tui $C\Phi UWST$ = *Ep. 106;* visi sunt ingressus tui R; viderunt ingressus tuos *mss recentiores et editiones*. Dans sa lettre Jérôme dit que son psautier avait la première leçon, mais qu'il faut adopter la troisième.

lxviii, 36: iudaeae $RCUS^1$ = gr.; iudae ΦWS^2; iuda T.

lxviii, 37: possidebunt $R\Phi^{zv}S^1$ = gr., héb; possidebit $C\Phi^pUWS^2T$.

lxxi, 11: reges *solum* $RC\Phi WS$ = *Ep. 106*, gr. B, héb.;+terrae T.

lxxiii, 19: animam confitentem tibi, animas $RC\Phi UWS$ = gr., héb.; animas confitentes tibi et animas T.

lxxvii, 45: coenomiam RS^1 = *Ep. 106;* cynomiam ΦUWS^2T.

lxxxii, 15: comburet RS^1 = gr.; comburit ΦUWS^2T.

lxxxix, 1: in generatione et generatione (-nem S) $CR\Phi^vS^1T$ = *Ep. 106*, Aug., *Tract.*, gr. BSA; a generatione in generationem $\Phi^{zp}UWS^1$.

xcvi, 8: iudaeae CUS^1 = gr.; iudae $R\Phi WS^2T$.

civ, 37: in argento $RC\Phi^{zv}S^1$ = Aug., gr.; cum argento UWS^2T.

cxiv, 2: invocabo te $\Phi^{zp}WS$ = *Ep. 106;* invocabo eum Φ^v; invocabo *solum* RU.

cxviii, 59: averti $R\Phi^{zv}S^1$ = *Ep. 106*, Aug.; converti Φ^pUWS^2T.

cxviii, 69: corde *solum* $R\Phi^{zv}LS$ = *Ep. 106;*+meo Φ^pUWT.

cxxxix, 14: habitabunt *solum* $R\Phi WS$ = *Ep. 106, Tract.;* et habitabunt UT.

Je n'ai donné jusqu'ici qu'un choix de bonnes leçons, auxquelles on peut joindre cxiv, 12: 'numero breves paucissimos et incolas' — ainsi S^1; *breves* est assez fréquent: l'accusatif est une faute qui se trouve dans R et que mentionne Augustin dans son commentaire pour lequel il emploie le *Psautier* gallican. J'ai développé ailleurs[1] les raisons qui me font penser que cette faute se trouvait dans le *Psautier* tel que Jérôme l'a édité.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 309.

Notre manuscrit a évidemment un bon nombre de mauvaises leçons qu'il partage ordinairement avec *ΦUWT*, sans qu'on puisse constater une parenté étroite avec l'un ou l'autre de ces manuscrits en particulier.

Il y a peu de leçons uniques. Je note lxxxii, 12 *zyb* pour *zeb* et lxxvii, 7 *confregit*. Cette dernière ne nous est connue que par Luc de Bruges, qui l'a trouvée dans une très ancienne *Bible* — aujourd'hui perdue — de la cathédrale de Bruges. Comme elle correspond au grec, elle pourrait être bonne.

On a déjà vu, par la liste des variantes, que le manuscrit a subi beaucoup de corrections, non seulement pour éliminer les fautes du copiste, mais aussi pour conformer le bon texte ancien à un texte postérieur et mauvais. Il y a une variante intéressante de première main dans le titre du *Psaume* lxxxviii. On lit en rubrique: 'aethan alii aethon.' Cette variante — qui nous est inconnue par ailleurs — devait se trouver en marge dans un ancêtre de *S*.

Notre manuscrit a aussi les signes critiques, les obèles et les astérisques, qui, dans l'intention de Jérôme, étaient une partie essentielle du *Psautier* gallican.

L'orthographe est généralement bonne; notons en particulier lxxvi, 7 *scobebam*, qui se trouve aussi dans *CU* et dans le *Tractatus*.

II. Les Rubriques

Les rubriques écrites en lettres onciales en tête des différents *Psaumes* méritent une attention particulière. Elles peuvent se diviser en quatre espèces:

1. Les titres du *Psautier* gallican, qu'on trouve dans tous les bons manuscrits et dans les éditions.

2. Les interprétations allégoriques. Dans un bon nombre de *Psautiers* anciens on trouve des interprétations chrétiennes: le psalmiste représentait le Christ, les Apôtres, l'Eglise, et ainsi de suite. Ces rubriques varient beaucoup dans les manuscrits, et on n'a pas encore tenté de publier tous ces textes d'une manière critique. Dans son ouvrage cité plus haut, Lawlor édite les rubriques d'un certain nombre de *Psautiers*. Je constate que les rubriques de *S* se rapprochent surtout de celles de Londres, *Brit. Mus., Cott. Vitellius E 18, Harl. 5786*, Paris *Bibl. Nat. 2* et *4*. Ces quatre manuscrits forment avec *S* un groupe assez constant dont *S* est évidemment le représentant le plus ancien.

Cependant ces rubriques sont dans *S* un élément adventice, interpolé. Car plusieurs fois elles ne sont pas à leur place. Ainsi, le *Psaume* xlvii est intitulé: 'Divitem increpat qui morte ad inferna descendit.' Cette rubrique appartient au *Psaume* suivant; de même le *Psaume* cxii a la rubrique de cxiii, et cxiii celle de cxiv. Dans un ancêtre de *S* un correcteur a donc

ajouté les rubriques tirées d'un autre *Psautier*, mais il s'est plusieurs fois trompé de place.

3. Les notes liturgiques. Les mêmes manuscrits qui ont les interprétations allégoriques ont ordinairement des notes liturgiques; seulement ces dernières n'existent pas et probablement n'ont jamais existé pour tous les *Psaumes*. Elles ont été également éditées par Lawlor. Il est à remarquer que les notes allégoriques et les notes liturgiques se suivent sans distinction dans les manuscrits. Il me semble que Lawlor a souvent mal divisé. Par exemple, le *Psaume* xxii a la rubrique 'vox ecclesiae post baptismum'; Lawlor prend — à tort, me semble-t-il — *post baptismum* comme une indication liturgique. Je n'ai trouvé que deux notes liturgiques dans *S*: cliv: 'Legendus ad evangelium Matthei' et xlv: 'Legendus ad lectionem actuum apostolorum et ad lectionem marci.'

4. Les notes critiques. Cette quatrième série de rubriques est sans contredit la plus rare et la plus remarquable. Ces notes ne semblent se trouver dans aucun autre *Psautier* et elles supposent la connaissance du texte hébreu et un intérêt spécial à comparer avec l'hébreu. Autant vaut dire qu'elles ont été empruntées aux commentaires de Jérôme, ou bien qu'elles font partie du véritable et authentique *Psautier* gallican. Comme je ne vois aucune autre trace d'emprunt aux œuvres de Jérôme, et comme ce souci d'érudition serait assez étrange zu VIII^e^ siècle, j'incline plutôt vers la seconde explication.

Voici le texte de ces interessantes notes:

Après les *Psaumes* xl, lxxi, lxxxviii, et cv, il y a l'indication des différents livres.

Après le *Psaume* lxxi on lit: 'Hucusque secundus liber et hoc quod scribitur *Defecerunt laudes David filii Iesse* ad finem eiusdem libri pertinet. *Psalmus* vero principium est tercii libri.'

Après le *Psaume* cxi: '*Alleluia* ad CXI pertinet.'

Après le *Psaume* cxii: 'Et (ex *codex*) hoc *Alleluia* ad finem CXII pertinet.'

Le manuscrit étant mutilé, je m'abstiens de conjecturer s'il y avait une remarque semblable après le *Psaume* cxiii.

Après le *Psaume* cxiv on lit: 'Ad finem CXIII pertinet *Alleluia*, licet hoc loco in hebreo *alleluia* non habetur (les deux lettres *ur* semblent effacées), et psalmus iste coniun(c)tus sit cum superiore.'

Après le *Psaume* cxv: 'Hoc *Alleluia* ad finem superioris pertinet psalmi.'

Avant cxvii au contraire on lit: 'Hoc *Alleluia* ad principium CXVII pertinet psalmi.'

Après le même *Psaume* cxvii: '*Alleluia* ad CXVII pertinet finem.'

Ces rubriques d'allure savante demandent une explication. Peuvent-elles être attribuées à Jérôme? D'abord il affirme parfois la division en cinq livres: 'psalterium in quinque libros divisum scire debemus,' dit-il dans son *Tractatus* sur le *Psaume* lxxxix, et dans la *Lettre 26*, n. 4: 'in quinque volumina psalterium apud Hebraeos divisum est.'

Au sujet du *Psaume* lxxii il dit dans sa *Lettre 23* que 'defecerunt hymni,

etc.,' appartient au livre précédent, mais que 'Psalmus Asaph est principium sequentis.'

Il peut sembler étrange que l'*alleluia* qui se trouve en tête du *Psaume* cxii en grec et en hébreu soit rapporté à la fin de cxi, mais rappelons-nous les mots de Jérôme dans le *Tractatus* sur le *Psaume* cxlviii: 'Hanc regulam debemus accipere et scire quoniam omnes psalmi qui in principio habent alleluia, et in fine habeant.'

La note la plus curieuse regarde le *Psaume* cxv: pas d'*alleluia* en hébreu, *alleluia* en tête de cxv en grec. Le rédacteur n'ignore pas ces deux faits; malgré cela il dit que l'*alleluia* se rapporte à cxiv. Qui a pu écrire cela si ce n'est pas Jérôme?

Les deux notes sur le *Psaume* cxvii semble peu exactes: celle du commencement est contraire à l'hébreu, celle de la fin est contraire à l'hébreu et au grec. Mais le *Psaume* cxviii ne peut pas être alléluiatique, il est essentiellement didactique. On comprend que Jérôme ait transporté l'*alleluia* de cxviii à la fin de cxvii.

En somme, si ces notes peuvent être de Jérôme, elles sont certainement du lui. Leur étrangeté plaide en faveur de leur origine hiéronymienne. Quoiqu'il en soit de l'auteur, ces notes révèlent une érudition et une critique assez rares. Il serait intéressant de savoir si elles se retrouvent dans d'autres *Psautiers*.

Resumons nos conclusions. Le *Psautier* de Stuttgart est un très bon manuscrit. Par son texte, il se range avec le groupe *RCΦUW* contre *T*, les manuscrits postérieurs et les éditions. Quand le groupe se divise, il va parfois avec *R* ou *C*, plus souvent avec *ΦU*. Par ses rubriques, il est absolument unique. Ainsi nous trouvons vers la même époque deux manuscrits fort importants, *R* pour le texte, *S* pour les rubriques.

Quand M. DeWald m'a invité à examiner le texte du *Psautier* de Stuttgart, il désirait savoir si ce *Psautier* n'était pas un psautier mozarabe plus ou moins gallicanisé. En effet la présence du prologue d'Isidore *Origenes quondam* en tête du manuscrit suggérait naturellement ce soupçon. Si le soupçon était vérifié par l'étude du texte, une conclusion importante en suivait pour la décoration — on aurait admis sans difficulté que les peintures remarquables avaient été copiées sur un modèle espagnol. Une longue conversation que nous avons eue ensemble a précisé la question à résoudre, et ce but m'est resté présent à l'esprit durant la collation du manuscrit.

Je dois dire que soit dans le texte, soit dans les rubriques, soit même dans l'orthographe, je n'ai rien trouvé, absolument rien, qui indique une influence quelconque du *Psautier* mozarabe. Je dois conclure que la préface d'Isidore est une pièce étrangère qui n'a aucun lien avec le texte. C'est ce qu'on constate fréquemment pour les préfaces — elles voyageaient assez librement d'un manuscrit à l'autre. Quant aux peintures, le problème reste entier et doit être résolu par les critiques d'art au moyen de critères spéciaux à la matière.

Rome

ZUR GESCHICHTE DER LATEINISCHEN NICHT-LITURGISCHEN SEQUENZ

Von DR. HANS SPANKE

Es wäre eine zugleich reizvolle und lohnende Aufgabe der mittellateinischen Literaturgeschichte, einmal eine sowohl die formalen als die inhaltlichen Verhältnisse umfassende Geschichte derjenigen lateinischen Gesangstücke zu schreiben, die nach Ausweis ihrer Form der Sequenz zugehörig oder verwandt sind. Vorläufig ist dies leider unmöglich, da die Hauptsache, das Melodienmaterial, noch zum allergrössten Teil unveröffentlicht in den Handschriften ruht. Eine soche Untersuchung wird, das steht schon jetzt fest, ihren Kreis weit über die 'liturgische Sequenz' hinausziehen müssen. Die hinzutretenden Gebiete waren vor Kurzem Gegenstand einiger Untersuchungen, die durch Erschliessung neuen Materials die bisherigen Anschauungen teils bereicherten, teils modifizierten.[1] — Die folgenden Ausführungen versuchen, das Gefundene auswertend, einige weitere Bausteine herbeizuschaffen.

Als im 9. Jahrhundert die schon vorher (illegitim und bekämpft) innerhalb des Gottesdienstes gelegentlich auftretende weltliche Musik in textierter Form (Tropen) zu offizieller Anerkennung und damit zur Aufnahme in die Handbücher gelangte, bestand zunächst hinsichtlich der Form infolge des Mangels an Tradition vollständige Freiheit. Allerdings scheint man gewisse Formen, wie die klassische Hymnenstrophe aus vier Achtsilbnern und die horazischen Strophen, aus leicht erkennbaren Gründen ausgeschaltet zu haben. Durch irgend einen Zufall, wahrscheinlich durch Anregung seitens der byzantinischen Hymnik, kam für denjenigen Tropus, der als Auflösung einer Abschlussmelodie den geringsten Bindungen unterworfen war, die rythmische Prosa und (als architektonisches Prinzip) die fortschreitende Repetition (*aa bb cc*, etc.) schon in der frühesten Periode zu einer Bevorzugung, die bald zur Regel wurde. Und bezeichnender Weise ist kürzlich die früher vorherrschende Annahme, die fortschreitende Repetition sei innerhalb der Sequenz-Geschichte, etwa durch die Verwendung von Doppelchören entstanden, eine Annahme, die schon früher durch die von Paul von Winterfeld entdeckten 'Sequenzen mit doppeltem Cursus' ziemlich erschüttert war, von Handschin entscheidend widerlegt worden, indem er den doppelten Cursus in einem aus der ersten Hälfte des neunten Jahrhunderts stammenden Stücke nachwies, das auch in andern Einzel-

[1] Jacques Handschin, 'Ueber Estampie und Sequenz,' in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* XII (im Folgenden zitiert als Handschin I) und XIII (Handschin II).—H. Spanke,' Ueber das Fortleben der Sequenzenform in den romanischen Sprachen,' in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* LI (Spanke, Sequenz).

heiten der Form von der Notker-Sequenz erheblich abweicht.[1] Dieses Stück, *Rex caeli*, allem Anschein nach kein Auflösungstropus, vertritt als ältestes einen von Handschin als 'archaische Sequenz' bezeichneten Typ. An der Spitze des zweiten Zweiges, 'klassische Sequenzen', steht nunmehr auch hinsichtlich der *Quellen* entschieden Südfrankreich: mit den Sequenzen *Stans a longe*,[2] erhalten in Martialhandschriften und als bekannt schon zitiert von Hucbald von Saint Amand, dem Zeitgenossen Notkers, und *Concelebremus sacram huius diei euprepiam*,[3] erhalten in dem ältesten aus dem 9. Jahrhundert stammenden Teile der Martialhs. *Paris B.N. lat. 1154*.

I

Es wird sich lohnen, die beiden angedeuteten Entwicklungsreihen hinsichtlich mehrerer noch nicht klar gestellten Punkte, besonders hinsichtlich ihrer Verwendung in der weltlichen Lyrik, einer kurzen Betrachtung zu unterziehen. Die *klassische Sequenz* entstand nach der St Gallener Ueberlieferung, die durch das Auftreten textloser Jubili in den Hss. gestützt wird, dadurch dass durch Syllabisierung des *a*-Melismas die lange Melodie einprägsamer gemacht wurde. Zugleich erhielt sie so auch eine neue Verwendbarkeit: für den Chorgesang. Denn alles spricht dafür, dass die Jubili vorher der solistischen Darbietung vorbehalten waren. Zwar beziehen sich die Nachrichten über den Vortrag in Doppelchören nicht auf die allerälteste Zeit, aber die Texte deuten entschieden auf choralen Vortrag: man vergleiche z.B.den 10. Versikel von *Stans a longe*: 'Nos, cuius sacra sectantes,' etc. Anderseits lassen einige Stücke, in ihrer Textform teilweise nur — durch die Melodientitel — erschliessbar, *solistischen* Gesang als möglich erscheinen. Ein solcher Text ist z.B. *Clangam filii*,[4] das Lied des klagenden Schwans, mit höchst eigenartigem Sujet: der Schwan klagt, weil er in finsterer Nacht einsam auf hoher See sich ängstigt; dann kommt plötzlich die Morgenröte und zeigt dem Jubelnden den Weg zum trockenen Land. Geistlich ist in dem ganzen Lied nur der Ausklang; der Schwan ruft:

Concurrite omnia
alitum et conclamate
agmina:
Regi magno sit gloria!

Zu dem Motiv der erlösenden Morgenröte vgl. man die berühmte *Alba bilinguis*, deren Zusammenhänge mit uralten Hymnenmotiven vor einiger

[1] Mit Melodie publiziert von Handschin I, 19.
[2] Gedruckt *Analecta hymnica*, VII, Nr. 231.
[3] Mit Melodie veröffentlicht von Handschin II, 123.
[4] Gedruckt *Analecta*, VII, 230.

Zeit Philipp August Becker überzeugend dargelegt hat.[1] Es verdient erwähnt zu werden, dass alle Halbversikel des Schwanenliedes auf *a* enden, wodurch der (auch sonst wahrscheinliche) Zusammenhang mit dem Alleluia bestätigt wird. Anscheinend hat hier ein (gar nicht unbedeutender) Dichter einen sonst in anderm Milieu benutzten Stoff in die vielleicht noch neue und traditionslose Form des Alleluiatropus mit Parallelversikeln hineingegossen. Man denkt hier unwillkürlich an den Beschluss einer englischen Synode des 8. Jahrhunderts, der die *poetae seculares* und den *sonus tragicus* aus der gottesdienstlichen Musik verbannt, ferner an verwandte Stoffe, die in Sequenzentiteln wiederkehren, wie *Puella turbata*, *Virgo plorans* u.a.[2]

Im Uebrigen räumte die Entwicklung, sobald die Sequenz zur offiziellen Anerkennung und damit in die Hände der Kirchenmusiker und Kirchendichter gelangte, mit diesen stofflichen Extravaganzen auf. Allerdings verblieben auch ohnedies in der zwar stilistisch konservativen, aber zeitlich über einen grossen Raum sich ausdehnenden Sequenz 'ersten Stiles' allerlei ausgeprägte Züge, die einen merklichen Gegensatz zu der jeweilig gleichzeitigen sonstigen liturgischen und ausserliturgischen Liedkunst darstellen. Einer dieser Züge ist z.B. das Auftreten sonst unmotivierter griechischer Formen und Vokabeln; bezeichnend ist z.B. die von O. Marxer 1908 in seiner wertvollen Abhandlung *Zur spätmittelalterlichen Choralgeschichte St Gallens* nach dem späten *Cod. St Gallen 546* herausgegebene Sequenz *Ave virginalis forma* derartig mit griechischen Brocken durchsetzt, dass ihr Inhalt nur mit Hilfe der Marxer anscheinend unbekannten besseren Fassung des Moosburger Graduales[3] notdürftig verständlich wird. Diese Erscheinung an sich würde kaum genügen, um Zusammenhänge der Frühsequenz mit dem byzantinischen Hymnus als gegeben erscheinen zu lassen. Weit mehr giebt zu denken, dass die für die Sequenz so charakteristische Form der fortschreitenden Repetition (*aa bb cc* etc.) auch im byzantinischen Hymnus zu Hause ist. Ich möchte es für wahrscheinlich halten, dass die Bauart von Byzanz ins Frankenreich etwa im Anfang des 9. Jahrhunderts zunächst innerhalb rein instrumentaler Musik importiert wurde. Sie gefiel und wurde bald von der in Frankreich und St Gallen kräftig erblühenden Tropenkunst übernommen, daneben auch ausserhalb des Tropus in Stücken mit strophenartig wiederkehrendem Gesamtbau (doppelter Cursus) angewandt. Die byzantinische Hymnik kannte beides, den einfachen und den mehrfach gesetzten Sequenzbau; ob nun über die angedeutete allgemeine Beeinflussung hinaus von den fränkischen Dichter-Komponisten auch *byz. Texte* imitiert wurden, ist vorläufig noch nicht zu entscheiden.

[1] In *Volkstum und Kultur der Romanen*, Bd. III.

[2] Auch das Sujet von *Stans a longe* (der fromme Zöllner) fällt etwas aus dem gewohnten Rahmen heraus.

[3] Siehe darüber *Zeitschrift für rom. Phil.*, L, 582.

Eine eingehende Vergleichung der beiden Textgebiete ist eine dringende Aufgabe der Forschung.

Versucht man, die klassische und die archaische Sequenz hinsichtlich ihres Milieus und Ihrer Dichter zu trennen, so lässt sich allgemein behaupten, dass die erstere frühzeitig in die Hände der geistlichen, meist klösterlicher Dichter gelangte, die zugleich, was für uns besonders wichtig ist, auch für die Aufzeichnung ihrer Schöpfungen Sorge trugen; man braucht zur Illustrierung nur die Namen Notker, St Martial, Winchester, Viktor von St Adam, zu nennen. Die zweite Art, die archaische oder freie Sequenz, hat eine ebenso lange und fast noch interessantere Entwicklung durchlaufen wie die erstere, aber wir wissen wegen der Spärlichkeit der Ueberlieferung nur wenige Einzelheiten von dieser Entwicklung. Dass wir überhaupt von ihr wissen, ist, möchte man sagen, nur einer Reihe glücklicher Zufälle zuzuschreiben. Einige sporadische Zwischenglieder vom 10. und 11. Jahrhundert wurden von mir in *Zts. für roman. Phil.*, LI, 313 ff., nachgewiesen. Ihr Hauptdasein führte die Art in der Vortragsmusik weltlicher Spielleute, von deren Repertoire, soweit die *Vokalmusik* in Betracht kommt, wir uns aus dem Cambridger *Liederbuche* eine Vorstellung machen können; die *Instrumentalmusik* der Zeit vor 1100 ist uns in Ermangelung von Zeugnissen nur indirekt wahrnehmbar. — Einen mächtigen Aufschwung nahm bekanntlich die ausserliturgische Musik etwa von 1100 an, wo genau wie im Troubadourgesang das freie künstlerische Schaffen entschieden in den Vordergrund trat, und neue Möglichkeiten durch das Aufblühen der neuen Gattung des Conductus sich auch für die Anwendung der Sequenzenform auftaten.

Es ist noch zu untersuchen, inwieweit bei den verhältnismässig zahlreichen Stücken freien Sequenzenbaues im Repertoire des Martial- und des Notre Dame-Conductus die Möglichkeit eines Einströmens weltlicher Spielmannskunst besteht. Neben den beiden Komplexen steht in der Frühe des 12. Jahrhunderts in einsamer Grösse Abaelard[1] mit seinen *Planctus*, deren tragische Färbung an oben Genanntes erinnert und in mehreren religiösen Klageliedern des späteren 12. Jahrhunderts wiederkehrt.[2] Abaelards Beziehung zur weltlichen Musik ergiebt sich aus seiner an Héloise gerichteten Liebeslyrik und dem Vorkommen der Rondeauform in seinem musikalischen Schaffen.[3] Ueber die musikalischen Fähigkeiten Abaelards unterrichtet uns die Briefstelle Héloisens: 'Duo autem, fateor, tibi specialiter inerant, quibus feminarum quarumlibet animos statim allicere poteras: dictandi videlicet et *cantandi* gratia.' Schrieb Abaelard seine Liebeslieder

[1] Vgl. Spanke, *Sequenz*, p. 320.

[2] *Ibid.*, S. 327.

[3] Vgl. H. Spanke, 'Das lateinische Rondeau,' in *Zts. für frz. Sprache und Literatur*, LIII, 138, ferner *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 1932, s. pp. 1 ff.

lateinisch oder französisch? — Ich möchte annehmen beides. Héloise war nicht nur der lateinischen Prosa, sondern auch der poetischen Sprache in hervorragendem Masse mächtig, — wie aus ihren eleganten Hexametern auf den Tod des Abtes Vitalis hervorgeht.[1] Aber die Lieder, die 'überall in den Häusern und auf den Strassen den Namen Héloise erklingen liessen' und 'in multis decantantur regionibus, ab his maxime, quos vita similis oblectat' — also von verliebten Leuten — mögen wohl eher in der Volkssprache erklungen sein. Dagegen waren die Texte der 'carmina amatoria metro vel ritmo composita,' die nach den Worten Héloisens 'pre nimia suavitate tam dictaminis quam cantus' oft gesungen wurden und dem Dichter zu grosser Popularität verhalfen, jedenfalls lateinisch abgefasst. Eins dieser Lieder ist uns erhalten: in dem Stück *Parce continuis*, nach einer Florentiner Handschrift von Wilhelm Meyer in den *Studj dedicati a Pio Rajna* (1911) herausgegeben. Das Lied ist anonym, doch der Stil und Inhalt spricht, wie Meyer hervorhebt, stark für Abaelard als Verfasser; die Bedenken Meyers, wegen der Nichtbefolgung des reinen Sequenzenschemas in den ersten Versikeln, lassen sich durch einen Vergleich mit den ähnlich frei gebauten *Planctus* des Dichters beseitigen. — Wenn wir es wagen wollen, hinsichtlich der Form der vielleicht französisch textierten Lieder Abaelards eine Vermutung anzustellen, so kommt nur etwas ganz einfaches, also etwa das Rondeau, in Betracht. Denn, soweit wir nach den sonstigen ähnlich frühen romanischen Liedertexten urteilen können, waren damals die Volkssprachen für die Erfüllung der schwierigen Sequenzenform kaum schon geeignet.

Freilich hat diese Vermutung nur einen relativen Wert. Denn schon in den ersten Zeiten der französischen Schriftsprache hatte man versucht, nach einem formal der *freien* Sequenz zugehörigen lateinischen Stücke, dem Eulalialiede, einen romanischen Text zu schmieden. Soweit uns die Ueberlieferung informiert, blieb dieser Versuch, — der wegen der Beziehung der benutzten Form zur nichtliturgischen Musik besonders zu beachten ist, — zunächst isoliert. Aber als viel später, im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert, wiederum den Dichtern die Aufgabe entstand, nach bekannten Melodien neue volkssprachliche Texte zu verfassen, griffen sie mit Vorliebe zu Melodien der freien Sequenzenform, Melodien, die anscheinend mit festen Titeln versehen waren und den Namen Lai führten.[2] Zu einigen dieser Melodien bestehen auch lateinische Texte, teils in vollkommenerer Form als die romanischen. Der Grund hierfür liegt wohl darin, dass diese romanischen Dichter keine Troubadours (Trouvères), sondern einfache Spielleute waren. Wenn freilich zufällig ein bedeutender Dichter, wie Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, sich (auf ausdrückliches Bitten seiner Gönnerin) herbeiliess, ein Sirventes nach

[1] Vgl. L. V. Delisle in *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, série II[e], tome 3[e], 1846–47.

[2] Vgl. hierüber *Arch. f. d. Studium d. neueren Sprachen*, CLVI, s. 73 ff.

einer ihm vorgespielten Estampienmelodie zu verfassen, konnte dabei etwas so Hübsches entstehen wie das berühmte Lied *Kalenda Maya*.[1] Es scheint, dass in mehreren Fällen doppelter Textierung von Lai-Melodien die lateinische Fassung älter ist als die romanische. Haben wir nun deshalb die Melodie als eine *geistliche* Melodie anzusprechen? Die Frage ist nicht von Bedeutung; es kommt auch wenig darauf an, ob die Melodie von einem Troubadour oder einem klösterlichen bezw. Domcantor erfunden wurde. Das Wesentliche ist die Nichtzugehörigkeit der Melodie zum liturgischen Repertoire einerseits und ihre Verwandtschaft mit dem oben dargelegten Typ anderseits.

II

Als zunächst rein musikalische Form war die freie Sequenz zur Aufnahme jeglicher Stoffe geeignet; als Begleitinstrument diente anscheinend vorzugsweise die Harfe. *Rex caeli* ist, wie Handschin richtig betont, inhaltlich gewissermassen eine Verteidigung der frommen ausserkirchlichen Musik gegen engherzige Eiferer. Im Eulalialiede haben wir eine gedrängte epische Erzählung, die sich keineswegs auf Teile des kirchlichen Officiums zurückführen lässt; denn die Reimoffizien, die uns erhalten sind, reichen zwar teils in frühe Zeit hinab, aber die Formen ihrer epischen Teile haben andere Gestalt. Wenn wir uns von dem Rahmen der frühesten romanischen Heiligenleben eine Vorstellung zu machen suchen, so stossen wir wieder auf die alten Nachrichten über den Einbruch ausserkirchlicher Musiker in den Bereich der Liturgie. Aehnlich sind z.B. im *Alexiusleben* die bisher noch nicht genügend beachteten Einzelzüge aufzufassen, die später in der weltlichen afrz. Epik und Romanzendichtung wiederkehren. Und das afrz. *Hohelied* verkörpert, sei hier angemerkt, in seiner Form (Strophen aus zwei Zehnsilbnern und einem Viersilbner) eine interessante alte Volksliedstrophe, die in der Minnesängerliteratur des 12/13. Jahrhunderts fehlt, bezw. nicht aufgezeichnet ist, dagegen in ganz schlichten lateinischen Liedern des frühen 12. Jahrhunderts, im ersten, von höfischen Einflüssen sicher unberührten Stadium der portugiesischen Lyrik und dann im französischen Volkslied des späteren Mittelalters wieder auftritt.[2]

Ausgesprochene Spielmannslieder sind dann die schon erwähnten freien Sequenzen der Cambridger Sammlung. Strecker hat diese Stücke als regelrechte Sequenzen, mit Gegenübersetzung der (vermutlichen) Halbversikel gedruckt und in den Anmerkungen die mangelnde Konzinnität als 'Verderbnis' aufgefasst oder gelegentlich von 'schwierig zu verstehender Form' gesprochen. Die Formenfreiheit des Typs giebt die vermisste Erklärung.

[1] Vgl. *Zts. f. frz. Spr. u. Lit.*, LI, 90.

[2] Vgl. H. Spanke, 'Klangspielereien im mittelalterlichen Liede,' in der *Festschrift für Karl Strecker* (1931), s. 181.

Leider fehlen die Melodien; sonst würde wahrscheinlich auch in denjenigen dieser Stücke, die in ihrem Texte streng parallel gebaut sind, die eine oder andere Sondererscheinung zu beobachten sein. Recht bunt sind die benutzten Stoffe. Totenklagen, die 100 Jahre früher — man vgl. die Texte der Karolinger-Planctus in *Par. B.N. lat. 1154*[1] — noch in schwerfälligen Strophen aus Langversen erklangen; Preislieder auf hohe Herren, würdig, ja feierlich im Tone, ohne eine Spur von Bettelei; aber auch lustige Schwänke und eine rührsame Musikantenballade. Besondere Beachtung verdienen die oft besprochenen Melodientitel; das erste dieser Stücke, der *Modus Carelmanninc*, fällt durch die reiche Verwendung des musikalischen Refrains[2] und die aus dem Text erschliessbare höhere Responsion auf (Bau anscheinend *a bbbb cc bbbb dddd bb ee b*); welche Bewandtnis es mit der Herkunft des Titels von Strecker Nr. 11 (*Modus Ottinc*) hatte, zeigt uns der 2. Teil des ersten Versikels (I^b), dessen Verwerfung durch Paul von Winterfeld Strecker mit Recht bemängelt, ohne jedoch selbst eine Lösung zu bringen. Es ist so: Unter Kaiser Otto IV., gegen 1000, dichtete ein (gar nicht unbedeutender) Barde zum Preis der Ottonen einen Leich auf eine Melodie, die er unter dem Namen *Modus Ottinc* schon vorfand. Als Einleitung gab er eine originelle, vielleicht von ihm erfundene, vielleicht der Palasttradition entnommene Erklärung: eines Tages brach in der Pfalz Ottos des Grossen, als er schlief, Feuer aus. Dann heisst es:

Stant ministri, tremunt,
timent dormientem attingere,
et cordarum pulsu facto
excitatum salvificant
et domini nomen
carmini imponebant.

'Sie wecken den schlafenden mit einer Weise, die, bisher namenlos, nun, im Anschluss an dies Ereignis, als *modus Ottinc* bezeichnet wurde.' Die schon hervorgehobene feine Form geht also in letzter Linie auf einen Musiker aus der Mitte des 10. Jahrhunderts zurück; es ist garnicht ausgeschlossen, dass unter Otto dem Grossen alte Einflüsse der östlichen Musik erneuert wurden. Man denkt hier z.B. an die (wie Handschin bemerkt) von dem byzantinischen Kaiser Konstantinus Porphyrogenitus genau auf ihre Rolle im Hofzeremoniell hin beschriebene 'Staatsmusik.' Der genannte Kaiser starb im Jahre 959, angeblich ermordet durch seine Schwiegertochter Theophano, deren Tochter Otto der Grosse 963 mit seinem Sohne, später Otto II., vermählte. Es ist gar nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass diese hochbe-

[1] Ueber diese kostbare Handschrift vgl. Dümmler, in *Neues Archiv*, IV, 114; dieses Initienverzeichnis enthält zu den nicht neumierten Stücken die Angabe 'ohne Neumen,' doch fehlt diese Angabe zu fol. 120^d, 137^d, 139^c, 141^a, 142^a.

[2] Ueber diese Erscheinung vgl. Handschin I, 1.

gabte Frau byzantinische Sänger oder Musiker mit nach Deutschland brachte; Otto d. Gr. starb 973. Was die Form dieses Modus angeht, fällt auch hier die Verwendung des musikalischen Refrains ins Auge; verschiedene Versikel sind nach Bau und Silbenzahl sehr ähnlich, doch genaueres lässt sich hier ohne die Melodie nicht einmal vermuten.Der erste Halbversikel ist in der Wolfenbütteler Handschrift neumiert, mit dem Bau *abcd* etc.[1] — Ganz aus dem Geist der Musik geboren ist der Leich (Strecker, Nr. 12) über Pythagoras; nur deshalb konnte Strecker zu der Ansicht kommen, dass die Form nicht leicht zu verstehen sei, weil er, als Metriker, für die (übrigens genau durchgeführte) Parallelität auch *rythmische* Uebereinstimmung forderte. Der Gesamtbau ist wahrscheinlich: *aa bb cccc a*. Der Stoff erinnert an die engen Beziehungen zwischen Mathematik und Musik in der Theorie der Spätantike. Vielleicht liegt am Ende des zweiten Halbversikels (I^b) Enddifferenzierung vor, wodurch die Korrektur Streckers überflüssig würde.[2] — Das in der Handschrift folgende Stück (Strecker Nr. 13), ist sonderbarerweise durch eine andere Quelle, ein Prosarium aus Benevent, als liturgische Sequenz, für die Liturgie der *Dominica II post octavas Paschae*, ausgegeben worden.[3] Und hier ist die (geforderte) Parallelität tatsächlich vorhanden, aber nur infolge der Verkürzung des vollständigen Cambridger Baus *aa bb ccc a* auf *aa bb c*. Im Uebrigen sind nach Angabe von Blume (*Anal.*, LIII, 106) die Beneventaner Tropen dem Inhalt nach von den Notker-Sequenzen stark verschieden. Anscheinend auch in der Form; denn die in den *Analecta*, LIII auf das vorige Stück folgende Sequenz, *Cantemus canticum*, hat auffallenderweise mehrfach Tripelversikel. Es würde sich lohnen, diesen Beneventer Komplex einmal auf seine Sonderheiten und seine Herkunft hin zu untersuchen. — Ganz formvollendet ist wieder der *Modus Liebinc* (Str. 14), mit dem Gesamtbau *a bb cc dddd a* und einem ausgedehnten 'musikalischen Refrain.' Der letzte Cambridger Modus (*M. florum*) bietet mehr Schwierigkeiten, da der Dichter auf rythmische Responsion verzichtet und einmal, im dritten Versikel, die Endendifferenzierung anwendet; Gesamtbau *a bb cc a*. — Endendifferenzierung muss auch in den ohne die Melodie kaum zu gliedernden erzählenden Abschnitten der Ballade von Cobbo und Lantfrid vorliegen; das *Prohemium*, mit abstrakt musikalischem Inhalt, hat Responsion, genau wie ein byzantinisches Hymnen-Prooimion. Die französische Fassung in 15-Silbnern, ohne Prooemium, muss eine andere Melodie gehabt haben; sie wurde

[1] Also ohne Kleingliederung, nicht 'volkstümlich.'

[2] Man beachte die sich bis zu gleichem Wortlaut steigernde Responsion in 4a und 4b; vgl. hierzu Handschins wertvollen Artikel 'Musikalische Miszellen' in *Philologus*, LXXXVI, 62.

[3] Auch später wurden gelegentlich Stücke sequenzenartigen Baues, die von Hause aus nichts mit der Liturgie zu tun hatten, in das Messofficium eingeschmuggelt, wie z.B. *Ave gloriosa* von Philippe de Grèves; vgl. *Analecta*, XX, 170.

anscheinend, wenn wir die Korrektur von 2, 3 durch Gaston Paris annehmen, in Schülerkreisen gesungen. Bemerkenswert ist die nach W. Meyer irische Quelle der Fabel, was wieder an die von Handschin[1] betonten Beziehungen der freien Sequenz zu *Irland* erinnert. Als Instrument wird in mehreren Fällen die Harfe genannt; dass der Vortrag solistisch war, wie wir schon erwähnten, wird durch die mehrfachen Refrains bestätigt, — die nie in der liturgischen Sequenz, wohl aber in den ähnlich gebauten griechische Kontakien auftreten. — Die Bedeutung des Strophenliedes von der Nachtigall (Strecker Nr. 10) wurde von mir *Zts. f. rom. Phil.*, LI, 318 dargelegt; sie liegt, sei hier wiederholt, darin, dass hier der musikalische Sequenzenbau in einem Liede aus regelmässigen Strophen (zu drei 15-Silbnern; Reim überall — *a*) auftritt; über die musikalische Kleingliederung vgl. ebendort.[2] Vom Nachtigallenliede besteht nun bekanntlich ebenfalls eine in Frankreich niedergeschriebene Fassung (Strecker, Anhang I), die der Herausgeber für eine Parodie der Cambridger Fassung hält. Ohne auf eine Diskussion hier einzugehen, möchte ich dazu bemerken, dass die Martial-Fassung wegen ihrer Ursprünglichkeit und Frische mir nicht den Eindruck einer Parodie macht; freilich dürfte diese sprachlich weit über die Sonderheiten des Martialstiles hinaus verwilderte Fassung ebenfalls nicht das Original verkörpern. Ich möchte beide Fassungen für Bearbeitungen einer (verlorenen) Urfassung halten, von der wir uns am ersten nach dem *französischen* Text eine Vorstellung zu machen haben und die zeitlich und stilistisch in die Sphäre des genialen Gottschalk von Orbais hineinweist. Die erste Strophe der auch in der musiktheoretischen Literatur auftretenden und wohl ebenfalls in Frankreich entstandenen Cambridger Textform weist mit der Erwähnung der Harfe wieder in das Spielmannsmilieu. Beide Fassungen haben 16 Strophen und in allen Versen *a*-Assonanz; wahrscheinlich war hier wieder, neben einer flüchtigen Reminiscenz an den Inhalt eines älteren Stückes, die Melodie die schaffensanregende Substanz für die Textdichter. Schliesslich ist noch zu erwähnen, dass die Martialquelle (*Paris, B. N., lat. 1118*) auf dem folgenden Blatt ein ebenfalls in der Cambridger Sammlung (Strecker, Nr. 27) vorhandenes Liebeslied, 'Iam dulcis amica venito' enthält und in seinen Illustrationen auch für die rein geistlichen Teile seines Inhalts Beziehungen zur weltlichen Musik verdeutlicht.[3]

[1] Vgl. Handschin II, 117.

[2] Es besteht auch die Möglichkeit, dass die soeben erwähnte Scholarenfassung des Lantfrit-Liedes aus gleichen Strophen wenigstens im *musikalischen* Bau ebenfalls Sequenzencharakter hatte.

[3] Es sind Buntzeichnungen von männlichen und weilichen Tänzern und Spielern, teils vor den Kapiteln eines Musiktraktats, teils vor untextierter Alleluiamusik stehend. Eine dieser Zeichnungen s. gegenüber s. 33 im vorigen Heft dieser Zeitschrift.

III

Unter den wenigen Liebesliedern der Cambridger Sammlung befindet sich keines in Sequenzenform; die benutzten Formen sind alte, einfache Strophen. Der Dichter, der zuerst subjektive Liebeslyrik in jene alte, schwierige Form goss, war jedenfalls Abaelard. Wir erwähnten schon seinen Leich *Parce continuis* (oben, S.252), worin er die Geliebte ermahnt, die Kummerwolken, die ihr den Liebeshimmel verdunkeln, zu verscheuchen und sich mit dem tragischen Geschick klassischer Liebespaare — breiter ausgesponnen wird die Geschichte von Orpheus und Eurydice — zu trösten. Der Ton ist edel und von düsterer Feierlichkeit, himmelweit verschieden von den späteren anonymen Liebessequenzen. Der Stil, die Reimbehandlung und der Wortlaut des Schlusses erinnert an die *Planctus* Abaelards, deren Art sich sonst in der mittelalterlichen Lyrik nichts vergleichen lässt.

Wertvoll wäre es zu erfahren, ob auch die übrige Liebeslyrik des Dichters den *Planctus* ähnlich sah und somit hinsichtlich der Form in die Entwicklungsreihe der *freien* Sequenz gehört oder ob Abaelard auch Stücke schrieb, die den lasziven, formvollendeten Eroticis etwa der Arundelsammlung formal und inhaltlich entsprechen würden.

Eine entscheidende Antwort auf diese Frage wäre nur möglich, wenn sich zuvor aus den Melodien ermitteln liesse, ob die in ihrem Textbau als strenge Sequenzen (des Uebergangstiles) erscheinenden Liebeslieder des 12/13. Jahrhundert wenigstens in der Melodie Züge aufweisen, die zur freien Sequenz hinüberführen; — ich halte es nicht für wahrscheinlich. Anscheinend hat erst in der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts, als Conductusdichter gelegentlich die hochentwickelte Verskunst der jüngeren Sequenz in den Dienst einer sehr losen Muse stellten, die ihre Anregungen aus Wunschträumen und aus einigen Ovidkapiteln bezog, dieser Zweig der Entwicklung eingesetzt. Dieses junge und künstliche Gewächs hat nichts mit der oben besprochenen alten Bardenkunst zu tun, die sich noch in der Lyrik Abaelards widerspiegelt. Allerdings muss man sich hüten, die Grenze zwischen den beiden Arten der Sequenz, die wir im Obigen (zur erstmaligen Klarstellung vielleicht etwas zu plastisch) hervorhoben, für das 12/13. Jahrhundert allzu schroff zu ziehen. Der gemeinsame Boden, auf dem sich hier nach Ursprung Disparates zusammenfand, ist die von den liturgischen Bindungen seit etwa 1100 befreite Musik des Conductus. Der bedeutendste Conductusdichter z.B., Philippe de Grèves, schrieb neben ganz freien Lais, wie *Veritas equitas*, Stücke in der damals modernsten Sequenzenform, in der Strophenlied und Sequenz sich vereinigten, daneben Sachen, die wir, vom Standpunkt der Form aus, als 'Sequenzen der Uebergangsperiode'[1] ansprechen müssen. Die überaus reizvolle Aufgabe, das Ma-

[1] Sequenzen dieses Typs hat Blume in Bd. LIV der *Analecta* vereinigt.

terial nach formalen Gesichtspunkten zu gliedern, wobei manches bisher Rätselhafte verständlich würde, wird erst bearbeitet werden können, wenn die fertige Ausgabe der *Carmina Burana* von Hilka-Schumann und die kürzlich angekündigte grosse Ausgabe der mittellateinischen weltlichen Lyrik von A. Hilka vorliegt. Besonders der 15. Abschnitt der *Carmina Burana*, der unter der Ueberschrift 'Incipiunt jubili' recht Verschiedenes vereinigt, wird dabei eine Rolle spielen; — daneben aber auch andere Abschnitte, mit teilweise bedeutend älteren, sehr frei gestalteten Formen.[1]

IV

Wer einmal eine Geschichte der lateinischen Liebessequenz schreiben wird, dürfte der Autorenfrage eine besondere Aufmerksamkeit zu schenken haben. Denn bisher ist von keinem derartigen Stücke der Verfasser bekannt.[2] Was das Alter angeht, dürften die in Martialhandschriften erhaltenen Stücke eine wenigstens ungefähre Datierung gestatten. Eines dieser Lieder gab ich in dieser Zeitschrift vor einiger Zeit heraus, — ohne Kommentar, den ich bei den Lesern des Speculum für überflüssig hielt. Herr W. B. Sedgwick glaubte, dieses Versäumnis nachholen zu müssen, und gab Speculum vi, 295, ein Additamentum, zu dem ich mich nun äussern muss. Es lag auf der Hand, dass im dritten Kleinversikel 'virgini' gleich 'mentulae' sein musste; ich dachte an eine witzige Neubildung *virgen* im Anschluss an *virga*. Die expression directe wäre 'inguini' gewesen, und von mehreren deutschen Gelehrten (u.a. Ph. A. Becker und W. Heraeus) wurde mir diese Konjektur nahegelegt, — die nun auch Sedgwick vorschlägt. Sie trifft tatsächlich das Richtige: die gleiche Handschrift *Paris B. N. lat. 3719* enthält *Ex ungue* noch ein zweites mal, auf fol. 23, von älterer, teils schwer zu lesender Hand. Als ich sie kürzlich mit besseren optischen Hilfsmitteln studierte, fand ich hier die Lesart 'legem inguini' statt 'virgini'; die Aenderung rührt offenbar von dem Schreiber der zweiten Fassung (fol. 37) her, denn die beiden ersten Buchstaben von *virgini* sind hier deutlich *in*; ob er nun aus Zerstreutheit *rgini* weiterschrieb, oder um das schon euphemistische *inguini* noch zu verschleiern, bleibt ungewiss. Als weitere Lesart der älteren Fassung sei hier noch mitgeteilt Str. 2, 2 'pro precio' statt 'propicio': wiederum ein Eingriff des jüngeren Schreibers zwecks Milderung einer Krassheit, denn abgesehen von dem höheren Alter der mit fol. 23 beginnenden Lage, verdient 'pro precio' als das Originellere den Vorzug. Ein weiterer Aenderungsvorschlag Sedgwicks dagegen, in iii, 7 'virum cito nosti' statt 'virum viro nosti' wird durch die neubenutzte Fassung nicht bestätigt. Natürlich ist *viro* Ablativ von *virus*, das man im Mittelalter mit *vir* etymologisch zusammenbrachte. Das Wortspiel selbst kommt in der Hymnologie

[1] Lieder teilweise epischen Inhaltes, wie Schmeller, cxlviii und cxlix.

[2] Das behandelte *Parce continuis* betrachte ich als Lai.

nicht vor, wohl aber haben andere landläufige Ausdrücke wie 'sine viri semine' oder 'virgo viri nescia' hier mit hinein gespielt. Der Verfasser war gelehrter Kleriker, der mit Horaz (Lyce!) und Ovid vertraut war und die Form der strengen Sequenz mit grosser Gewandtheit meisterte. Falls von ihm auch die Melodie herrührt, war er auch als Musiker ganz auf der Höhe: denn die Weise ist kunstvoll und überaus reich verziert,[1] ebenso wie in der gleichen Handschrift die des vorhergehenden weltliche Lieds *De terre gremio*, gleichfalls in strenger Sequenzenform und vielleicht vom gleichen Verfasser. Derartige Stücke konnten nur von Solisten gesungen werden; sollte das Publikum, — natürlich ebenfalls Kleriker, — sich aktiv beteiligen, liess man gelegentlich auf alle Halbversikel einen Refrain folgen, wie z.B. in dem hübschen Stücke *Invehar in Venerem*, das B. Bischoff kürzlich nach einem *Vaticanus* in der *Zts. für rom. Phil.*, L, 96, gedruckt hat. — Es sei hier noch erwähnt, dass der Vers 'Primicias pudoris' (*Ex ungue*, 1, 8) auch bei Petrus von Blois (dem englischen Archidiakon) sich wiederfindet, in seiner Liebes-Abdicatio *Olim militaveram* (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, CCVII, col. 1127) im Halbversikel 4a; ebendort 3b findet sich auch das Reimwort 'jacula.' Petrus kann *Ex ungue* nicht gedichtet haben, da er frühestens gegen 1130 geboren wurde, macht auch stilistisch einen andern, etwas steiferen Eindruck; aber vielleicht hat er das Lied gekannt.

Die oben erwähnte Anonymität der Liebesdichter lüftet sich sich etwas durch das Akrostichon *Petri* in Nr. 7 der Arundelsammlung. Man könnte an Peter von Blois denken; man vgl. darüber meine Recension der neuen *Carmina Burana*-Ausgabe im *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, 1931, S. 118. Nunmehr haben wir für die Bearbeitung der mit der Arundelsammlung zusammenhängenden literaturgeschichtlichen Fragen eine wertvolle Stütze in der eben erwähnten von Bischoff edierten kleinen Liedersammlung. Denn wenn wir uns der m. E. recht plausibeln Annahme Bischoffs anschliessen, dass alle diese Stücke von einem und demselben Verfasser herrühren, wird in den Kreis auch Arundel Nr. 12 und 25 hineingezogen (als Nr. 10 und 9 dieser Sammlung); damit wird für diese beiden Lieder vielleicht aber noch für eine *Reihe* anderer Arundellieder als Entstehungszeit das dritte Viertel des 12. Jahrhunderts ermittelt. Es können nicht alle Stücke der Arundelsammlung von demselben Dichter verfasst sein: das wissen wir, seitdem durch Strecker Walter von Châtillon als Autor von

[1] Sedgwick verlangt, dass neumierte mittelalterliche Lyrik stets mit Melodie herausgegeben würde — eine Forderung, die weit übers Ziel hinausschiesst, weil sie unerfüllbar ist und oft geradezu hemmend wirken würde. Ausserdem scheint Sedgwick übersehen zu haben, dass ich das, worauf es hier ankam, nämlich die Gliederung des Stückes, gerade nach der Neumierung mitgeteilt habe. Im Uebrigen dürfte kaum ein heutiger Philologe (mit Ausnahme von Fr. Gennrich, der ja fachlicher Musikhistoriker ist) mit der Heranziehung ma. Melodien zwecks Aufklärung metrischer Fragen sich so eingehend beschäftigt haben wie der Verfasser dieser Zeilen.

Licet eger ermittelt wurde, und dieser kommt aus mehreren Gründen für die Masse der beiden Sammlungen nicht in Betracht. Man wäre also versucht, den *Petrus* von Ar. 7, das mit Ar. 12 (=Vat. 10) stilistisch grosse Aehnlichkeit hat, auch für die Verfasserschaft von der ganzen Bischoff'schen Sammlung ins Auge zu fassen. Für die Ermittlung dieses Petrus sind dann alle historischen Daten der vatikanischen Gruppe zu verwerten, und da stösst uns besonders in Vat. 5 die Angabe auf, dass der Dichter aus Chartres stammt, das er aus Anlass eines Bakelfestes wiedersieht. Das deutet nun allerdings weniger auf den Archidiaconus von Bath (obwohl auch er als Verfasser von Liebesliedern bekannt ist) als auf seinen Namensvetter Petrus von Blois, der in der höheren Geistlichkeit von Chartres und zugleich als Dichter weltlicher Lyrik durch die Briefe des englischen Diplomaten ermittelt ist. Im Jahre 1177 schreibt letzterer an den schon bejahrten Kanonikus in Chartres (Migne, *loc. cit.*, col. 195), er solle nun endlich seine weltlichen 'Carmina . . . mirabili artificio et exquisitissima sententiarum verborumque venustate composita' bei Seite legen, wie er (der Archidiakon) es schon lange getan habe. Er fährt fort: 'Omitte penitus cantus inutiles, et aniles fabulas et *naenias* pueriles.' Freilich wissen wir durchaus nicht, ob Petrus aus Chartres stammt und ob er dorthin einer nach längeren Abwesenheit anlässlich eines Bakelfestes zurückgekehrt ist. Die Frage ist jedenfalls genauer zu verfolgen.

V

Wie zu allen Zeiten, war die Musik auch im Mittelalter international. Wir werden also erwarten dürfen, die oben beobachteten Entwicklungsreihen der Sequenzenmusik bei mehreren Völkern verfolgen zu können. Bei den *südlichen* romanischen Völkern lässt sich nichts Besonderes feststellen, höchstens dass die Italiener im 14/15. Jahrhundert eine instrumentale *Istampita* hatten, deren Wesenszüge Handschin aufgedeckt hat.[1] Wenn wir untersuchen wollen, in welcher Weise die einzelnen *nördlichen* an der Entwicklung beteiligten Völker das gemeinsame Gut originell weiterentwickelten, sind in erster Linie die *volkssprachlichen* Texte zu berücksichtigen. Die *französischen* Lais und Estampien behandelte ich in dieser Hinsicht schon des öfteren.[2] — In der *deutschen* Spielmannskunst waren, wie schon erwähnt, die *Modi* recht zuhause. Alte Glossare setzen öfters modus=Leich; und wenn Notker Labeo von 'Sangleichen' spricht, so scheint daraus hervorzugehen, dass es daneben auch *instrumentale* Leiche gab. Was die Behandlung der mhd. Leiche in der deutschen Germanistik angeht, ist hier etwas Aehnliches zu beobachten wie hinsichtlich der Lais in Frankreich: was alte, universal-historisch eingestellte Forscher längst ermittelt hatten, wurde von

[1] Handschin I, 4.

[2] S. oben S. 252, Anm. 2.

modernen 'Spezialisten' verneint oder verwässert. Geradezu betrüblich wirkt z.B. die Erledigung des Artikels Leich in dem sonst so vorzüglichen *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte* von Stamler-Merker durch die (milde gesagt) mumifizierende Methode von Paul Habermann. Klarheit kann nur durch Untersuchung der *ältesten* Leiche gewonnen werden.

Vielleicht aus stofflichen Gründen liessen die Herausgeber von *Minnesangs Frühling* einige Leiche in ihrer Sammlung fehlen, die man sonst in die Periode des frühen Minnesangs (12. Jahrhundert) hineinverlegt hat: die religiösen Leiche bei Müllenhoff-Scherer, *Denkmäler*,[1] nr. 38, 41 und 42. Den ersteren, der aus Gründen der Form wohl in eine spätere Zeit gehört, können wir hier bei Seite lassen. Die beiden andern, die Marienleiche von Muri und St Lamprecht, sind Klerikerpoesie und erweisen sich als Nachbildungen der berühmten in Deutschland entstandenen Sequenz *Ave preclara maris stella*.[2] Sehr müssen wir bedauern, dass die in der Literatur bezeugten Leiche Husens und Veldekes[3] nicht überliefert sind. Doch von den beiden einzig erhaltenen Liedern des Zeitgenossen Husens, Ulrichs von Gutenburg, ist das eine, *Minnesangs Frühling* nr. 69, ein Leich. Ulrich kannte die französische Lyrik seiner Zeit, denn er imitierte in dem Liede *Ich hôrte wol ein merlikîn singen* ein berühmtes Lied Blondels.[4] Der Leich Ulrichs hat den Bau der französischen Lais: er besteht aus Versikeln, in der mittelalterlichen Theorie *Puncti* genannt, die nicht wie bei der Sequenz in je zwei gleiche Teile, sondern in beliebig und verschieden viele zerfallen, also statt *2a 2b 2c* etc. den Bau haben *xA xB xC* etc. — Hinzu tritt in unserem Falle die höhere Responsion (doppelter Cursus), sodass sich der Gesamtbau ergiebt:
I: *7a 6b 2c 7d 7e 4f;* umfasst 28+18+38+28+56+16 Verse; geht bis 73, 40.
II: *6a 7b 2c 5d 4e 4g;* umfasst 24+21+38+20+32+16 V.; Rest des Liedes.

Ob diesem schwierigen und sorgfältig durchgeführten Textbau der gleiche in der Melodie entsprochen hat, lässt sich, beim Fehlen der Notation, nicht feststellen; ich halte es für äusserst wahrscheinlich. Die Teilversikel sind, wie aus Obigem ersichtlich, je 3, 4, 8, oder 19 Verse lang, und

[1] Müllenhoff-Scherer, *Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa aus dem 8.–12. Jahrhundert.*

[2] Die Sequenz stammt, mag sie nun von Hermann dem Gelähmten oder von Heinrich, dem Lehrer Gottschalks von Limburg herrühren, sicher aus dem 11. Jahrhundert. Ihre Umdichtung in die Volkssprache ist anders einzuwerten und längst nicht so interessant wie etwa das Auftreten derselben Melodien in lateinischen und französischen Lais des 12/13. Jahrhunderts. Dort: Nachbildung alten, kirchlichen Gutes; hier: Verarbeitung einer *modernen* beliebten Melodie in zeitlich nebengeordneten, inhaltlich recht divergenten Gesangstücken.

[3] Vgl. 'Lachmann,' Ueber die Leiche der mhd. Dichter' (*Kleinere Schriften zur deutschen Philologie* I, 330).

[4] Vgl. H. Spanke, 'Romanische und ml. Formen in der Metrik von Minnesangs Frühling,' in *Zts. f. rom. Phil.*, XLIX, 217.

erinnern in ihrer Gliederung an französische Lai-Elemente. Obwohl ein gleich oder auch nur ähnlich gebauter Lai in den romanischen Sprachen und im Mittellateinischen nicht existiert, halte ich eine Entlehnung für recht wahrscheinlich; vielleicht wird ein Vergleich des Inhalts mit dem der afrz. Lais Genaueres ergeben. — Der zweite Leich in *Minnesangs Frühling* stammt von Heinrich von Rugge, der, ebenso wie der Gutenburger, in den 70er Jahren des 12. Jahrhunderts urkundlich nachgewiesen ist. Er verkörpert den *zweiten* Formzweig der uns hier beschäftigenden Lyrik, den Zweig, der mit seinen Paarversikeln und seinem einfachen Cursus formal der 'klassischen Sequenz' sich nähert. Allerdings finden sich auch hier Freiheiten, die lebhaft an Abaelard (*Planctus virginum Israel super filia Jepte Galadite*) erinnert. In beiden Fällen bildet das Mittelstück des Ganzen ein Abschnitt freieren Baues, und der letzte Teil greift auf Formen des ersten Teiles zurück; es scheint hier ein in der Instrumentalmusik heimisches Schema vorzuliegen. Der Rugge-Leich hat folgenden Bau: der erste Teil geht von Vers 96, 1 bis 98, 20 und zerfällt in neun sorgfältig gebaute Doppelversikel (*aa bb cc dd ee ff gg hh jj*); das Mittelstück, Vv. 98, 21–99, 2, hat eine Kleingliederung, über die Vermutungen anzustellen in Ermanglung der Melodie mir zu gewagt erscheint; das Ende greift auf den Bau der beiden dem mittleren Abschnitt vorgangehenden Versikel zurück: *hh jjjj*. Geschrieben wurde dieser Leich im Jahre 1190; in seinem Inhalt, Aufforderung zum Kreuzzug, steht er isoliert da, und auch die Form macht den Eindruck origineller Erfindung.

Die beiden deutschen Leiche wurden deshalb ausführlich gegliedert, weil sie das Verständnis für die Struktur des zahlreicheren deutschen Leiche des 13. Jahrhunderts eröffnen, die sich sämtlich an die eine der beiden Arten irgendwie anschliessen lassen. Für die spätere Zeit sind deutsche Leich-Melodien erhalten, welche die obigen Feststellungen durchaus bekräftigen; auch sonstige besprochene Eigenarten der *weltlichen* Sequenzenmusik, z.B. die Endendifferenzierung, lassen sich hier beobachten. Auch in Deutschland zeigen sich innerhalb der Lai-Literatur des 13. Jahrhunderts Beziehungen zur mittellateinischen Lyrik, und zwar sind hier die lateinischen Texte, die mit deutschen die gleiche Melodie haben, entschieden jünger. Schon bekannt ist die lateinische Version, die sich nach dem Hoheliedleich Frauenlobs in der Wiener Liederhandschrift[1] befindet; man möchte annehmen, dass diese ungelenken, teils unverständlichen Verse entweder vom Dichter selbst oder von einem Schreiber stammen, der sich nur ad hoc in der lateinischen Dichtung versuchte. Bedeutend sprachgewandter war der süd-

[1] Das Faksimile des neumierten deutschen Leiches und der lat. Nachbildung (Ueberschrift: 'Nota latinum super cantica canticorum') s. in den *Denkmälern der Tonkunst in Oesterreich*, XLI, 4 ff. und 10 ff.

deutsche Dichter, der im letzten Drittel des 13. Jahrhunderts den Conductus *Syon egredere nunc de cubilibus* schrieb, offenbar in enger Anlehnung an den Tanhuser'schen Leich *Ich lobe ein wîp.*[1] Der Conductus, mit guter Notation in der Handschrift *München Staatsb. Clm. 5539* aufgezeichnet, erhält uns die schönste mhd. Leichmelodie; ich werde sie demnächst herausgeben.[2] Der Text beweist, dass man die Weise zum Tanze sang, aber die Art des Tanzes war zierlich, teils feierlich-ruhig, wie die Melodie zeigt. Der Conductus erklang im fröhlichen Kreise junger Chorsänger:

Finis adest operis,
Gaudia sint pueris.

Der Leich dagegen wurde vom Spielmann gesungen, der sich selbst auf der Fiedel begleitete; am Schluss heisst es, wie öfters in derartigen Texten:

Nun singe ich aber hei heia nu hey,
Nu ist dem videlaere sin videlboge enzwei.

[1] Siehe den Text bei F. H. von der Hagen, *Minnesinger*, II, 85. Die Melodie ist nicht aufgezeichnet.

[2] In der *Zts. für Musikwissenschaft.* Ueber das Literarhistorische wird in der *Zts. für deutsches Altertum* gesprochen werden.

Duisburg

A NORMAN LAWSUIT

By H. G. RICHARDSON

The documents printed below appear to have escaped the notice of those who have written on Norman history and Norman law before the expulsion of the English king. They come, it is true, from a well-known cartulary that has furnished the earliest evidence for the Norman exchequer,[1] — a cartulary that has been in large part published either in Latin or in English summary.[2] But the editor had so little skill in reading or in understanding his manuscript that he located the property with which these documents are concerned in English Cheam in the county of Surrey and not where it is really to be found, in Norman Cahagnes, a fief of the county of Mortain.[3] For the most part, indeed, he could not read these documents at all and could give no intelligible summary of them.[4] No one therefore who relied upon the printed book would be likely to suspect that the cartulary contained no inconsiderable addition to the store of information we possess on the procedure of Norman courts in the twelfth century and the early days of the French conquest.

There is need for no more than a few paragraphs of commentary and explanation. Ralf of Cahagnes (who died in 1174)[5] endowed the priory of Merton with the advowson of the church of Cahagnes, as well as certain advowsons and other property in England with which we are not concerned.[6] As a result of this gift, the priory became involved in long-drawn-out litigation in Normandy which was still not concluded when the duchy was conquered by Philip Augustus. Incidentally, the proceedings revived a good deal of past history, and were moreover connected with another action to which the cathedral church of Bayeux was a party. In this way we obtain information about a whole series of actions commencing perhaps as far back as the days of Henry I.

[1] *MS. Cotton Cleopatra C. VII.* See J. H. Round, 'Bernard the Scribe,' *English Historical Review*, xiv (1899), 417 ff.

[2] A. Heales, *Records of Merton Priory, Surrey* (London: Frowde, 1898). This is mostly composed of extracts from the surviving portion of the priory cartulary which is bound up with other matter to form *Cleopatra C. VII.*

[3] *Red Book of the Exchequer* (ed. H. Hall: Rolls Series), ii, 640; cf. T. Stapleton, *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae* (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1844), ii, ccli, n.c. Cahagnes is in Calvados, *arr.* Vire, *cant.* Aulnay.

[4] Cf. Heales, *op. cit.*, pp. 56 f., Appendix, pp. xxiv f.

[5] The authority is the Merton chronicle in Corpus Christi College Cambridge *MS. no. LIX:* see Heales, *op. cit.*, p. 26, and M. Tyson, 'The Annals of Southwark and Merton,' *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, xxxvi (Guildford, 1925), p. 41.

[6] Stapleton, *loc. cit.*

1. An action (the earliest in date) between Wimund, priest of Courvaudon,[1] and William Postel in the court of Ralf of Cahagnes.

2. An action in the court of the bishop of Bayeux (or perhaps of his archdeacon) against Beatrix, daughter of William Postel, and Ralf of Grainville,[2] apparently about the same period and earlier than (3).

3. An action in the ducal court between Robert of Courvaudon (cousin of Wimund) and the canons of Merton, apparently in the early years of Henry II.

4. An action in the ducal court between Robert and Ralf of Grainville (sons of Ralf and Beatrix) and the canons of Merton: this we can date *ca.* 1180.

5. An action in the ducal court between Robert and Ralf of Grainville and the church of Bayeux: this action proceeded simultaneously with (4).

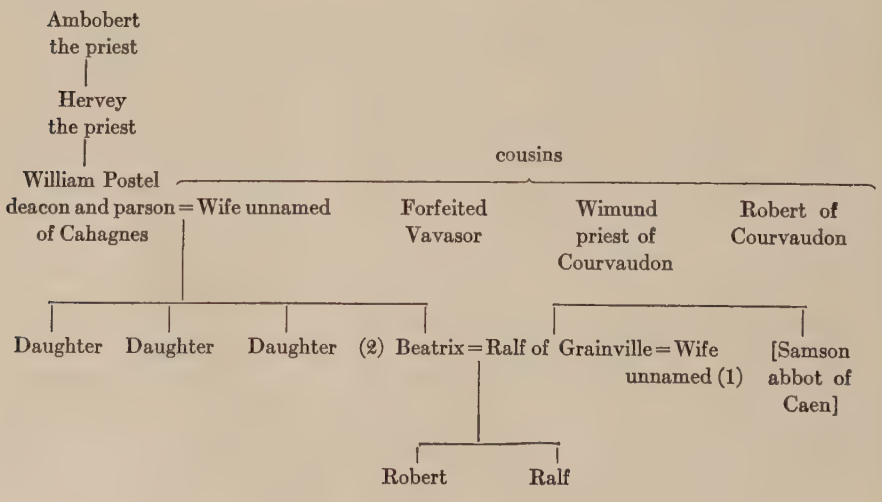
6. An action in the court of the king of France between Robert of Grainville and the canons of Merton, commenced after the conquest of Normandy and still undecided in 1213.

The story these documents tell we can control but very imperfectly from other records. Of the main facts, however, there is little doubt and they are perhaps made clearer by the pedigree set out below[3]

A certain knight who held a vavasory of thirty acres was condemned for felony, and his land, escheated to his lord Ralf of Cahagnes, was granted to

[1] Calvados, *arr.* Caen, *cant.* Villers-Bocage. Stapleton, *op. cit.*, I, c, states that Courvaudon and Savenay were identical, but this seems to be a mistake: cf. *ibid.*, pp. 187–188, where both names appear.

[2] Presumably either Grainville-sur-Odon or Grainville-Langannerie: both are in Calvados, the former *arr.* Caen, *cant.* Tilly-sur-Seulles, the latter *arr.* Falaise, *cant.* Bretteville.



William Postel, parson of Cahagnes, who had married the knight's cousin. What precisely were the terms of this grant was disputed at a later stage by the canons of Merton. There is little doubt, however, that William was something more than the mere fermor they represented him to be. At least he succeeded in the action brought against him in the court of Ralf of Cahagnes by Wimund of Courvaudon, a male cousin of the forfeited knight, who also claimed the property: but the parties did not proceed to battle, and for a substantial payment an agreement was made which left William in possession. It must have been after this action that Ralf of Cahagnes granted the advowson of the church of Cahagnes to Merton priory. The circumstances in which this grant was made are left obscure, but obviously there were various claimants whose rights, such as they were, were ignored. William Postel and his wife were doubtless by this time dead. Their daughter Beatrix appears to have inherited their claims, and she too may have been dead before the grant to Merton. This would explain the appearance of her distant cousin Robert of Courvaudon and his action against the canons to recover the advowson. We may note in parenthesis that Robert's claims must have been difficult to contest or the canons' claims must have been weak, for the final concord with which the action was terminated had in the nature of things to be purchased from the demandant at a price.

Beatrix had entered into a union with a knight, Ralf of Grainville: this union was, it would seem, a valid marriage by Norman law, but there were certain attendant circumstances — Beatrix had died excommunicate — which gave at least a pretext for disregarding the infant sons of the marriage, Robert and Ralf. These sons, having come to manhood, succeeded in making good their claim to their father's inheritance[1] and proceeded to claim their mother's inheritance also. This involved them in actions against Merton priory to recover the advowson of the church of Cahagnes (including the ancient vavasory), and against the chapter of Bayeux to recover the advowson of the church of la Vieille-Ferrière.[2]

These actions were tried together before William fitz Ralf, seneschal of Normandy from 1179 until his death in 1200.[3] Since we learn that Henry II

[1] Cf. Stapleton, *op. cit.*, I, 54: 'Radulfus de Grainvilla habet per regem pratellum et terram super Doitum de Salebec, que fuerunt recuperata per iuream, que pater eius tenuit . . .' This is from the account of the *bailliage* of Caen for 1180. Robert's name appears in 1198, when his lands in the same *bailliage* are in the king's hands: *ibid.*, II, 335.

[2] Now la Ferrière-au-Doyen (Calvados, *arr.* Vire, *cant.* Aulnay). This is close to Cahagnes. A compromise of 1185 between Stephen, the dean of Bayeux, and William des Loges regarding this church is doubtless indirectly connected with the action brought by the brothers: V. Bourrienne, *Antiquus Cartularius Ecclesiae Baiocensis* (Rouen and Paris, 1902–1903), I, 122 f.

[3] For his career see E. J. Tardif, *Coutumiers de Normandie* (Rouen, 1881, 1903), I, 105 f.; L. Delisle, *Actes de Henri II*, Introduction (Paris, 1909), pp. 481 ff.; L. Valin, *Le Duc de Normandie et sa Cour* (912–1204) (Paris, 1909), pp. 160 ff. His presence in Normandy in 1179 is

is still king, and since further it must be inferred that the king is in England while the seneschal is in Normandy, the trial of the actions cannot be later than July, 1188.[1] The canons of Merton appear to have been represented by the bishop of Bayeux Henry de Beaumont (or de Pardieu).[2] The dean of Bayeux was present to represent the chapter. Bishop and dean endeavored to prevent the case from going to the jury by alleging the bastardy of the demandants and claiming that this issue should first be decided in an ecclesiastical court. The seneschal, however, refused to delay the verdict of the jury and they then declared in favor of the demandants; but final judgment was not given until the matter had been referred to the king, who decided in favor of Merton priory and the church of Bayeux.

There, so far as action in the courts was concerned, the matter rested until king John had been driven out of Normandy. But the canons of Merton endeavored to rid themselves of their uneasy possession by effecting an exchange with the priory of St Fromond. Although this exchange was confirmed by royal charter in 1200,[3] it did not take effect, and some years later the brothers commenced a fresh action against the canons in the court of the king of France, alleging that the king of England had failed to do them justice and enforce the jury's verdict in their favor. Ralf of Grainville either withdrew from the action or died soon afterward, for only Robert is mentioned in connection with the subsequent proceedings.

Ralf Labbé, an old servant of the English kings, was now serving the king of France and would be a member of the court before which the action would be heard,[4] and Robert of Grainville had promised to present Ralf's son to the church of Cahagnes: moreover, Robert was (so it was said) the nephew of Samson, abbot of Caen, also an old servant of king John who had thrown in his lot with Philip Augustus.[5] Through the influence of these

indicated by an entry in the exchequer roll of 1180: Stapleton, *op. cit.*, I, 57; C. H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions* (Cambridge, Mass., 1918), p. 334.

[1] We must exclude also the periods April, 1180, to July, 1181, March, 1182, to June, 1184, April, 1185, to April, 1186, February, 1187, to January, 1188, when the king was in Normandy.

[2] He had previously been dean of Salisbury: for his career see *Gallia Christiana*, XI (Paris, 1759), 364 ff.; Delisle, *op. cit.*, p. 381.

[3] *Rotuli Chartarum* (Record Commission), p. 36.

[4] For Ralf Labbé see Stapleton, *op. cit.*, I, xxx, 18, 210; II, 386, 390; *Rotuli Normanniae* (Record Commission), pp. 1–108 *passim*. He had early made his peace with Philip Augustus and was present on November 13, 1205, at the declaration by the Norman barons of the rights of the king and barons in relation to the clergy: A. Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes* (Paris, 1863), I, 297 b. For other references to his acting as justice after 1204 see L. Delisle, *Historiens de la France*, XXIV (Paris, 1904), Préface, pp. 273 (no. 11), 278 (nos. 30, 31).

[5] For Samson see Stapleton, *op. cit.*, I, xxx; *Rotuli Normanniae*, pp. 1–108 *passim*. As Professor Powicke has pointed out, an entry on the patent roll of April 1, 1207, can have no other meaning than that he had deserted John, presumably in 1204: *Rotuli Patentium* (Record Commission), p. 70b; F. M. Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy* (Manchester, 1913), p. 385. He was

two men, the bishop of Bayeux (evidently Robert des Ablèges, who had succeeded Henry de Beaumont) together with all the clergy of the province and all the members of the court, were on the side of Robert of Grainville. The canons, apparently, had little hope of a judgment in their favor in the king's court and therefore persuaded the seneschal of Renaud of Dammartin, count of Boulogne (to whom Philip Augustus had granted the county of Mortain, including Cahagnes[1]), to claim the action for his lord's court.[2] Robert of Grainville must have refused to acknowledge the count's jurisdiction and finally, after the case had been backwards and forwards and backwards and forwards again, the issue came definitely for trial in the king's court. It was necessary for the purpose of the action that the canons' title should be set out, and they were advised that a copy of all the title-deeds should be made and sent to the king of France under the seal of the archbishop and of the convent.[3] At this point the documents end.

The Norman courts of the twelfth century were corrupt, and these documents bear out what we may learn from the author of the ancient custumal. They give us, too, a little more light upon the ways of the great seneschal William fitz Ralf who did much to reform the worst features of the judicial procedure of his time.[4] It is of interest to see him faced with a conflict between Norman custom and the claim of the church to decide whether a man was born in wedlock or not and therefore to decide indirectly whether he

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present at an assize at Caen *ca.* 1205 and at the Easter exchequer at Falaise in 1213: *Historiens de la France*, XXIV, Préface, p. 273 (no. 11); L. Delisle, 'Jugements de l'échiquier de Normandie,' *Documents et Extraits des Manuscrits*, XX (Paris, 1862), part ii, p. 267n. He died on March 9, 1215: *Chronica S. Stephani Cadomensis* in A. Duchesne, *Historiae Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui* (Paris, 1619), p. 1120. If he was uncle to Robert of Grainville — and this seems to be only hearsay — he was presumably brother to the elder Ralf of Grainville.

[1] Teulet, *op. cit.*, p. 271 (no. 737): cf. L. Delisle, *Cartulaire Normand* (Caen, 1852) no. 412.

[2] Renaud of Dammartin forfeited his fiefs in 1211 (*Œuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton* (ed. H. F. Delaborde, Paris, 1882–1885, I, 243), after which they were administered on behalf of Philip Hurepel by Louis of France: Ch. Petit-Dutaillis, *La Vie et le Règne de Louis VIII* (Paris, 1894), p. 333; H. Malo, *Un grand Feudataire, Renaud de Dammartin* (Paris, 1898), pp. 219, 327 f. There is no evidence that Philip Hurepel called himself count before 1223 and he did not receive the county of Mortain until 1224: L. Delisle, *Recherches sur les Comtes de Dammartin* (Paris, 1869; reprinted from *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, XXXI.), pp. 4 ff.; Petit-Dutaillis, *op. cit.*, p. 334. And Renaud certainly continued after his forfeiture to call himself and to be called count of Boulogne (Malo, *op. cit.*, pp. 297 ff, 328 ff). The inference is that the 'Comes Bononie' of these documents is Renaud of Dammartin and that his seneschal had first claimed jurisdiction on his behalf not later than 1211. The subsequent claim to jurisdiction mentioned in document no. 5 may have been made after 1211. Allowance must be made for long delays in making decisions at every stage of the action.

[3] That is, presumably, under the seal of Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, as well as of Merton Priory. Possibly it was supposed that Langton had some influence with Philip Augustus and that his intervention would be of assistance to the priory.

[4] Tardif, *Coutumiers de Normandie*, I, lxx f., 51 ff. Cf. Powicke, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

was entitled to be his father's heir. The seneschal will not be overborne by the bishop of Bayeux and insists that the jury shall proceed with their verdict, and he then refers the whole matter to the king, who apparently orders the issue of bastardy to be determined in the bishop's court before judgment is given by the seneschal.[1]

We may be sure that this is very new law. The whole dispute indeed has as its background the conflict between ancient custom and the new ideals upon which the church was insisting. The marriage of secular clergy in Normandy as in England had been a commonplace in the earlier twelfth century.[2] William Postel's father and his grandfather had both been priests: he himself was the parson of Cahagnes, and although the canons of Merton will not call his wife by that name, no one had the hardihood to contest the legitimacy of the issue of the marriage. The elder Ralf of Grainville had apparently put away his first wife and had taken Beatrix in her place. Norman law evidently recognized the second union, but it was at least questionable by the law which the church was seeking to enforce. Except for this the canons of Merton would have had no prospect of retaining the church of Cahagnes and its lands. And we may note the horror with which bishop Henry affects to regard the mere threat of a judicial duel between a priest and a deacon over a church, another indication of the new principles upon which churchmen were beginning to insist.[3]

There remain to be said a few words about the documents themselves. They are in a hand of the first half of the thirteenth century on three leaves which originally bore the numbers 103 to 105. The first document resumes the story up to the point at which it is taken up by the fifth, and was

[1] It is of interest to note that the rule that the question of bastardy is to be decided by the bishop is embodied, not in the first part of the Norman custumal, which dates from the end of the twelfth century, but in the second part, compiled in the thirteenth century: Tardif, *op. cit.*, I, 73.

[2] Cf. H. Böhmer, *Kirche und Staat in England und in der Normandie im* XI. *und* XII. *Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1899), pp. 270 f., 283 ff.

[3] So Becket writes to the cardinals: 'An simulatis vos ignorare quod rex Anglorum . . . extendit manus suas in . . . clericos, alios incarcerando, alios truncando, aliis eruendo oculos, cogendo alios ad duellum, alios ad examinationem ignis vel aquae': *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket* (Rolls Series), VI (1882), 158. In the present instance there was a *concordia per finem duelli* as there probably had been in most cases: cf. the case of the abbey of St Wandrille and the count of Evreux in 1074 (*Neustria Pia*, pp. 167 ff.). But churchmen did, of course, continue to fight judicial duels vicariously. For a duel fought by the champion of the prior of Coventry see *Curia Regis Rolls* (London, 1922), I, 445. The abbot of St Augustine, Canterbury, retained his own champion early in the thirteenth century: Turner and Salter, *Black Book of St Augustine* (London, 1915, 1924), II, 456. And in 1231 the bishop of London in a suit about an advowson accepted wager of battle, but his opponents on this occasion were layfolk: F. W. Maitland, *Bracton's Note Book* (Cambridge, 1887), II, 427. In Normandy too the law continued to sanction trial by battle in such actions: Tardif, *Coutumiers de Normandie*, I, 76; II, 62.

clearly written after the third and probably after the fourth. The second document is a letter from bishop Henry de Beaumont, whose forty years' episcopate at Bayeux ended in 1205: this letter, as we have seen, must have been written about 1180. The third document is a letter written apparently in Normandy by a canon of the priory, Robert of Guildford (who is mentioned in the first document), and addressed to a fellow-canon at Merton: this, as indicated above, must have been written after the death of bishop Henry and the consecration of bishop Robert in February, 1206.[1] The fourth (which runs on without break in the manuscript) appears to be a copy of the draft reply to the third. The fifth is a further letter from Robert of Guildford: since the abbot of Caen is again mentioned this must clearly have been written before abbot Samson's death in March, 1215, and since the archbishop (of Canterbury) is mentioned, it must presumably be later than July, 1213, when Stephen Langton was able to reside in England.[2] All these last three letters I am inclined therefore to date 1213–1215. The canons do not seem to have succeeded in retaining the church of Cahagnes and the documents were presumably entered in the cartulary before hope was finally extinguished.

The documents are here printed in the same order as they appear in the cartulary. The spelling has been respected, but the capitals and punctuation are according to modern usage. The extensions do not call for remark, except that I have ventured to extend Kahain', Cahain', 'Kaagn' as Kahaines, Cahaines, Kaagnes: the word may be spelt in a great variety of ways, and the termination is uncertain.

MS. COTTON CLEOPATRA C.VII, fol. 83r–85r

1

Quidam vauassor cuius nomen excidit qui tenuit quandam vauassariam terre in uilla de Kahaines de Radulfo de Cahaines exheredatus fuit de illa terra pro quodam crimine. Hic habuit quandam consanguineam cuius nomen excidit quam Willelmus Postell' qui tunc fuit persona ecclesie de Cahaines amauit et genuit ex ea quatuor filias quarum tres maritate fuerunt et quarta remansit innupta. Predictus Willelmus Postell' acceperat ad firmam annuam predictam terram predicti vauassoris exheredati in villa de Kahaines de Radulfo de Cahaines. Postea venit quidam capellanus consanguineus predicti militis exheredati et posuit predictum Willelmum Postell' in placitum coram Radulfo de Cahaines de predicta terra predicti militis exheredati tanquam de iure et hereditate sua et tantum processit placitum quod bellum inuadiatum fuit inter illos de predicta terra in curia Radulfi de Kahaines. Sed Willelmus Postell' dedit unum bosketum plenum denariorum mansel[orum][3] Radulfo de Ka-

[1] Cf. *Gallia Christiana*, xi, 366.

[2] It may be worth pointing out that the archbishop cannot be Hubert Walter, who died in July, 1205: there was then no archbishop of Canterbury resident in England for eight years.

[3] I.e., *mansois*, money of Le Mans.

haines et ipse Radulfus pro illis denariis aduocauit Wellelmum Postell' protestans quod ipse ei dederat predictam terram militis exheredati in perpetuam elemosinam simul cum ecclesia de Kahaines: igitur ita sopitum est illud placitum. Postea quidam Robertus de Curwaudun' consanguineus predicti capellani et predicti militis exheredati mouit placitum de eadem terra et de aduocacione ecclesie de Kahaines et hoc placitum concordatum fuit in curia domini Regis per cyrographum de aduocacione ecclesie de Kahaines inter ipsum Robertum et Canonicos de Meritona per fratrem Reginaldum de Waut[ona] qui fuit eorum attornatus.[1] Postea quidam miles Radulfus de Greinuilla nomine cuius vxor languebat spreuit uxorem propter languorem eius et accessit ad predictam filiam quartam Willelmi Postell' que remanserat innupta et uiuente vxore genuit duos filios in adulterio [fol. 83v] de predicta filia Willelmi Postell' quorum vnus Robertus alter dictus est Radulfus. Vnde et ipse et ipsa summoniti fuerunt ad capitulum et mulier illa pro adulterio excommunicata fuit et in excommunicacione et in adulterio mortua est. Predicti uero Robertus et Radulfus fratres adulti tempore Regis Henrici secundi mouerunt placitum tam de hereditate sua ex parte patris sui Radulfi de Greinuilla, ut dicebant, quam de hereditate sua ex parte aui sui Willelmi Postell', et per preceptum domini Regis per unam iuratam recuperauerunt hereditatem patris sui Radulfi unusquisque scilicet portionem suam, et per aliam iuratam que pro eis et cum eis fecit de aduocacione ecclesie de Kahaines fuerunt recuperaturi aduocacionem ecclesie de Kahaines nisi quia[2] obiectum est eis ab aduersariis eorum ante iuratam et post iuratam quod bastardi fuerunt et in adulterio geniti, ita quod mater eorum in adulterio et in excommunicacione mortua est. Vnde et dominus Rex cum audisset bastardiam eis fuisse obiectam precepit quod licet iurata inde capta fuisset si tamen bastardia probari posset aduersus eos ipsi tam hereditatem patris quam aui et aduocacionem ecclesie de Kahaines amitterent. Quod ipsi audientes noluerunt prosequi placitum de aduocacione sed tenuerunt se ad hereditatem patris sui pro parte sua. Postea cum Rex Iohannes Normanniam perdiderat, predicti fratres Robertus et Radulfus fecerunt intellegi domino Regi Francie quod iniuste perdiderant aduocacionem ecclesie de Kahaines quam per iuratam prius adquisierant sed deforciati erant per potestatem Regis et per violenciam aduersariorum suorum Canonicorum Meritone. Rex autem Francie precipit ut recordatio fieret de iurata et rectum eis teneretur. Curia uero summonita et Canonicis summonitis ut audirent recordum curie, Comes Bononie ad instanciam Roberti de Geldeford' canonici de Meritona misit senescallum suum Petrum Leschaut qui tunc fuit senescallus eius de honore de Moretonio ad curiam domini Regis ut exigeret ibi curiam domini sui Comitis Bononie quam exegit et habuit et summoniuit predictos fratres ut uenirent ad curiam domini sui Comitis Bononie et ibi placitarent predictum placitum. Sed nullus eorum uenit, vnde et predictus canonicus Robertus qui ad curiam illam uenit, cum nullus aduersarius ibi compareret, dimissus est et clamatus quietus et ita remansit placitum.

II

fol. 84r HENRICUS Dei gracia Baiocensis episcopus venerabili viro Priori et Conuentui de Meritona salutem quam promisit Deus diligentibus se. Placuit domino nostro Regi scribere Willelmo filio Radulfi ut recognosci faceret quid habuit Willelmus Postell' hereditario iure apud Kahaines similiter apud ueterem Ferrariam que est de

[1] Reginald, canon of Merton, occurs as a witness to a charter in 1145: *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1846), III, 372 (no. 7).

[2] MS. 'qz'.

decanatu Baiocensis ecclesie. Nos autem ad diem recognicionis uenimus et decanus noster nobiscum. Productis autem iuratoribus in medium pronissimis ad periurium, decanus noster proposuit ante iuramentum quod non competebat hec recognicio Radulfo de Grainuilla et Roberto fratri suo qui per predictum Willelmum Postel' auum eorum petebant hereditatem sibi restitui sicut recognita foret. Optulit enim se probaturum quod ille Willelmus per quem petebant diaconus fuit et persona ecclesie de Kaagnes et ecclesie de ueteri Ferraria et filius fuit Heruei presbiteri et ille Herueus filius fuit Amboberti presbiteri. Dixit etiam decanus quod isti iuuenes Radulfus et Robertus de Grai[n]uilla qui petunt bastardi sunt et nati in adulterio quod adulterium ita fuit celebre quod mater eorum Beatrix excommunicata fuit propter idem adulterium in quo iacebat cum Radulfo patre eorum de Grainuilla qui dictos iuuenes genuit ex eadem adultera uiuente uxore sua legitima et in hac excommunicacione mortua est illa adultera et post mortem intruncata et ad capellam leprosorum ubi non erat cimiterium deportata utpote que cimiterium non habuit nec habere debuit, et hec omnia ante iuramenta se probaturum promisit et affirmauit. Dixit etiam et nos cum illo numquam fuisse iuris in Normannia uel moris quod mota calumpnia de bastardia procederet uerbum hereditatis uel aliter per recognicionem donec finiretur lis de bastardia et causa illa solebat ad curiam ecclesiasticam a curia Regis. Dominus uero filius Radulfi dixit quod propter hoc non dimitteret quin iuramenta hominum reciperet et postea faceret quod sibi consilium dictaret. Iurauerunt itaque ignobiles et despreti iuri et pauperes quod Willelmus Postel' possedit in feudo et iure hereditario ecclesiam de Kahaines cum xxx. acris et ecclesiam de ueteri Ferraria cum tota terra quam decanus ibi habet. Iurauerunt etiam quod totum ius illud descendebat et pertinebat iure hereditario ad predictos iuuenes Radulfum et Robertum de Grainuilla ex parte Willelmi Postel'. Dixerunt preterea quod Wimundus de Corewaudun' uendicauit aduersum Willelmum Postel' ecclesiam de Chahaines cum terra in curia Radulfi de Kahaines et iudicatum fuit ibi inter eos duellum et postea per concordiam finitum. Nos uero diximus et uerum esse probabimus tam asserscionem filiorum et filiarum et nepotum ipsius Wimundi quam testimoniam plurimorum presbiterorum et militum illius prouincie quod ille Wimundus sacerdos fuit ecclesie de Corewaudon' et Willelmus Postel' diaconus et persona ecclesie de Kahaines, et uos uos uidete si bene iudicatum fuit duellum inter sacerdotem et diaconum super ecclesia. Post hoc habuit Willelmus filius Radulfi consilium nobiscum et cum quibusdam aliis et consiliis nostris adquieuit ut scilicet re integra significaret domino Regi totam assercionem decani et assercionem iuratorum. Hec ideo uobis scribimus ut prouideratis uobis tam per dominum Wintoniensem qui uester est diocesanus episcopus[1] quam per alios amicos uestros ut rex non permittat possessionem uestram turbari quam sua auctoritate et Radulfi de Kahaines donacione obtinuistis. Timendum est enim ne donatio Radulfi euacuetur si bastardi illi recuperauerunt aduocationem ecclesie de Kahaines, qui de bastardia facile conuincentur, si rex permiserit. Stephanus archidiaconus ex quo super hoc uerbum audiuit statim ad uos nuncium destinauit quem sicut dicitur mare tardauit. Domino Regi et amicis nostris super hoc scribimus et uos super negocio uestro uigilate. Valete.

III

fol. 84r *second entry*

SALUTEM eternam in Domino. Sciat fraternitas uestra me in tantis periculis constitutum quod nisi citius mihi succurratis oportet me in tribulationibus deficere nisi Deo

[1] Richard of Ilchester, bishop of Winchester 1174–1188. He had recently been in charge of Normandy, having been succeeded by William fitz Ralf in 1179.

auxiliante cum beata Virgine possim solus omnibus resistere. Sciatis enim quod Robertus de Grainuilla qui sibi uendicat ecclesiam de Kahaines eam dedit filio Radulfi Abbatis iusticiarii domini Regis qui cum abbate Cadomi cuius nepos est [Fol. 84v] uendicator omnes homines totius prouincie tam episcopum quam omnes clericos et laicos contra nos cum eis stare uel ueritatem tacere faciunt. Solus uero aduocatus noster cui maximam pecuniam promitto se asserit nos uelle et posse defendere. Sed timeo ne subducatur. Vnde uos rogo ut sicut uideritis expedire me consuletis et quam citius poteritis sufficientem responsalem cum munimentis nostris uel quod melius uideritis imitatis. Oportet enim me Priorem in fine in warantum uocare cum sufficienter non possum respondere. Valete.

IV

[*Following runs on*] De iuramento per quod non petunt scripsit nobis episcopus totum ordinem illis diebus sicut iuratum fuit hoc ordine. Productis iuratoribus in medium pronis ad periurium decanus noster proposuit ante iuramentum quod non competebat hec recognicio Radulfo et Roberto de Grainuilla fratribus qui per Willelmum Postel' auum eorum petebant hereditatem sibi restitui. Optulit enim se probaturum quod ille Willelmus per quem petebant diaconus et persona ecclesia de Kahaines fuit et filius Heruei presbiteri et Herueius filius Amboberti presbiteri. Dixit etiam quod isti qui petunt bastardi sunt et nati in adulterio, quod adulterium adeo fuit celebre, quod mater eorum Beatrix excommunicata fuit propter idem adulterium in quo iacebat cum Radulfo de Grainuilla qui eos genuit ex eadem adultera uiuente vxore sua legitima et in hac excommunicacione mortua est illa adultera et post mortem intruncata ad capellam leprosorum ubi non erat cimiterium deportata utpote que cimiterium non habuit nec habere debuit. Et hec omnia ante iuramenta se probaturum promisit et affirmabat et alia multa. Willelmus filius Radulfi dixit quod propter hoc non dimitteret quin iuramenta reciperet et postea faceret quod consilium sibi dictaret. Iurauerunt itaque despreti iuri quod predictus Willelmus auus eorum possedit ecclesiam de Kahaines et pertinebat ad istos hereditario iure et multa alia dixerunt non ualencia. Post hoc re integra scripsit senescallus Regi totam assercionem iuratorum et decani et episcopi. Hec ideo scripsi uobis ut uideratis si rescriptionem domini Regis uel aliquid aliud contra eos habetis et illud nobis mittatis.

V

fol. 84v *second entry* Salutem. Meminit sancta fraternitas uestra me scripsisse uobis de statu et periculo nostro de ecclesia de Kahaines de quo dubitabam et adhuc dubito de fine. Aduersarius enim noster ualde fraudulentam contra nos habet querelam. Nam rei ueritas est quod tempore Regis Henrici super ecclesia de Kahaines adeptus est recognitionem in hunc modum. Iurauerunt itaque iuratores quod Willelmus Postel' auus aduersarii nostri per quem petit hereditatem sibi restitui iure hereditario ecclesiam de Kahaines possedit et quod totum ius quod habebat in ecclesia de Kahaines desendebat et pertinebat ad predictum aduersarium nostrum. Preterea iurauerunt quod inter predictum Willelmum Postel' et Wimundum de Corewaud[un'] antecessorem militis cum quo finem fecimus in curia Radulfi de Kahaines iudicatum fuit duellum super ecclesia de Kahaines et postea per concordiam finitum. Propter hoc iuramentum ipse ullam hucusque de ecclesia non habuit saisinam, sed nunc de Rege habet preceptum ut habeat recordacionem de hoc iuramento et quod ei ius dederit. Hoc optinebat vnde iam quinquies conuenerunt ad istam recordacionem faciendam, sed ego nondum in curia comparui responsurus, sed amplius non habeo subterfugium

quin oporteat me ad primum diem respondere uel warrantum habere scilicet Priorem. De hoc satis; quid facere? Habeatis munimenta nostra de ecclesia [fol. 85r] de Kahaines in uno volumine scripta sub sigillo Archiepiscopi et Conuentus [clauso][1] ut Regi Francie transmittantur. Sciatis enim me in hoc negocio nullum nisi Deum habere coadiutorem, de amicis nostris dico excepto R. clerico nostro qui mecum stat ad loquendum sed ad consilium tepide. Aduersarius uero noster totam curiam Regis et ecclesiasticam et prouinciam secum habet propter abbatem Cadomi cuius nepos dicitur et propter iusticiarium cuius filio promittitur ecclesia de Kahaines qui eum manutenent. Ego uero consilio Dei fretus tamen de nostro senescallo Comitis Bononie dedi quod me non in aperto manutenet et iam bis de curia Regis in curiam Comitis adduxit et sic hucusque periculum euasi. De hoc quod mandatum uestrum adimplere non possum per prescripta quare non paternitas uestra satis potest perpendere.

[1] MS. reads unintelligibly 'Laudo.'

Merton, England

TURRIS ARICIE

By F. J. E. RABY

In his review of Madame Olga Dobiache-Rojdestvensky's *Les Poésies des Goliards* in Speculum, October, 1931, p. 619, Mr Hanford points out that in the *Confessio* of the Archpoet the editor gives the usual text of the ninth strophe, but adopts a different reading for her translation. The usual text is:

Si ponas Hippolytum hodie Papiae,
Non erit Hippolytus in sequenti die:
Veneris in thalamos ducunt omnes viae,
Non est in tot turribus turris Alethiae.

But Madame Rojdestvensky translates: 'parmi tant de tours, pas une pour Aricie,' (p. 194) and assures us in a footnote that Aricia is but another name for Diana. Now the reading 'turris Ariciae' is not, as Mr Hanford seems to assume, an invention of the editor. It is the reading in the test given by Hauréau in *Notices et extraits des MSS*, xxix, i, p. 267, but it does not appear to have any MS. authority. Dom Wilmart kindly informs me that the ninth strophe is not contained in the Vatican *Cod. Reginensis 344*, and M. Perrier has been good enough to give me information to the same effect about the *MS. 11867* of the Bibliothèque Nationale. It seems, indeed, that this strophe is to be found only in four MSS: (1) *Brussels 2071*, where the reading is *Alethie;* (2) *Harl. 978: Alicie;* (3) Salimbene's chronicle: *Alachie;* (4) *Carmina Burana: Galatie* (see B. Schmeidler, 'Zum Archipoeta,' *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, xiv [1911], p. 371). I suggest that the *Alicie* of *Harl. 978* may be an error for *Aricie*. In any case, as Schmeidler points out, the text is hopelessly confused, perhaps as a result of oral tradition. The real argument for *Aricie* is that it is a reading which yields excellent sense, whereas *Alethie* is almost pointless. For *Aricia* was not Diana, but the wife of Hippolytus, whom he married when he returned again to mortal life. The authority for this is Virgil, *Aeneid*, vii, 761 sqq. Hence:

Si ponas Hippolytum hodie Papiae,
Non erit Hippolytus in sequenti die:
Veneris in thalamos ducunt omnes viae,
Non est in tot turribus turris Ariciae.

London

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE *DE EXPUGNATIONE LYXBONENSI*

By C. R. CHENEY

In his article in Speculum, January, 1932, Mr David has accumulated some probable conjectures about the author of the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi*. He shows that the author was probably an Anglo-Norman priest from East Anglia, with a special attachment to Hervey de Glanvill. He then proposes to identify him with *Osbertus clericus de Baldreseie*, who appears as signatory to a charter of Ranulf de Glanvill in 1171.[1] Mr David admits that this identification 'is, of course, a conjecture' (p. 56). But there are more difficulties in the way of the clerk of Bawdsey's authorship than Mr David seems to envisage. The letter begins with the words 'Osb. de Baldr. R. salutem.' Assuming for the present that Mr David has really found Osb. de Baldr. in the clerk of Bawdsey, I read the greeting thus: 'Osberto de Baldreseie R. [nominative] salutem.'

There are two points in favor of this. In the first place, the mediaeval letter-writer, except when addressing a subordinate, usually put his correspondent's name before his own. I am well aware that this was no invariable rule; but it seems to have been a general custom. Without evidence to the contrary it is safest to conjecture that Osb. de Baldr. must be extended in the dative case. A second consideration enforces this. According to Stubbs and Mr David, the Corpus MS. is the author's autograph. It is likely that the author (even in making a fair copy) would write his own name practically in full and indicate his correspondent by a single initial? Again, one can only say that the contrary was the usual practice. Neither of these suggestions provides conclusive proof. My contention is simply that we adopt the most natural reading if we take *R.* to be the author. At least no justification of the alternative reading has been advanced. The editors and Mr David have all followed the lead of the sixteenth-century annotator, who called the letter 'Historia Osberni.'

If we abandon the author *R.* as beyond hope of identification, and regard Osb. de Baldr. as his correspondent, there is less reason than before for associating the latter closely with the Glanvill family. Osbernus and Osbertus were common names in the twelfth century, and *Baldr.* may stand for *Baldrusella*[2] (Bawdeswell, Norfolk) as well as for *Baldreseie* (Bawdsey, Suffolk). Since the letter now forms part of a book from Norwich Cathedral

[1] This foundation charter of Butley Priory included the gift of Bawdsey church. This makes the connection closer between Osbert the clerk and the Glanvill family.

[2] This spelling occurs in a document of 1163 (*Index of Charters and Rolls, Brit. Mus.*, vol. II (London, 1912) p. 36).

Priory, the possibility that Osb. de Baldr̃. was a monk of Norwich might be considered.

Professor C. W. David has submitted the following comment on these remarks:

Even before Mr Cheney had forwarded his helpful note to me, Dr J. C. Russell of the University of North Carolina had in a very generous private correspondence convinced me that there were serious objections to my conjectural identification of the author of the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* with Osbert, clerk of Bawdsey, who attests the charter of Ranulf de Glanvill of 1171. If my over-confident hypothesis is not to be entirely abandoned, it should certainly be regarded with considerable reserve.

According to A. Giry (*Manuel de Diplomatique*, p. 535) it was customary for a mediaeval letter-writer to place his name before that of his correspondent, unless he were addressing a superior. But Mr Cheney has drawn to my attention the fact that the evidence which Giry cites does not support this statement; and he has placed before me convincing evidence—notably the very clear statement of Alberic of Monte Cassino (L. Rockinger, '*Briefsteller und Formelbücher*', in *Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte*, IX [Munich, 1864], pp. 11, 12)—in support of his own and Dr Russell's view that the writer ought normally to place his correspondent's name before his own, unless he were addressing a subordinate. In this particular case it had seemed to me that we were without evidence to decide the question of rank as between the correspondents (it is hardly possible that either of them can have been a person of very important rank), and I had followed Stubbs and other modern editors in respecting the traditional rendering of the text, except for the spelling of the variable name *Osbernus;* but inasmuch as the traditional rendering may not be older than the sixteenth century, I agree with Mr Cheney that it is worthy of a little respect. And both Mr Cheney and Dr Russell have been struck by a fact the significance of which (if it is significant) had escaped me, viz., the contrast between the mere initial *R.* which stands for the one name, and the much less drastically abbreviated *Osb. de Baldr*;. which stands for the other. This is a point on which I cannot speak with any assurance from my own experience; but I may note in passing that another letter dealing with this same expedition against Lisbon begins as follows (the text unfortunately from a late manuscript): 'A. venerabili Coloniensi Archiepiscopa. Ego Winandus sacerdos humillimus . . .' (*Ein Brief des kölnischen Priesters Winand*, ed. Ernst Duemmler [Vienna, 1851], p. 3).

Dr Russell has offered another objection, which seems to me impressive, to my identification of the author of the Lisbon memoir with Osbert, clerk of Bawdsey, of the charter of 1171. He points out that if Osbert were really a priest, as I have inferred that the author of the memoir was, he would be much more likely to appear in the charter as *presbyter* or *sacerdos* or *persona* rather than as *clericus*.

Mr Cheney's proposal to extend *Baldr.* as *Baldrusella* (Bawdeswell, Norfolk) is of much interest, and this reading would doubtless be possible; but it seems to me less probably correct than *Baldreseia* (Bawdsey, Suffolk), though the latter cannot be insisted on if the author of the Lisbon memoir is not to be identified with Osbert, clerk of Bawdsey. We know that an Osbert of Bawdsey was party to a final concord concerning property in Stradbroke (Suffolk) in *3 Henry III*, and that a daughter of an Osbert of Bawdsey was party to a final concord concerning property in Fressingfield (Suffolk) in *15 Edward III* (Walter Rye, *A Calendar of the Feet of Fines for*

Suffolk, Ipswich, 1900, pp. 20, 90). It would not, I believe, be inconsistent with mediaeval usage if Osbert, clerk of Bawdsey, of the charter of 1171, should belong to an earlier generation of the same family and should be identical with, or a kinsman of, *Osb. de Baldr.*, whose name stands at the head of the Lisbon memoir. But, as Mr. Cheney says, the name Osbert was not uncommon in the twelfth century (though the form *Osbernus* does seem to have been uncommon at that time); and in this matter with our present evidence there can be no certainty. Dr Russell, who derives an important indication of rank from the relative positions of names in lists of witnesses in mediaeval charters (see J. C. Russell, 'The Significance of Charter Witness Lists in Thirteenth Century England,' *New Mexico Normal University Bulletin*, No. 99 [1930], supplement), writes me that he believes Osbert, clerk of Bawdsey, to have been a person of considerable importance since his name stands well toward the first of the list of witnesses in the charter of 1171 (*vide supra*, p. 56, note 2).

Mr Cheney's suggestion that *Osb. de Baldr.* may have been a monk of Norwich seems to me improbable. The Lisbon memoir may have formed from an ancient date a part of the manuscript volume in which it is now bound; but evidence is apparently lacking that it did so.

University College, London

THE UNPRINTED POEMS OF NIGEL WIREKER[1]

An Examination of *MS. Cotton Vespasian D xix*, fols. 1–53

By J. H. MOZLEY

The authorship of the poems that follow is proclaimed by a title on the verso of the first leaf, written in large letters of the thirteenth century, alternately black and red:

NIGELLI DE LONGO CAMPO

under which, in blue letters of the same date, on a piece of parchment gummed to the middle of the page, is written:

hec continentur in hoc libello
uersus ad Honorium priorem antequam prior esset
uersus de ligno dulci uersus de monakis
epistola quedam uersifice
uersus de sancta Caterina
epitafium Honorii prioris uersus alii
miracula sancte Dei genitricis Marie
passio sancti Laurentii martiris
uita Pauli primi heremite
uersus de Archiepiscopis Cantuariensis ecclesie quis cui successit.

At the top of the page is written: 'hic liber est ecclesie Xti Cant.: qui illum inde abstulerit auferat eum dominus de libro uite.' At the top of fol. 2^{r} is the shelf-mark: 'D vi g(ra) xii(us),' i.e., Distinctio sexta gradus duodecimus. The book will be found in the Catalogue of the Christ Church Library.[2] The collation of the first fifty-two folios is as follows:

i8-fols. i–iii, 1–4 (4 cancelled)
ii8-fols. 5–12
iii8-fols. 13–20
iv4-fols. 21–24 (fol. 21 is gummed to guard of iii)
v4-fols. 25–27 (4 cancelled)
vi8-fols. 28–35
vii8-fols. 36–43
viii10-fols. 44–52 (1 cancelled)

Of these gatherings, i contains the small poems; ii–iv the miracles; v, 'quid deceat monachum'; vi–viii (fol. 45^{r}), *St Laurence;* remainder of viii, *St Paul* and 'uitam claudit hominum.'

The handwriting is all early thirteenth century, and all the first fifty-two fols. are written by the same hand except two pieces; these are 'quid deceat

[1] Or, more probably *Wetekre*, cf. my article in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, July, 1932.

[2] M. R. James, *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, p. 48, No. 278: 'Miracula sancte Marie iva, Nigelli,' and the last three items of the above list, together with 'Versus de sancta Katerina et de monachis,' and 'Versus ad Honorium priorem,' are added.

monachum' and 'uitam claudit hominum,' which are written in hands which differ both from each other and from that of the rest of the MS.[1] Neither of these poems occurs in the list of contents, unless the former is to be understood as included in the title 'de monakis,' or both under 'uersus alii.' It is in any case a curious coincidence that they should be the only two of the collection probably not by Nigel.

On the other hand, the 'uersus de Archiepiscopis' do not appear in the MS.; there is a copy in *Vit. A xi, fol. 37*^{v}, and an extract in *Arund. 23 fol. 66*^{v} between the *Speculum Stultorum* and the *Miracle of the Christ-child* (No. 12 of this collection).

If we may conclude that the fourth folio of i was cancelled at the time of the rebinding of the MS. by Sir R. Cotton, it is likely that it contained the list of contents, which was then cut out and gummed on to fol. 1^{v}. It would appear that the writer of the MS. had meant to begin with the Miracles and not the smaller poems, for at the top of col. i of fol. 2^{r} is written in the same handwriting as that of 'Nigelli de Longo Campo,' though somewhat smaller, 'Miracula sancte Marie tercia,' though they do not actually come till fol. 5^{r}. 'Tercia' may be thus explained: in the Catalogue of the Christ Church Library, *op. cit.*, p. 48, items 275 to 280 are all *Miracula* and are designated i^{a}–vi^{a}, i.e., *prima-sexta*, respectively; there is a discrepancy here, as the 'third collection,' if there is what 'tercia' means, comes fourth in the Catalogue, but this might be explained as a mistake of the Cataloguer.[2]

The MS. measures roughly 7½ by 5 inches, and is written in two columns to a page, each of 36 lines as a rule (in fols. 25–27, there are only 35). The initial letters of paragraphs are usually illuminated in red or blue.

I. *The shorter poems.*

1. Inc.: in quascumque manus peruenerit iste libellus
   Expl.: sepius et dicas, uiuas sine fine Nigelli.

Four rhyming hexameter couplets, the last words of each being 'libellus' — 'Nigellus,' in the nominative, dative, genitive, and vocative cases respectively, and each couplet consisting of a request to the reader (in the last couplet to the book itself) that he will pray for the eternal repose of the writer of the book.

2. Inc.: Ecclesie Christi flos nobilitatis Honori
   Expl.: *v. infra.*

Eleven rhyming hexameter couplets addressed to Honorius, subsequently Prior. There is plenty of play upon the name, together with the favorite contrast between name and thing:

> nomen honoris habes sed factis nomen honoras,
> nominis interpres, de nomine facta coloras,

the whole piece being no more than an enlargement of the same idea. The poem ends:

[2] For these statements I have the authority of the MS. Department of the British Museum.

[1] See also the notice of the MS. in Ward and Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances* II, 591 ff.

qui mare qui terram qui celi possidet astra
post terren(a preco)r tribuat tibi celica castra.

3. Inc.: lignum dulce tenens sic dulcis pondera ligni
Expl.: spes et amor cleri tu consummatio morum.

Nine rhyming hexameter couplets on the pastoral staff, the symbol of a much-coveted dignity:

o lignum dignum, lignum super omnia ligna
te cupiunt certe qui propter te monachantur.

Another favorite play on words, 'honor' — 'onus' (traceable to Ovid, *Her.*, ix, 31), comes in appropriately here, and there is a prayer at the beginning for the holder of the staff, probably Honorius himself:

lignum dulce tenens sic dulcis pondera ligni
penset, ut et mores sint tanto pondere digni.

4. Inc.: quid querunt mundum qui mundum deseruere
Expl.: nomine dum liceat sine nomine res retinere.

Six hexameter couplets all rhyming on the syllables '-ere,' declaring it to be the duty of monks to abandon all private property:

nil proprium monachos docuit Benedictus habere,

but contemporary monks fall far short of that precept:

uestem mutarunt non mundum deseruere . . .
sed quia que docuit non res sed uerba fuere
non possunt monachi uerbis rebusque carere
ergo sit his proprium nil proprietatis habere
nomine dum liceat sine nomine res retinere.

Again we see the play on words and the favorite antithesis of name and thing.

5. Inc.: quo mihi . . . salutem (*v. infra*)
Expl.: non igitur reddat te res aliena superbum.

Reflections in elegiac verse (ending incomplete at 43) on the theme that men are honored according to their possessions, and that fortune is fickle. In form it is a letter, hence the Ovidian beginning (cf. for instance *Ex Pont.* 1, 10, 2, and also Baudri de Bourgueil's *Florus Ovidio*, ed. Abrahams, p. 141:

quo mihi non licuit nec adhuc licet ire, salutem
mitto salutis egens iamque salute carens.

Nothing is of any worth in comparison with wealth:

si pedibus terram si celum uertice tangas
si tibi census abest quid nisi nullus eris?
nulla salus inopis, opibus debentur honores,
nausia diuitibus pauper amicus erit.

The whole world is gone after it:

post has mundus abit totus, ueneratur, adorat,
has populus princeps pontificumque domus.
has olor, has cignus, auet has iunonius ales,
has philomena cupit hasque columba capit.

The only consolation is that

deus hoc reprobat quod probat omnis homo.

Fortune is unstable, and prosperity often does harm to the prosperous:

instabilis stabilem non habet illa fidem.
dulcia delectant, eneruant mollia, blanda
alliciunt, terrent aspera, pulchra trahunt.

Wealth is given you by another, who will reclaim it when he wishes:

sic aliena tibi res est commissa regenda
possit ut hec a te teque negante rapi.

6. Inc.: Virgo triumphalis decor orbis honor specialis
Expl.: lilia martirii roseo sunt tincta rubore.

Twenty hexameter lines in honor of St Katherine of Alexandria, of which the first six have internal rhymes, the rest are in rhyming couplets. This latter metre is frequently found in poems in praise of saints, and is used by Nigel himself in his *St Laurence* and *St Paul the Hermit*. After four lines addressed to the Saint, he mentions the wondrous fountain:

fons in monte Syna qui defluit ex Katerina
extat uirginei signum testisque trophei.

The remainder of the poem is a development of the two lines:

dat Katerina tibi dupplex donum deitatis
purpura martirii cum bisso uirginitatis,

the theme of the two colors being played upon in each couplet

lilia designant carnem que crimina nescit
gloria martirii roseo fulgore rubescit,

and the last:

liliat ergo rosas niueo caro casta colore,
lilia martirii roseo sunt tincta rubore.

The white lily of chastity and the crimson rose of martyrdom are thus combined in a pretty garland of verse, which is content to repeat the same idea simply for the pleasure of saying it in different ways.

7. Inc.: obruitur . . . splendor (*v. infra*)
Expl.: ut duo iuncta iterum non patiatur item.

Written perhaps on the death of Honorius: the good man dies only to live:

obruitur cum sole dies, cum lampade splendor,
cum rectore ratis, cum dominante domus.
occidit occasu pastoris ouile, lucerna
luciferi radiis preradiantis eget.
iustus obit, nec obit, obit orbe, renascitur astris,
et iocunda nouum sidera sidus habent.
ad dominum seruus, ad patrem filius, exul
ad patriam, uictor ad diadema redit.
in pastore fuit ouis, in primate minister,
in magno minimus, in dominante cliens.

Then follow eighteen more lines, of which the first two are a rhyming hexameter couplet, the rest elegiacs. The former seem to contain a kind of tag:

> uera dies, deus, alma quies, hunc arce serena
> ut foueas non indigeas stimulo sed habena.

A similar couplet occurs in a fragment, perhaps by Matthew of Vendome (*MS. Bodl., Misc. Lat. D 15*), shortly to be published in *Studj Medievali.*

8. Description of a good monk:

> frons demissa, graues oculi, uox absque tumultu,
> mens humilis, cibus exiguus, uestis sine cultu,
> recta fides, sopor ira breuis, meditatio iugis,
> uita pudica, manus operans, studium sine nugis,
> lectio sancta, timor mortis, compunctio cordis,
> sanctus amor, pietatis opus, mens nescia sordis,
> laudis despectus proprie, contemptus honorum,
> proprietatis amor nullus, pia cura suorum,
> ista decent monachum. sunt hec prenostica certa,
> ergo sit a monacho procul es et bursa referta.

9. Inc.: mors dedit . . . carnis (*v. infra*)
Expl.: que mundi . . . Emmam (*v. infra*)

Ten lines on the death of one Emma.[1] The first eight are all on this model:

> mors dedit Emma tibi post mortem uiuere carnis
> uiuere morte tua mors dedit Emma tibi.

The last two run:

> Octobris flenda satis est duodena Kalenda
> que mundi gemmam de mundo sustulit Emmam.

10. Inc.: res iocunda dare sed non iocunda rogare
Expl.: quam male . . . negatum. (*v. infra*)

Some reflections on giving, in eight leonine hexameters, e.g.,

> dando fit ingratus qui dat prece sollicitatus.
> res data multiplici prece debet uendita dici.

or:

> gratius omne datum magis esse solet properatum
> quam male dilatum multumque diuque negatum.

11. Inc.: ecce senescentis . . . cepit (*v. infra*)
Expl.: ut tribuatur . . . Dei (*v. infra*)

We come now to a longer piece, in the nature of a lament on the decline of the world and in particular on the death of Honorius. The love of antithesis is shown by the opening lines:

> ecce senescentis mundi iuuenescere cepit
> error, et est licitum quicquid in orbe libet.
> ritus abit ueterum, rerum perit ordo, nouumque
> inducunt homines non elementa chaos.

[1] For a possible identification, see my article in *Mod. Lang. Rev.*

Nature keeps its course, only man wanders from the track.

bestia muta sapit nec de uirtute superbit,
at uirtus hominem desipuisse facit.

In particular prelates are turning against their church, the shepherds against their flocks:

in sua membra capud, manus in sua uiscera, pastor
in sibi commissas precipitatur oues.

Canterbury especially has cause for complaint:

quid dicemus ad hec, cum sit uetus ista querela,
Cantica conqueritur hanc nimis esse nouam.

And again:

que quondam fuerat a cantu Cantica dicta
ipsa per antifrasin hoc modo nomen habet

But now since Honorius' death

plangit et a cantu Cantica mesta silet.

There is no doubt that it was the quarrel between the monks of Christ Church and their Archbishop, first Baldwin then Hubert Walter, that inspired this lament; they felt much bitterness against the Archbishop for proposing to install secular canons in their place, and resisted stubbornly. In the middle of the dispute the Prior Honorius died (October 21, 1188). Nigel even calls him martyr:

o preciose prior, o splendide martir Honori,
ad superos superi te rapuere chori.
cum sociis prior alme tuis miserere [*Nigelli*],
ut tribuatur ei gratia summa Dei.

The name does not occur in the MS., but there can be no doubt as to what must be inserted.

12. Inc.: quattuor in templo . . . enses (*v. infra*)
Expl.: et capud . . . Nouembris (*v. infra*)

The last piece contained fifty-four lines; it is followed by yet another poem on Honorius, of nine rhyming hexameter couplets, the last two lines rhyming internally. The monastery is also praised for its resolution in the face of danger. In the first couplet there is a clear allusion to the fate of Becket:

quattuor in templo procerum quia pertulit enses
imbuit exemplo uirtutis Canturienses,

though Honorius is probably referred to. Then after six lines:

felix conuentus gemino dum subiacet ensi
non est inuentus similis gens Canturiensi.
felix conuentus stabilis quem gratia ditat
talibus intentus famam uirtute maritat.

The piece ends thus:

fructum cum flore rapuit moriente priore
et capud a membris duodena Kalenda Nouembris.

13. The last piece is in memory of St Thomas:

in sponse gremio, patris in lare, matris in aluo,
pro patre, pro sponsa, pro genitrice iacet.
carnis in occasum non occidit, immo supernum
surgit in heredem qui prius exul erat.
magnus erat, modo maior erit, sed maximus immo
orbe bonus melior optimus astra petit.
pro grege dat pastor animam, dominoque talentum
plenum multiplici commoditate refert.
celicus hunc orbi rapit axis, et ambiciosi
etheris inuidiam nubila sentit humus.
qui coluit colitur, qui sanctorum celebrauit
festa relatiuo gaudet honore frui.
quarto post domini natalem prodiga lucis
nos patre lucifero priuat amara dies.

14. *Miracula Sancte Dei Genitricis Virginis Marie.* A collection of seven teen Miracles described in elegiac verse. In what follows I have depended largely upon the discussion of the Mary-legends of the *Catalogue of Romances* in the British Museum (Ward and Herbert), II, 586 ff., where an account of the tales themselves will also be found.[1] It would take up too much space to relate them all here. Those related by Nigel are the following: I, Theophilus; II, Dunstan; III, Julian the Apostate; IV, Hildefonsus; V, The Virgin's shift at Chartres; VI, Fulbert of Chartres; VII, The Drowned Sacristan; VIII, The Devil as Bull, Dog, and Lion; IX, The Monk of St Peter's; X, Incest of Roman Matron; XI, The Jew of Pisa; XII, Bread offered to the Christ-child; XIII, The Virgin's Milk; XIV, The Priest of one Mass; XV, The Jew who lent to the Christian; XVI, Love gained by Black Arts; XVII, The Abbess delivered.

This collection, which is the earliest to be written in Latin verse, belongs to those general collections of miracles of the Virgin which began to be made in the west of Europe in the eleventh century. They may be contrasted with collections made at particular localities and also with chance references to be found in earlier writers, such as Gregory of Tours (sixth century) or Paschasius Radbertus (ninth century). These general collections, written in prose, are represented by various existing MSS, which have combined or selected from them; the same grouping of tales often recurs in different MSS, and thus the existence of these earliest general collections is deduced. Such MSS are *Royal 6 B XIV*, *Arundel 346* (*ca.* 1200); *Cotton, Cleopatra CX* (late twelfth century); *Addl. 15723* (thirteenth century) in the British Museum, also *Balliol 240* at Oxford, and Cambridge Univ. Lib., *Mm 6 15*.

[1] See also Mussafia, *Marienlegenden*, no. III (for this collection); also the recent English translation from Herolt in the *Broadway Medieval Library* (London: Routledge, 1928).

More important for our purpose is the collection made by William of Malmesbury in the twelfth century, and preserved in a MS. of the Salisbury Cathedral Chapter Library, *No. 97*. It contains fifty-one miracles, and from it derive the Oxford and Cambridge MSS.

It is impossible to say with certainty from which collection or collections Nigel drew his legends; he was most probably acquainted with them from several sources. There is, however, the fact that both he and William of Malmesbury agree in one small detail against all other versions, namely that in both of them one of the oldest and most popular of the miracles, that of the Jewish boy in the furnace, is located at Pisa and not at Bourges, where other accounts locate it. This affords a strong presumption that Nigel used William's versions, but in spite of a careful search I have not found any other strong evidence to the same effect. Two of Nigel's stories do not occur in the Salisbury MS. at all (x and xiii); of these x is in *Addl. 15723* and also in the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais (1190–1264); Nigel cannot have got it from either of these, but a group of tales in the former appear also in Vincent, who mentions a *Mariale magnum* as their source, presumably a collection of hymns, legends, etc., in honor of the Virgin, and Nigel may well have used such a source, (there was, in fact, a so-called *Mariale* in the Christ Church Library at Canterbury: see *Ancient Libraries*, p. 84, No. 830).[4] xiii occurs in *Royal 6 B XIV*, the Cambridge MS., and a Toulouse MS. *No. 482* akin to it.

A comparison of the Salisbury MS. with the British Museum MSS above mentioned reveals here and there slight divergences from the general tradition which may be perhaps due to William himself. Should Nigel be found to follow these divergences, it would be evidence of his having used the latter's collection. To give all the evidence would be tedious; I give the following facts for what they are worth:

II. *St Dunstan.* — Nigel seems to follow William in prefacing the story with some lines upon England. It is the only one located in England, though there are two more in William's list, no. 14, 'in terra S. Edmundi,' and in the Matron of Glastonbury, no. 49. William begins thus: 'Britannia maior que nunc Anglia dicitur et a quibusdam quia oceano circumgirata est alter orbis dicitur habet in oriente sui ciuitatem Cantuariam, sedem episcopi,' and goes on to mention the finding by S. Augustine of a church 'antiquo Romanorum ibi factam opere.' Nigel's lines remind one more of Hildebert's *De Anglia*, but the idea of a preface may have come from William.

IV. *Hildefonsus.* — Both William and Nigel mention Helvidius, his opponent, by name.

V. *The Virgin's shift.* — This garment is called by *Cleopatra CX tunica*, by William *camisia*, and by Nigel *interula*, which is more likely to have been substituted for the non-metrical *camisia* than for *tunica*.

[4] Vincent in *Spec. Hist.* vii, 81 says that Sigebert (eleventh century) took his version of Theophilus from a *Mariale magnum* (Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 592).

VII. *The Drowned Sacristan.* — In *Cleop. CX* the story is not told by the monk himself, as in both Nigel and William.

XI. *The Jew of Pisa.* — William of Malmesbury begins with some remarks upon Pisa: 'In Pysana ciuitate que sola in hoc tempore prefert antiquorum Romanorum consuetudines habetque annuos magistratus' etc., while it is only in the last couplet that Nigel refers to Pisa at all, and the poem begins rather abruptly:

forte dies aderat quo sacre carnis ad esum
agni Paschalis turba uenire solet.

In two other points, however, they are in agreement: neither of them makes the boy see the image of the Virgin join the priest in the giving of Communion, and neither makes the boy's father burnt in his own furnace.

XIV. *The Priest of one Mass.* — Both William and Nigel have digressions on the shortcomings of the clergy; this does not appear in the other MSS.

XVI. *Jew lends to Christian.* — There are certain verbal correspondences between the two MSS, but perhaps hardly striking enough to base any argument upon them. So far as they go, these small details represent agreement of the Salisbury MS. and Nigel against the other versions, and so give a small measure of support to the supposition, very likely in itself, that Nigel drew from William of Malmesbury's collection, mainly, at least, though he can hardly have failed to be acquainted with other collections besides.

Nigel's treatment of the Mary-legends.

Nigel is not content merely to versify the prose-legends, as Petrus Riga versified great portions of the Bible, but by various means sees to it that the narrative moves briskly and easily, while at the same time the reader is diverted (or at any rate that is the intention) by certain cunning devices characteristic of the poetry of the age. Long sentences are avoided, and the construction rarely goes beyond the couplet; Nigel makes the fullest use of conversation, of which he found some already there, but added considerably, so that more than a quarter of the lines are put in the mouths of the Virgin and other personages. This both breaks up the narrative, avoiding monotony, and adds vividness. General ideas, again, interposed from time to time, give relief from the perpetual succession of facts. Then, too, there are the devices of rhyming lines, alliteration, play on words, anaphora, or the repetition of a word or a phrase, usually in the hexameter. Another device of contemporary versification seems calculated rather to hinder the stream than to enliven it, namely *amplificatio*, or the enlarging on an idea or a fact, and presenting it again and again in successive couplets. Nigel has a good deal of this; it may be reckoned one of his faults.

General ideas: I, Frailty of the flesh, 1–8; Novelty spells unreliability, 51; Anger cannot long be hid, 57–60; Loss of fame more serious than loss of wealth, 65–74; Time goes slow for the miserable, 99–100; Bad conscience keeps awake, 147–148; III, Man hastens to his own ruin, 22; Tyranny abominable, 35–36; VIII, Hope deferred, etc., 9–10; IX, Wine, women, and ease harm the mind, 27–30; nobility of the heart rather than of the blood; X, Youth an easy victim to love, 57–58; XIII, The

fortunate more at the mercy of chance, 21–22; Divine dispensation is marvellous, 25–30; XIV, pleasure blinds the judgment, 61–62; Too much love of their own kin a fault of the clergy, 63–66; XV, Wishes are slow to be realised, 69–70; XVI, To lovers pleasure comes first, 7–10; XVII, Anger is the mother of hatred and discord, 27–28.

Rhymes: either single lines, as I, 29: 'exemplum cleri solum se fecit haberi,' cf. 197, 237, 239; VI, 81; XIII, 73; or more usually several in succession, as: II, 99–102; VIII, 79–98; X, 295–316; XVII, 145–154; or with the same rhyme all through: VII, 157–160; X, 355–356; XVII, 101–102. They occur spasmodically, though more commonly in speeches than in narrative, and perhaps may be considered to imply a heightening of the feeling. Matthew of Vendôme disapproves of rhyme, and it is comparatively rare in this style of poetry. Examples are:

> hanc et non aliam solam superesse Mariam
> quam cupit ad ueniam conspicit esse uiam. (XVII, 101–102)

Alliteration: either in single lines, as: VI, 64: 'consona composuit cantica, clara melis,' cf. I, 2; X, 215 (on *s* and *m*): 'sola mihi misere superest sententia mortis'; XVI, 202; XVII, 77; or more commonly in couplets, two letters being chosen, cf. II, 61–62 (*s, m*):

> sepius unde suus meruit mediante Maria
> spiritibus superis spiritus esse comes.

Cf. I, 213–214; VII, 31–32; X, 153–154, 159–160, 245–246; XIII, 143–144; three letters in:

> litora lata maris languentia lumina frustra
> detinuere diu spe pereunte sua. (XV, 113–114)
> uirginis in risu Venus illaqueauit amantis
> lumina, feminea forma fefellit eum. (XVI, 5–6)

(other exx. of two letters: XVI 17, 18, 187–188, 199, 200).
Sometimes longer passages show alliteration, as X, 189–196, where no less than 35 words out of 51 begin with *f*! The woman is heaping abuse on herself: 'o nimis infelix, o femina fex mulierum,' (189), 'intus ficta, foris fera pessima faxque furoris' (195), etc. In XIII, 161–162 every word begins with *m:*

> matris melliflue miseratio magna Marie
> magna manet magnis magnificata modis.

In X, 207–212, the first couplet alliterates on *p*, the second on *m*, the third runs:

> me iuuenum, me turba senum, me tota senatus
> curia condempnat, tu miserere mihi.

The double alliteration in the pentameter is rather a favorite one of Nigel's. Generally, one may say that, while he is lavish in alliteration as compared with classical writers, he uses it, or at least strives to use it artistically, employing balance of letter against letter, whether in half-line, line, or couplet. Such alternation as in X, 215 is rare; he might have attempted more of it.

Play on words: a common feature of ML. poetry, honor — *honus, mundus* (world) — *mundus* (clean), *prece — precio, amans — amens, amarus — amoris,* and others being too frequent to need illustration here. One or two may be quoted that seem less common: 'terret opus sed torret amor' (Intr., 5), 'rarius in cella uir sceleratus erat' (IX, 22), 'sicque tegens uicium crimen discriminat omne' (VII, 11), 'uade uadesque para' (XV, 29).

Another somewhat similar trick is to vary the inflexions of a word; e.g., in two couplets (II, 107–110) he plays persistently on the word *traho:*

matris amor proprie trahit hinc, trahit inde Maria,
gaudet utroque pio tractus amore trahi.
sic igitur dum distrahitur ui tractus ad astra
rursus ad ima soli carne trahente redit.

So with *grauis, grauior, grauissima; mala, peior, pessima,* etc.

Anaphora: Words and phrases are repeated (i) either from hexameter to following hexameter, or (ii) from pentameter to following hexameter. Examples of (i) are:

surgere post lapsum decet et timuisse futura
quam sit amara dies quamque timenda malis.
surgere post lapsum meruisse Theophilus olim
creditur, etc. (I, 5–7)
mira rei nouitas subito uulgata per urbis
compita finitimis fit manifesta locis.
mira rei nouitas populum trahit et patriarcham,
etc. (XV, 177–179)

of (ii):

et quam non merui fer pietatis opem.
fer pietatis opem etc. (I, 214–215)
dampnat et accusat quid sibi mentis erat
quid sibi mentis erat, etc. (X, 186–187),

and sometimes the repetition is from hexameter to pentameter, even to next pentameter but one. Thus he does not keep strictly to Matthew's precept (*Ars Versif.*, III, 5): 'anaphora est per principia duorum uersuum immediate positorum iterata positio.' (ii), however, ought properly to be called *anadiplosis*, (*ibid.*, 7): 'repetita prolatio dictionis quae terminalis prioris versus est in principio subsequentis.' Other exx. are: I, 39, 103, 183, 216, 249; VII, 35, 180; X, 85–88; XIV, 37–44; XVI, 14.

Amplification: for this phrase see Faral, *Arts Poétiques*, Part II, Chap. ii; the theoricians of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries use it in the sense of 'developper, allonger un sujet,' and it covers such figures as *interpretatio, periphrasis, comparatio*, etc. I use it here in a different and narrower sense, that of repeating the substance of a phrase, usually of a whole couplet, in a succeeding one.

In VII, 3–10, the familiar idea of the name without the thing is repeated in successive couplets. In X, the distress of the childless couple is thus described:

anxietas animi cupientis habere quod optat
estuat et uotis carpitur usque suis.
res et opes, fundos, generosi stemmatis ortum,
cum careat subole computat esse nichil.
prospera cuncta forent nisi sola prole carerent,
qua sine quicquid habent uile nichilque putant.
tristis uterque nimis animo languescit amaro,
quodque magis cupiunt amplius urit eos.

Here 5–6 are repeated in 15–16, and 7–8 in 13–14. In the same poem, 33–40, the idea of 'the only son of his mother and she was a widow' is repeated with little variation. Others are XI, 3–8; XII, 3–6, 15–18; XIII, 131–136; XVI, 21–24, 129 *sqq.* The longest

example is in XIV, where the virtuous ignorance of the Priest who knew but one Mass is driven home in no less than sixteen lines:

> moribus ornatus plusquam sermone latino
> presbiter extiterat simplicitatis homo.
> qui minus artis habens multum uirtutis habebat
> culmine uirtutum diues et artis egens.
> sed pia uita dabat quod et ars et lingua negabat
> his minus instructus aptius inde fuit . . .
> rectus homo non retor erat, non multus in arte
> grammatica, gratus non minus inde Deo . . .
> quid genus a specie, quid res a nomine differt
> mentibus astutis scire reliquit hebes.
> non est grammaticus neque retor querit haberi,
> Quintilianus eum deneget esse suum.

This is an extreme case; possibly Nigel had some none too industrious members of his own monastery in his mind!

Some minor points of style and language may be mentioned:

i. *Prosody:* peculiarities are: II, 85 — uĕnisset; III, 9 — benīuolus; 46 — ăpertas; IV, 23 —rătulisset; VII, 121 — demŏn; VIII, 14 — longĕ; X, 93 — fauŏrabilis; 179, certiŏrari; XIII, 13 — sŏlempnis; 88 — inuenĭs; 90 — tōt; XIV, 71 — mistĕriorum; XVI, 25 — prestĭgiis; 210 — contăminando; XVII, 31 — zĕlus; 122 — uelĭs (2nd s.); 133 — sopŏrata; 217 — rĕperisset; 223 — sĕcessit; 243 — ŭăgiens.
Proper names, I 9 Thĕōphĭlus, XV 1 Constantinōpŏlĭtana, 3 Thăōdŏrus.
Hiatus in XIII, 167: 'mos prelatorum et consuetudo cauenda.'

ii. A peculiar trick, derived originally from Ovid, is to be noticed in the repetition of a verb in the pentameter (indic. and past part.): I, 24: 'emit et exemptam luxuriare dedit'; III, 18: 'spreuerat et spreto multa minatus erat'; IV, 6: 'cepit et inceptis institit usque suis'; so XIII, 24; XV, 124; cf. also XIII, 122; XIV, 124; XV, 62, 152, and XVI, 68: uicit et euicit imperiosus amor.'

iii. A peculiar turn of phrase with *sine:* I, 45: 'querite querentes sine numine nomen honoris'; 82: 'fit sitibunda nimis mens sine mente sua'; VIII, 24: 'estuat absque modo mens sine mente modo'; 33: 'lingua fit elinguis, nutat sine uertice uertex Pes suus absque pede uix sinit ire pedem' XVI, 285: 'iam sine carne caro, corpus sine corpore, mundum Sit licet in mundo deseruisse putes.' i.e., a speechless tongue, a mind that will not function, wasted flesh, a body that is no body at all are described in this way. There are similar expressions in the *Speculum Stultorum.*

There are many possible ways of classifying these tales; William of Malmesbury, for instance, arranges them in an order of descending magnitude of the persons chiefly concerned: bishops, priests, monks, laity, women, Jews and so on, and in most collections there is no classification at all. One very common class (i) is that in which someone has committed a grave sin, repents of it, invokes the Virgin's aid, and is saved by her from its consequences. Another (ii) describes some reward or signal service done by her to a votary, while in a third class the enemies of Christendom, whether heathen or Jew, are punished.

The four longest of Nigel's tales belong to class (i), two describing a bar-

gain with the devil, two concerned with grave sins of women. Perhaps the best-known of all was that of Theophilus; in his story and in that of the cleric who bargained with the devil for the love of a woman, we have an anticipation of the story of Faust. The tale of the Abbess was also a popular one, and in that of the Roman matron's incest Nigel took the opportunity to develop the dialogue to a greater proportion than in the others, more than two-fifths of the whole being spoken by the characters of the story. Three others: *The Drowned Monk*, *The Drunken Monk*, and *The Monk of St Peter's* (Cologne) are similar, though there is no repentance or appeal for aid. The reward of votaries is found in the tales of St Dunstan, Hildefonsus, Fulbert, the Virgin's Milk, and the Priest of one Mass. Julian the Apostate and the army of the heathen Rollo are stricken by her agency in II and V, and the two stories of Jews (XI and XV) may be counted here, while that of the Christ-child stands by itself.

In the more carefully worked-out tales, a good deal of space is given to the mental processes of the chief characters. Theophilus gives his reasons for refusing the bishopric, and when he finds himself deposed from his office of *vice-dominus*, his feelings are depicted in a remarkable passage of forty-two lines, in which he at first is patient and conceals his feelings. Eventually, however, the loss of reputation and wealth is too much for him; anger blows the flame of envy, and he thirsts for his lost position once more. Swelling anger compels him to crime, and as he is not in a position to use force, he is driven to the unholy means of magic (I, 54–96). The bargain with the devil[1] is briefly described, and Nigel does not use the opportunity of a fine picture here of that personage appearing with many lights and attendant figures (cf. *Salisbury MS.*, fol. 94: 'preiecta sibi terrifici luminis ueniens uiolentia, frequenti stipatorum ambitu in sublimi tribunali componitur,'[2]) being content to show him as a good business man with a personal grudge against the Blessed Virgin, who may at any moment come meddling into his affairs and rob him of his due (109–126). The bargain is struck, and Theophilus regains his post. His resulting bad conscience is described (145–182), with his own lament and appeal to Mary (183–234). In both passages, Nigel tries to bring out the point that Theophilus feels not only that he has committed a crime, but that his life is utterly contaminated ('cum sit tamen ipsum ipse scelus,' 'cum scelus hoc ipsum sim super omne scelus'). The thought of death terrifies him, ('intima deficiunt, teritur mens anxia curis, Terret utrumque uirum morsque scelusque suum'). Here again, though the tradi-

[1] All other versions lay stress on the bad character of the Jew who acts as intermediary, e.g., 'maleficiorum conscium, incantationum potentem (*Sal.*, fol. 94).

[2] One curious trait in other versions is that the figures are clad in white garments: 'induti niueis uiri clamidibus' (*MS. Cleop.*, fol. 105); 'pluribus his inerat falsus decor, albus amictus' (Radwin, *Theoph.*, 157).

tion has references to distinguished penitents of the past (Paul the Deacon, from whose ninth-century translation of Eutychianus all mediaeval versions descend, mentions as many as eight names: Nineveh, Rahab, David, Peter, Zacchaeus, Paul, Corinthians, and Cyprian), Nigel mentions only four, and dismisses them in a couplet. In answer to his prayers and tears the Virgin replies, at first sternly, then with compassion, and the story proceeds to its conclusion.

In the other story of the Black Arts (XVI) we have the gradual change of mind of the woman loved by the cleric and her struggle against passion (47–70), and, later on, the strength of old habit that can overcome a more recent love (129–140), 'dumque nouum subito uincit uetus usus amorem, /cedit amor quoniam uim facit usus ei.' Remarkable in this tale is the dialogue between the Virgin and the clerk, the idea of which is not original in Nigel, but is developed with typical frankness. The idea is the not uncommon one of the heavenly, as opposed to the earthly mistress, and when the Virgin complains: 'uincula coniugii nouitatis amore resoluis,/desipis et sponsus desinis esse meus,' the clerk protests his fidelity, and pleads: 'corde quidem uolui, sed non peruenit ad actum/uelle meum; satis est,' he admits, 'me uoluisse tamen.' The satirist is again seen in the lines on episcopal dispensations, usually in favor of relatives (93–102): 'presulis assensum meruit qui cuncta meretur,/sanguinis et carnis immoderatus amor; dispensare quidem pro tempore proque nepote/presulis ad tempus, quis neget esse pium?' etc. The gentle irony of this is enhanced by the fact that it is the clergy in council with the bishop who are asked to give dispensation.

Space does not permit an analysis of all the miracles, but the same love of describing feelings and motives can certainly be seen in *The Incestuous Matron*, though perhaps not so much in *The Abbess*. In the former, there are some lines on the patience and the justice of God which perhaps may be quoted. The woman, in spite of her sin, has gained a reputation for goodness and chastity: 'mira dei pietas, cuius patientia mira/sustinet atque diu dissimulare studet . . . nec punire reos statim nec premia iustis/reddere consueuit, iustus ubique deus.' They recall a passage in XIII on the providence of God, which strikes and heals, and pities while it wounds:

> mira dei pietas et dispensatio mira,
> cuius iudicia soluere nemo potest . . .
> uulnerat et sanat, prosternit et erigit idem,
> illa uel illa tamen de ratione facit,
> hunc igitur pietas que percutit et miseretur
> percutiens tetigit, sed miserando tamen.

In *The Drowned Monk*, and *The Monk of St Peter's*, the Virgin is concerned with the fortunes of her votaries in the next world. In the former this gives the poet an opportunity for a spirited piece of dialogue; the monk is

telling how he was being carried off by the devils of Hell; when the Blessed Virgin accosted them 'toruo lumine':

quis furor, o miseri? que uos, o mente maligni,
causa trahit? quonam contio uestra ruit?
sistite; quem rapitis meus est; quo iure nefandas
mittere temptastis in mea iura manus?
demon ad hoc: tuus est? tibi qui contraria semper
egit, et in nullo destitit esse meus?
si tuus, unde tuus? cui tecum de ratione
nil commune fuit tempore siue loco . . .
quidnam luxurie cum uirginitatis honore?
num Belial Christo consociandus erit?
uita placet tibi? non, uia? non; spurcissima mors est;
mors, uia, uita mihi consona tota placet . . .

to which the Virgin answers:

o mala mentitos, o singula falsa locutos!
o furor, o subitus in mea dampna dolus!
quamuis uita michi sua displicuisset, honore
gratuito placuit gratior ipse michi . . .

In XIV, again, her angry glance is directed against the bishop who has been so ill advised as to deprive the Priest who knew but one Mass, and he is well scolded:

pessime pontificum, nec re nec nomine dignus
pontificis, quid agis? cognita sumne tibi?
summi regis ego genitrix, ego uirgo Maria
quam male lesisti, quam male ledis adhuc. . . .
presbiter ille meus a te spoliatus inique
rebus et officiis qua ratione fuit? . . .
te carnalis amor, te sollicitudo tuorum
traxit et illicitas fecit inire uias. . . .
ex re nomen habes, raptorem res manifesta
te probat, et populi contio tota tui.
de pastore lupus factus, de presule predo,
hoc quod debueras parcere predo uoras. . . .

In these lines, too, we see the satirist again, attacking nepotism and avarice in the clergy. There is a similar attack in the *Salisbury MS.* fol. 110^{v}: 'homines insipientes et malignos qui odissent sapienciam quique liuore perstricti bonum quod in se non uiderent in eo conuiciis lacesserent sinistra interpretatione turbantes, clericos precipue quorum officium interest parochianorum presbiterorum commissa speculari; genus illud hominum, ut pace paucorum dicam, lingua exercitum, munerum auidum, intuitu commodi fas et bonum pensitans ut quo inclinacior pecunia fuerit eo uergant canones.' Nigel here has over seventy lines (47–118), beginning with that favorite object of attack, the archdeacon:

archileuita celer qui terram circuit omnem
ut scelus acceleret accelerare studet

he uses the same phrase (cf. *Job*, i, 7) of the devil:

uiderat hec postquam totum qui circuit orbem
protinus inuidit spiritus ille malus (XVII, 39)

The passage is too long to quote, but the 'indiscretus amor, pietas et cura suorum' recall the prose prologue to the *Speculum Stultorum* (ed. Wright, p. 5): 'ut prioratum uel abbatiam possit sibi apprehendere, ubi parentum suorum sequelam copiosam possit prius inserere, et postea quasi caudam post se quocunque ierit trahere glorianter' (cf. p. 109, l. 23).

Two of the miracles (VI and XIII) relate how the Virgin relieved two sufferers with her own milk, Fulbert of Chartres, who was lying sick, and the priest who had a cancered lip. The first is related very briefly (88 lines in all), the second with Nigel's characteristic padding out in couplets that express the same idea in different ways. It may be noticed that he does not echo the semi-sceptical comments of the *Salisbury* and *Royal* MSS: 'quis hec crederet nisi quod ita per omnium ora uocitantur ut non tot astipulatoribus credere impudens uideatur; parum est enim Domine si dilectores suos eternis tueatur auxiliis, uerum etiam corporalibus lactet stipendiis, . . . ' (*Sal.*, fol. 105) and for no. XIII: 'sed quid dicemus de lacte? et plane nesico si delinquit qui estimat eam adhuc habere lac uberiem qua refocillaret seruulum. Quocirca quod securius est credamus illud esse pietatis lac et misericordie, quibus pre omnibus sanctis nouit affluere, nec uisa posse talia nisi per corporeas imagines uideri nec nisi corporeis uerbis enunciari.' (*Sal.*, fol. 110.)[7] In this tale the Virgin appears in a vision; the sick monk is carried by an angel to paradise, and there is shown fragrant flowers whose numbers symbolize *Psalms* liii and cxviii (*Vulg.*) in the Office of the Virgin, and it is in Paradise that she appears to him and heals him; he wakes up and finds himself cured. There is no mention of a vision, however, in VI.[1]

The miracles of St Dunstan and Hildefonsus are both straightforward versions of well-known tales; the latter, which is much the longer of the two

[1] Cf. the *Salisbury MS.* fol. 107^{v} upon the incident of St Peter threatening the devil with his key in the story of the monk of St Peter's at Cologne, an incident omitted by Nigel altogether: 'hic forsitan aliquis cauillator pueriles me ineptias garrire calumpniabitur, quod dixerim incorporeos spiritus conseruisse sermonem et beatum Petrum habuisse clauem. Et de confabulacione quidem assensum prebeo quod ibi nichil uocale sit, ubi nec lingue plectrum nec uocis organum. Verumtamen quamuis sciamus quod beati spiritus sola mentis que inest eis perspicacia secreta discant et rimentur, nec ibi opus esse lingua ubi sciuntur omnia . . . nec aliter hec nobis annunciari poterant, nisi res incorporeas per sermones incorporeos scripta proferrent' — and so with the key, 'que significamentum potestatis Petro attribuitur, nec enim nisi per corpoream similitudinem debuit potestas surrecturo monacho monstrari.'

(116 lines), is prefaced by some lines on Britain, a land flowing with milk and honey and full of all delightful things. Among other blessings:

> hoc speciale tamen habet insula, quod speciali
> quadam pre reliquis gens pietate nitet.
> accidit unde pie specialius esse Marie
> gentem deuotam que pietate uiget.

It would be perhaps of special interest to the Precentor of Christ Church Priory that St Dunstan 'neumata spirituum recinendo melosque supernos /Sepe suos docuit redditus ipse sibi,' that is, from one of the visions of heavenly things; and that

> presulis ipsa sui celebris Dorobernia testis
> eius adhuc hodie pneuma melosque canit.

He cannot refrain from mentioning an even more famous legend:

> quid quod et hic Satanam per nasum forcipe sumptum
> fortiter ignita fecit inire fugam,
> huncque reuertentem multatum uerbere multo
> ipsa flagellantis fracta flabella probant.

Of those miracles wherein enemies of the Faith are confounded, those of the Jew of Pisa and the Jew who lent money to the Byzantine merchant, the former one of the oldest of the miracles, are related without any noteworthy digressions or other features.[1]

The routing of Rollo by the virtue of the Virgin's shift is very briefly told, and the slaying of Julian ('pessima fex hominum, Julianus apostata, regum/ Pessimus') is also told in straightforward narrative. This, in reality, is one of the most dramatic of the stories, and comes as a pleasing change from the monks and clerics of the West to scenes of war in eastern Europe. (The mercantile setting of xv affords a similar change.) We see the great Basil, bishop of Cesarea, pitted against the Apostate. William of Malmesbury, with his love of interesting information, tells us that the two were both pupils in youth of the same master ('conscolastici cum Libanio sophista sub preceptore Grecie Eubalo,' i.e., Ecebolo). The prayers of the bishop have their reward, and we have the story of the appearance of the Virgin in a dream, the mission of St Mercurius, the vanished spear, later found back in its place tinged with blood, and the report of the Emperor's death in battle at the hand of an unknown soldier. Nigel wastes no words over the deed of Mercurius:

[1] It is probably useless to inquire why Nigel, or William of Malmesbury, placed the former at Pisa instead of at Bourges, but the latter also puts the story of the Christ-child's image there (nos. 10 and 11), whereas in *Addl. 15723* it is at Spires (fol. 66: 'Epiris,' fol. 76: 'Spiris,' the tale being told twice), and he has the story of the priest of St Cassian at Pisa, very similar to the one that follows it (no. xvi in Nigel; 43,4 in William); no. 5 in his collection, that of the soul of the Prior of St Salvator, is also at Pisa.

miles ad arma ruit, adiit in Perside regem,
inflictoque graui uulnere uictor abit.

This apparently is all shown to the bishop in his vision, for, when the blood-stained lance is found,

nuntiat extinctum transacta nocte tyrannum
uirginis ex iussu Mercuriique manu

and, sure enough, 'exitus acta probat, rex nocte peremptus eadem/militis ignoti dicitur esse manu.'

I have attempted to point out some of the interesting features of this collection of Mary-legends, and Nigel's methods of dealing with the traditional matter. I have also referred to some of the special characteristics of his style. These, though they do not commend themselves particularly to modern taste, are used in moderation, and therefore do not have the effect of irritating the reader, as do the constant mannerisms of Matthew of Vendôme. Nigel can combine a narrative that moves and tells a clear story with a style that, at its best, has nervous force and balance of phrase. The narrative comes first in interest, even when, in the longer pieces, he gives some space to the feelings and motives of the characters.

It would be interesting to know from whom Nigel learnt his verse-making; with regard to the twelfth century he stands apart from the school of Matthew of Vendôme, while ranking generally with the Anglo-French Latin verse-writers of his time. In his *Speculum Stultorum*, which is usually dated before 1180 from its reference to Louis VII (though parts of it may be later), the style is in the main the same, but there is much less conscious adornment, no rhyming, very little playing on words, alliteration, etc.; the result is to give an effect of greater simplicity, even naïveté, which rather assists the satire than otherwise, and is certainly better suited to a long poem. It would be difficult to date relatively to each other Nigel's three main poetical works, the *Speculum*, the *Miracula* and the *St Laurence* and *St Paul the Hermit* (nos. 16 and 17 in this MS.), for which see below.

15. Inc.: quid deceat monachum uel qualis debeat esse.
Expl.: femineum fuge colloquium uir sancte caueto.

The poem ends imperfect after 379 lines; there are 812 in the edition of Wright (*Anglo-Latin Satirical Poems*, ii, 175–200), who edited it from *Royal 8 A xxi* (A) and this MS. (B), supplying a passage of sixty lines from the text of Migne (*Patr. Lat.*, CLVIII, 587) where it appears among the works of Anselm. It is there edited from four MSS, of which one is at present at Rouen (670, Omont); this has the title *Claudianus ad monachos*, and it has been suggested that the author was a monk of Gloucester, one Osbern (for whom see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*), as *Claudia* is sometimes found for *Gloucester*, and another work by him is in the *MS. Roy. 8 A xxi*. Wright's attribution to

Neckam is based on Bale (Index, p. 513), but no critics today support the authorship either of Neckam or of St Anselm, though a fourteenth century MS. at Charleville (*106*) attributes the poem to the latter. Hauréau says (*Notices et Extraits*, xxxiii, pt. i, p. 196): 'nous écartons donc volontiers S. Anselme, dont le génie très particulier ne se reconnait pas dans ce long poème, plus didactique que mystique,' and is inclined to decide for Roger of Caen, to whom a Bec MS. is said by Gerberon, the editor in Migne, to attribute it, 'versus Rogerii Beccensis monachi.' Mabillon (*Annales*, LXV, 41) says: 'Rogerius Cadomensis artis poeticae peritus qui carmen de contemptu mundi composuit incipiens ab his uersibus Quid deceat monachum.' The piece also appears in *MS. Digby 65* (thirteenth century, without mention of author), in *Addl. 16608* (fourteenth century), a Stavelot MS. at one time at Liége in the monastery of St James, among works of St Anselm, and in *Cotton, Cleopatra A xi, fols. 287, 8* (thirteenth century).

While the appearance of the piece among Nigel's works at least requires us to consider the possibility of his having composed it, the difference of style is decisive against his authorship. There are no familiar turns of expression, and the writer admits elision and endings of the pentameter that are other than dissyllabic, both practically unknown in Nigel. In the *Cleopatra MS.* it was probably copied, together with Nos. 4, 8, and 10, pieces of kindred subject, from our MS. At any rate, our MS. cannot have been the copier, as the last line of 8 is lacking; there are also the same number of lines (379) which is odd if it had been copied from any other MS., both ending 'uir sancte caueto.' On the whole, Roger of Caen seems the most likely author. Even if the subject of the poem is somewhat too long drawn out, it must be admitted that the verses show considerable skill; as elegiacs, they certainly rank with the best of their age.

16. *Passio Sancti Laurenti Martyris.* — A long poem in 2345 rhyming hexameters; the rhymes are usually in couplets (*caudati*), but sometimes more, e.g., 57–64 in *-atur*, 65–70 in *-etur*.

Inc.: palma triumphalis roseo redimita cruore.

Expl.: cum genitore tamen prece martiris annuat amen.

Nigel follows the story as it is found in the *Passio S. Laurentii* (see *Mombritius* II, 50–52) or that of Ado, Archbishop of Vienne in the ninth century (see *Acta Sanctorum, Aug.*, Pt. ii, p. 518).[1] To give an abstract of the poem would take up far too much space; a few points that may be of interest are here touched upon.

Nigel brings in all the characters of the drama: Decius, Valerianus,

[1] The same outlines are found in the poems attributed to Flodoardus (*Patr. Lat.*, CXXXV, 685–688) and to Marbod (*ibid.*, CLXXI, 1607–14); that of Prudentius (Peristeph., II) does not seem to have been used by Nigel.

Sixtus, Cyriaca, Narcissus, Crescentio, Justinus, Hippolytus, Lucillus, Romanus. At the end of the poem, Valerianus is stricken with death before the feet of Decius; the earth is shaken, and Decius is troubled by a devil which makes him cry out in torment. He cries to Laurence to spare the dire punishment he is sending on him, and dies (fol. 44^{b}, col. ii). This appears to be an addition by Nigel; at any rate, I have not been able to find it in any earlier authority. There is also a reference to the 'Nepotian crypt':

> contigit interea legem fugisse prophanam
> Christicolas multos sub criptam Nepotianam;
> his erat in Christo Iustinus uernula factus, etc. (fol. 30, col. i)

Cripta means catacomb, and is the regular word to designate an underground burying-place from Prudentius through the Middle Ages, the word 'catacomb' or rather the phrase 'ad catacumbas' being localized to mean the subterranean cemetery near the Basilica of St Sebastian. There is, however, no catacomb or burying place known as Nepotian, and Nigel may be using the word to express the 'Pontiani coemeterium' mentioned by Mombritius, though not in the story of St Laurence (see under martyrdoms of Abundius, Abdon, Callistus, and Marius, Martha, etc.) The catacomb of Pontianus, however, is nowhere, so far as I know, connected with St Laurence.[1] There can be no doubt but that Nigel is the author; though the metre is not his usual elegiac couplet, there are still sufficient reminiscences in phrase and versification, sometimes in whole passages, of either the *Speculum Stultorum* or the *Miracula* to leave no doubt at all. To mention just one passage, a digression on wealth (fol. 31^{b}, col. ii–32, col. i) begins:

> hec est illa fames post gustum fellis amara,
> hec est illa sitis que principibus dominatur,
> hec est illa sitis per quam deus ipse negatur,
> hec est illa sitis . . . .
> munera corrumpunt reges regumque clientes
> munera confundunt hominum cum corpore mentes
> munera peruertunt iuste moderamina legis
> munera plus possunt quam rex quam curia regis,

and so on for a few more lines, recalling the passages in his *Speculum:* 'hec est illa dies,' etc. (Wright, p. 25) and the lines beginning with 'munera,' p. 101, (the phrase 'munera dulce malum' appears in both).[2]

[1] Still less are the historical persons named Nepotianus so connected, see *Dict. of Class.* and *of Christian Biography, sub nom.*

[2] Cf. also 'laurus ei dignum nomen de nomine donat' and *sqq.*, with verses on Honorius (same play on words): 'Sixtus respondit spondendo cupita libenter': 'spondetque cupita libenter,' *Mir.* xvi, 31; 'de pastore lupus, fit iam de presule predo': cf. *Spec.*, p. 104, etc.; 'palliat et risu facies conducta furorem': 'risu palliat ore leui,' *Spec.*, p. 47; 'celica castra': cf. on Honorius, 'paupera turba': *Mir.*, iii, 40; 'uox suppressa silet': 'non opus est armis ubi uox

As in the *Miracles*, speeches occupy a good part of the narrative, and there is also a good deal of moral and religious reflection. On the third day after Sixtus' death Laurence is eager to close his life well:

> felix ille labor quem sors extrema coronat
> felix uita uiri cui mors pia premia donat

Spiritual grace and love are necessary for this:

> nam bona posse uiros dat gratia spiritualis,
> gratia preueniens hominem non mens animalis . . .
>
> forsitan hic amor est de quo dixere plerique
> omnia uincit amor, regit omnia, regnat ubique . . .
>
> dulcius hoc nichil est, nichil est iocundius isto,
> qui facit humanam mentem coniungere Christo.

Laurence's youth belies his wisdom; outward appearances are no true guide:

> sepius ora silent dum garrula dextra perorat,
> lingua silere studet, digitus signare laborat,
> dumque decem digiti totidem uelut ora loquuntur
> corda silere negant que signis diripiuntur.

The reference seems to be to the signs made by monks when forbidden by their rule to speak; in any case he has produced a vivid phrase by his 'totidem uelut ora.' Laurence, he proceeds, has two good signs, the sign of the Cross and the sign of giving.

The description of the violent anger of Decius 'dentibus ora premens Cesar quasi bestia frendit' leads the poet to enlarge a proverb familiar in the Middles Ages.[1]

> nulla lues grauior quam cum de paupere factus
> diues erit subito rerum moderamina nactus

Decius accuses Laurence of magic:

> tollite postorem noua dum tormenta paremus . . .
> tollite postorem manibus sursumque leuate
> tolle magum, tolle, magica nos arte fefellit

The scene is then changed to the Temple of Jupiter, and Decius there enlarges (with a Virgilian allusion) on the character of a good prince:

> imperiale decus pietatis lege tenetur
> parcere subiectis ne plus iusto dominetur,

---

suppressa triumphat,' *Spec.*, p. 62; 'sed quia cognouit scriptum Salomone docente iuxta stultitiam sapiens sibi ne uideatur responde stulto etc.': cf. *Spec.*, Prologue, p. 8; 'hic dolor et gemitus lacrime suspiria planctus': *Mir.* x, 203, and elsewhere; 'purpura martyrii cum bisso uirginitatis' and preceding lines: cf. verses on St Katherine.

[1] 'Paupere ditato nichil acrius esse putato,' Werner, *Sprichw rter und Sinnsprüche*, p. 69.

principis et populum iusta racione tueri
cuius amore frui studeat fugiatque timeri;
ne uelit extolli nimium princepsque uideri
sed magis illorum studeat uelut unus haberi;
qui cupit in populo fieri uirtute magister
non ita sit dominus quod nesciat esse minister . . .

The crowd applauds, but Laurence replies at considerable length, concluding with a threatening description of the Last Judgment. A further appeal proving fruitless, the torments are multiplied, and six lines are left eloquently blank after a reference to red-hot plates. Decius chooses this moment for changing his mode of attack; he puts some searching theological posers on the subject of the deity and mortality of Christ: how can flesh be immortal and a God suffer death? are they one or two gods? if the latter, that makes five (with the Trinity); he is frankly puzzled: had not Laurence better worship the gods of Rome?

Si deus atque caro moriendo dissociantur
ipsa fuisse duo mortis ratione probantur
ergo duo dum sunt deus et caro, non deus unus,
hic manet illa perit, quid namque caro nisi funus
hec duo si di sunt deus et caro dic mihi que sunt
et tamen hi si sunt hic an tres an duo di sunt
quinque deos igitur numeras bene si numeramus
si duo iuncta tribus ea quinque fuisse putamus . . .

The Saint has no difficulty in dealing with such sophisms, replying with a speech of 124 lines, which includes a statement of the whole Christian faith. Christ suffered in mortal flesh and rose in virtue of his deity, but in the same flesh, as was shown by the broiled fish:

qui redimendo reum crucis est opprobria passus
hunc in carne deum sumptus piscis probat assus.

The episode of Romanus follows. After his conversion, he beholds an angelic messenger come to Laurence and wipe away the blood and dust:

en tibi Laurenti iuuenis pulcherrimus unus
stat et a Christo transmissum fert tibi munus
que facies que forma uiro speciesque decoris
lilia candoris niuei uincit color oris . . .

extergit manus officiosa cruorem
linthea uulneribus iuuenis subicit studiosus
corruat in terram ne forte cruor preciosus
mappula candoris niuei rapit omnibus horis
quicquid sudoris fluit ex te siue cruoris.

The narrative closes with Laurence's famous jest to the Emperor to turn him on the grill, as he is half-cooked, and his final prayer to Christ to remember him and all who do likewise:

facque mei memores conscendere summa polorum;
annue poscenti, uia, uita, salusque piorum.

He gives up the ghost, and Decius rebukes the gods of Rome, whom he has always loved, for letting themselves be defeated by Laurence:

proh dolor en superi nequeunt sua iura tueri
ergone sunt miseri qui di uoluere uideri
cumque nichil ualeant licet omnia posse uidentur
cum rebus careant cur nomina uana merentur?
uincere sperabam nec uinci posse putabam
et quia certabam pro dis quos semper amabam
ue mihi ue misero . . .

The death of Hippolytus, 'pedibus discerptus equorum,' after he has buried the saint, and the deaths in agony of Decius and Valerianus form an epilogue at the end of which Nigel prays that he may be remembered by St Laurence and obtain pardon through his prayers.

17. *Vita Pauli primi Eremitae.* A poem of about 700 lines, also in rhyming hexameters, as many as ten lines sometimes rhyming together, and occasional internal rhymes as well. The story is that of St Jerome, for which see *Acta Sanctorum* [Jan.] pt. i, p. 604; Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XXIII, 105.

Inc.: Iussit adorari Decius simulacra deorum

Expl.: hic unum laudat nos collaudemus utrumque.

Paul, fleeing from the persecutions of Decius and Valerianus at Rome, chooses a life of hardship in the desert:

antra domos herbeque cibos, dant pocula stille
imbris, in his habitat, his uescitur, has bibit ille,
gaudia conuentus, urbis spectacula mille
pro nichilo reputat, nec comparat illa fauille.

His mind and spirit are superior to his flesh:

sic iter axa [='cudgel'] sue regit et moderatur aselle . . .
axa regens asinam, mens carnis habens dominatum.

Antony, 'in cuius laudem calamizant organa mille,' hears of the fame of Paul and sets out to visit him. His meeting with the satyr is thus described:

eius in occursum festinat belua larua
turpior, huic hominis species staturaque parua . . .
est facies hominis sed cornibus aspera binis
frons est apta minis, armis munita ferinis,
nasus aduncus ei, frons torua, pedes caprearum,
qui iam deformem reddunt similemque ferarum.

Asked what he is, the creature replies that he was made by God, that the common folk call him 'satyr' and offer prayers to him, the shepherds wor-

ship him and call him 'faunus' or 'incubus'; he prays that Christ may give peace to those that trust in his prayers; Antony answers with a lament over the Alexandrians:

> Heu heu quam cecos habet Alexandria ciues,
> in qua demoniis seruit cum paupere diues . . .
> idola ceca colunt, cur? nam cecantur et ipsi;
> sunt hebetes, quare? quia mens caligat eclipsi.

After other adventures, he comes to Paul's cave:

> quid, pater Antoni, tua mens cupit, optat et ardet?
> numquid ad id properas ut cursus uota retardet?
> ecce quod optasti queris terrore remoto,
> curris ut optineas, nocet acceleratio uoto?
> te fugit hoc quod amas? tu discis Tantalus esse?
> non uis differri, facis hoc properando necesse.

This apostrophe is caused by the fact that Paul in his cave, on hearing steps, shuts the door and so bars Antony out. At last, however, he opens, and they meet and embrace. Then they go and sit down by a spring; this is a charming episode; a raven brings them bread, but they each desire the other to break it first; not being able to agree they finally pull it apart. The description of the spot is as follows:

> fons erat admittens patulo spiramina cliuo,
> pulchra loco facies, illimi gratia riuo,
> qui dat aquas recipit, qui fundit sorbet agellus
> et parit eructans quas ebibit arida tellus,
> palma secus fontem uiret et loca reddit amena,
> omnia delectant, fons arbor et aura serena.

After some conversation, Paul says his death is near and asks Antony to bury him when he dies, but first to return to the monastery and fetch the cloak of Athanasius to wrap him in; another apostrophe follows:

> cur, pater Antoni, cur mitteris, an sibi pulchrum
> quod prius horruerat? tegmen petit atque sepulchrum;
> cum palme foliis uir uiuens indueretur,
> cur sibi defuncto uestis rogat illa paretur? . . .
> simplex ille noue querit molimina fraudi.
> falleris a Paulo, solatia nunc habuisti,
> mitteris ut pereat, id ab ipso promeruisti.

It is, in fact, a pious fraud on the part of Paul; the poor old man makes the long journey home and back again, and finds Paul dead; thus he has been spared the distress of seeing him die. Then follows the episode of the two lions who help the old man to dig the grave; they approach roaring, but it is only their dirge for Paul:

accedunt Paulique petunt uestigia proni,
rugit uterque iacens quasi mens humana leoni,
hec de morte boni ceu nenia facta patroni
plangit supponi necis illum conditioni.

Antony performs the rites; he keeps only one thing, a garment made by Paul out of palm-leaves:

ut redit ad cellam patris illuc pignora defert,
tegmina purpureis sportam simulantia profert.

He keeps it as a precious token, and wears it on feast-days.

Though generally speaking the style of this work resembles that of the St Laurence, there are some slight differences; the two apostrophes quoted above have no parallel in the other poem; then, while the hexameters are mostly of the *caudati* type, with no internal rhymes, there are three passages containing *two* internal rhymes, 144–167, e.g.: 'promer*uit* necdum mer*uit* uel quis meditari'; 593–614, e.g., 'alter*ius* lux et rad*ius* micat ecce diei'; and finally, a passage on fol. 50^{b}, col. i, which is in the metre of the *De contemptu mundi* of Bernard of Morlaix:

ut patris agnitus est sibi transitus atque tropheum
scit quia celitus intrat hic inditus ad iubeleum;
mens tamen anxia flet sibi gaudia tanta negari
fataque segnia fila tenacia nendo morari;
fit grauis hec mora longaque tempora, non ualet horum
pellere tedia, nec sibi gratia grata sororum;
dum uacat ultima fit sibi pessima, dum miseretur
parcere nescia, dum sibi fit pia seua uidetur. . . .

The *St Laurence* has no rhymes of either sort, only occasional leonines; finally, there are no phrases characteristic of Nigel as there are in the *St Laurence*. In that poem, however, their number is not very large, and the *St Paul* is only a quarter the length of the other. These peculiarities do not warrant any doubt of authorship; the variations of metre appear to be for variety's sake; perhaps Nigel was trying his hand at new effects, or was desirous of breaking the monotony of the hexameter couplet.

18. On fol. 52^{r} is written a rhythmical poem in four-line rhyming stanzas, like the *Phyllis* and *Flora*, or the *Confessio Goliae;* the handwriting is not quite the same as No. 15 in this MS., and contemporary with, though different from that of the other poems. It may possibly be by Nigel, though its theme is more or less that of no 11 in this MS., and there are even verbal similarities, e.g., 11 (3): 'rerum perit ordo'; 18 (4): 'facta est confusio, perit ordo rerum.' Both were probably written in the time of the persecution of the monks of Christ Church, as they viewed the matter, by the Archbishop, and the long struggle already referred to. Biblical references abound, e.g.,

ue qui propter munera iustum condempnatis
glucientes bubalum culicem liquatis
per errorum deuia grauiter erratis
nec iam dona gracie gratus habet gratis . . .

ue qui in sudariis ponitis talentum
et unum non spargitis ut metatis centum
male concupiscitis aurum et argentum
hoc in Cardinalibus uetus est fermentum . . .

ue qui super cathedram Moysi sedetis
lex a uobis legitur quam uos non impletis
eius in ecclesia speciem tenetis
cuius procul dubio uitam non habetis

ueniamus igitur ad agones Christi
qui pro nobis uoluit ad tribunal sisti
quod si bene nouimus opus Antichristi
non ad Christum pertinent sacerdotes isti

Christus semet obtulit eciam pro mundo
et qui cedrus fuerat factus est arundo
sub Herode passus est mundus ab immundo
ut suos educeret a lacu profundo.

Hazlemere, Surrey

REVIEWS

T. Arnold and A. Guillaume, *The Legacy of Islam.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xvi+416. $3.00.

Comparisons may always be odious; sometimes they are also unprofitable; and to compare *The Legacy of Islam* with its companion volumes, *The Legacy of Greece* and *The Legacy of Rome*, would be to apply a false yard-stick not only to the book itself, but also to the scholars who have contributed to this volume such charming and significant essays on their chosen subjects.

The student of the classics is the heir of a rich inheritance. He has a sufficiency of texts with learned notes and scholarly introductions; he has monographs and to spare on the great authors and thinkers and on the different aspects and varying developments of classical life; he has histories worthy of the name not only of the external events of his period, but also of the ideas, political and social, ethical and legal, scientific and philosophical, which are supposed to have moulded these events.

The student of Islam is, in comparison, a poor relation. The real study of Arabic began only with the school of Silvestre de Sacy in France at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the founders of such studies as Islamic religion, law, and tradition have but lately passed away and were the teachers of the present generation of Arabic scholars. 'The treasure-houses of Islamic science,' says Dr Meyerhof in his essay on *Science and Medicine*, 'are just beginning to be opened,' and that is true not only of science, but of every other branch of Islamic culture save, perhaps, of religion. Scholarly texts are, relatively speaking, rare and such texts with translations, notes, and introductions, rarer still. A truly comprehensive history of the rise and development of the Muslim Empire has yet to be written; a history of the science, art, or philosophy of Islam, is still an empty dream. Such works await the publication of texts and the special studies of monographs, and our contemporary view of Islam is reminiscent of those ancient maps wherein unknown stretches of the world are filled in with unmeaning names and grotesque pictures. A secure foundation has been laid for the further study of Muslim religion, law, tradition, and theology. Some special fields of Arabic literature have been investigated. Some philosophical and scientific texts have been edited and are now being studied. Monographs have been written on some special aspects of Islamic thought and on one or two of the great thinkers of Islam. But that is the sum and substance of the inheritance of a student of Islam today.

Moreover, when a student of Islam begins to speak of a legacy of Islam to our western civilization, he faces conditions altogether different from

those which affect his classical confrère. It is almost a truism to say that the bones and sinews of our culture are the glory that was Greece and the majesty that was Rome, even if the Semites through the Hebrews have contributed some life-giving blood to the system. Extravagant claims of Arabic influence advanced by such scholars as Prutz, Fauriel, and Sismondi have engendered a spirit of scepticism, especially amongst Romance scholars, that is as unscientific in its way as the enthusiasm of the Orientalist drunk with his new-found knowledge; and the Arabist who ventures to discover some traces of Islamic influence anywhere in European literature or thought finds the scholarly world a very doubting Thomas that wishes evidence which can be touched and handled.

The scholarly contributors to this volume show by the form and substance of their essays that they have, consciously or unconsciously, taken into account both the circumstances of Arabic scholarship and the proclivities of their fellow-scholars. They are for the most part keenly aware that their conclusions must be based upon their own personal knowledge of sources, and they are patently determined to advance no claim without due process of proof.

They have also, in general, adopted one or another of two methods of attacking their problem. Either they give a general sketch of the development of their subject in the Islamic world and then point out what elements in our culture may possibly be derived from Islam, or they enumerate and elaborate the specific points of their subject wherein Islam may have influenced Christendom. The second method is, of course, far more perilous for the scholar than the first. It is also, however, the more fruitful method and answers better the definition of the purpose of the book as stated by Mr Guillaume in the preface:—'To give an account of those elements in the culture of Europe which are derived from the Islamic world.'

The book contains thirteen essays on the following subjects: *Spain and Portugal*, by J. B. Trend; *The Crusades*, by Ernest Barker; *Geography and Commerce*, by J. H. Kramers; *Islamic Minor Arts and their influence upon European Work*, by A. H. Christie; *Painting*, by the late Sir Thomas Arnold; *Architecture*, by M. S. Briggs; *Literature*, by H. A. R. Gibb; *Mysticism*, by R. A. Nicholson; *Philosophy and Theology*, by Alfred Guillaume; *Law and Society*, by D. de Santillana; *Science and Medicine*, by Max Meyerhof; *Music*, by H. G. Farmer; and *Astronomy and Mathematics*, by Carra de Vaux. The editors have cast a wide net, and it will be obvious that no one scholar can judge all the fish which they and their fellow-scholars have brought to market. But every essay will arouse interest and most probably controversy.

Professor Barker's estimate of the culture of Eastern Islam, for example,

during the period of the Crusades (pp. 55–56) is highly controversial and based more upon the limitations of Arabic scholarship than anything else. It is true, of course, that Eastern Islam was not a political unit at this time, but that was equally the case in the tenth and eleventh centuries. It is also true that Ibn Sīnā died in 1037 and al-Ghazālī in 1111 (or was it in 1109?), but there are great names in the annals of Eastern Islam thereafter, and particularly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The court of Saladin was in fact the centre of a group of scholars, scientists, and literati, worthy of the greatness of Saladin himself, and if some reason must be given why the Crusades failed to be a channel of influences from Islam to Christendom, the character and aims of the Crusaders should be scrutinized as closely as the idea of the decadence of Eastern Islam. Moreover, that the translation centres of Spain and Sicily have today usurped the place once held by the Crusdaes as the agency whereby the transmission of ideas from East to West was accomplished, is due rather to the kind of evidence which scholarship accepts and with which it works, than to any comprehensive study of all the factors involved. Translations can be traced. But other sorts of thought-transference are conceivable and not so easily mapped, and the influences that led Western scholars to translate Arabic works are not exactly self-evident.

Again, the most original contribution to the book, perhaps, is that of Professor H. A. R. Gibb on *Literature*, and his thesis that 'at three different times' the East 'has reacted on western literature with results identical in nature,' on each occasion its function having been 'to liberate the imagination from a narrow and oppressive discipline (p. 208),' is not only a brilliant synthesis of disparate elements, but also a most provocative conception that will create its own criticism. It may be urged that Mr Gibb has overlooked some factors in the case, such as the possible influence of the style of the Arabic Maqāmāt literature on Euphuism through the works of the Asturian bishop Guevara, but even so his essay sums up clearly and concisely most of the available evidence concerning the influence of Arabic literature on that of Western Europe.

All selection is invidious, especially when such scholars as Professor Nicholson, whom Ignaz Goldziher acknowledged as the leading authority on Islamic mysticisn, deals with that subject, and Mr Guillaume, the editor of the *Summa Philosophiae* of Al-Shahrastānī, discusses philosophy and theology, and Dr Meyerhof, who has made the study of Arabic medicine so peculiarly his own, writes upon science and medicine. It is true that the essays, on the whole, are concerned largely with generalities and bibiliography, but that simply reflects the present position of our knowledge of things Islamic, when, for example, it is impossible to find any real discussion of

the problems of Muslim philosophy. But the book records fairly and adequately the achievements of Arabic scholarship up to the present time, and it indicates most of the lines of investigation that show promise of bearing fruit in any future study of the relations of Islam to Christendom.

Exception might be taken to some of the details, such as Professor Barker's description of Mecca as the 'power-house' of early Islam (p. 42) and Dr Meyerhof's short and very inaccurate sketch of the rise and development of the Nestorian sect (p. 313). There are a few misprints, such as 719 for 791 on page 211, and I would like to suggest that *īqā'* (p. 358) does not mean 'rhythm,' but simply 'beat' or 'measure,' a development from the Greek 'basis' or 'thesis.' There is a good index and some very excellent bibliographies at the end of several of the essays, a practice that might well have been made general.

William Thomson,
Harvard University

Arthur Burkhard, *Hans Burgkmair der Aeltere* (*Meister der Graphik*. vol. xv). Berlin: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1932. Cloth. Pp. 70, 76 plates. 20 Marks.

This latest volume in the well-known series *Meister der Graphik* fills an important gap in the history of German art by its careful and competent treatment of the woodcuts of Hans Burgkmair, the four-hundredth anniversary of whose death was celebrated last year. The author informs us in the preface that his aim has been to provide a convenient handbook for students and lovers of art rather than a complete presentation of the *Corpus der Burgkmairschen Graphik*. The book consists, accordingly, of a general introduction which presents the essential facts of Burgkmair's active career in interesting and lively fashion with appropriate emphasis on his importance as an illustrator of books in Augsburg. The subject of Burgkmair's relation to Italian art, which has never been satisfactorily investigated, is merely mentioned, as the introduction is intended less for specialists than for laymen, who may here get a picture of the artist's personality and of his significance in the development of the German wood-cut as established by scholarly research.

The second section of the book, less popular than scientific, presents for the first time a comprehensive catalogue of Burgkmair's woodcuts, arranged in chronological order under three different headings: single-plate woodcuts, book illustrations, and works for the Emperor Maximilian. Although the author has been able to examine almost all the works in person in the various print-rooms which his preface mentions, he has seemingly preferred to withhold his independent judgment in some controversial matters, restricting himself to an exact description of each woodcut, with indication of its dimensions and different states. A full, carefully compiled

bibliography and a clearly arranged concordance of former treatments of Burgkmair's works accompany the catalogue and increase the utility of the book, which will doubtless become an indispensable aid for print-rooms and private collectors. The publishers have provided almost a hundred excellent reproductions which render the volume welcome to all admirers of German graphic art.

Dr A. Spitzmüller,
Albertina, Vienna

F. S. Cawley, ed., *Hrafnkels Saga Freysgoða*, with Introduction and Glossary. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1932. Cloth. Pp. l+82. $1.50.

While most American students of Old Norse heretofore have usually been devotees of English and Germanic philology and thus able to approach the rich Icelandic literature through the medium of German grammars and texts, it is gratifying to encounter a competent American edition of one of the more interesting sagas equipped with both an illuminating grammatical and syntactical introduction and a well-constructed vocabulary. An English translation of the *Hrafnkels Saga* has of course been available for some time in Vigfusson-Powell's *Origines Islandicae* (II, 493–527). This saga is peculiarly adapted to edition for the uses of beginners in Old Norse; it combines with essential historical accuracy a high degree of artistic excellence and stylistic impressiveness, thus constituting a practically matchless example of Icelandic narrative prose. Professor Cawley has based his text on that of J. Jakobsen (*Austfirðinga Sǫgur*, Copenhagen, 1902–1903), indicating his inconsiderable deviations on pp. xlix–l. His introduction also points out the literary status and merits of the saga, and provides a technically excellent and indeed unique discussion of the syntactical features of the Old Norse popular style as exemplified in this text.

In the text of the saga itself I note only one reading which should be improved: p. 32, ll. 10–11: 'ætlar hann [Sámr] þá *vestr* yfir heiði,' where Jakobsen followed the reading of *AM. 156* against the *austr* of *AM. 496*. though the latter makes manifestly better sense, since Sámr has returned to Aðalból and is contemplating a raid 'austr yfir heiði' in the direction of Hrafnkelsstaðir. The reading *austr* was therefore logically employed by V. Asmundarson (*Isl. Sög.*, Reykjavik, 1911, p. 36), as well as by Vigfusson-Powell (*op. cit.*, II, 524). The variant *vestr* thus replaced in the text should accordingly be listed on p. l.

Among Professor Cawley's otherwise admirable syntactical observations, his interpretation of 'megir þú þá sitja um kyrt' (p. xxix; 21, l. 30) as an optative of wish seems questionable. Heusler (*Elementarbuch*, par. 423) refers to parallels which indicate rather that we have here a final clause. As the editor remarks, this sentence was thus understood by Westergaard,

who rendered it 'forat du skal kunne sidde i ro.' I note only two important omissions from the glossary: *sunnanþoka* (p. 7, l. 7), though the word is glossed with *létta*, and *haust* (p. 10, l. 15).

The Harvard University Press deserves commendation for making this text available for so moderate a price, but a marked lack of consideration for the practical convenience of the user is shown in the failure to differentiate by use of different type-faces between the Icelandic words listed in the glossary, their English equivalents, and the contexts quoted. By some careless error of the printer, the pagination of the table of contents does not correspond with the subdivisions of the introduction. These technical defects, however, by no means detract from the noteworthy performance of the editor, who has executed his task with obvious enthusiasm and meticulous accuracy, and offers a valuable adjunct to Icelandic studies in this country by placing this saga before students in convenient and scholarly form.

Samuel H. Cross,
Harvard University

Gustave Cohen, *Le Théâtre en France au Moyen Age: II. Le Théâtre profane.* Paris: Les Editions Rieder, 1931. Paper. Pp. 112+60 plates. 20 fr.

This is a companion volume to the author's *I. Le Théatre religieux* (Paris: Rieder, 1928). As in the earlier volume, the text is followed by a series of heliogravure plates, illustrations drawn from various MSS and early printed editions, including the Grisélidis miniatures from *B. N. fr. 2203.* These last have never before been reproduced. M. Cohen is a master in the history of the mediaeval theatre who has made for us several important discoveries such as the twelfth century *Nativités wallonnes* in a MS of the Musée Condé and three fourteenth-century moralities in *MS 617* of Chantilly. He was also the first to make known the *Livre de Conduite du Régisseur et le Compte des Dépenses pour le Mystère de la Passion joué à Mons en 1501.* In the work which we are now discussing, he speaks with authority and often with originality. He sees in the French comic theatre, of which there is no trace before the thirteenth century, a development from three sources: the existing religious plays, twelfth-century Latin comedies in imitation of Terence, in particular the *Babio*, and pagan folk tradition surviving through the minstrels. Other historians of the theatre, such as Petit de Julleville, Bédier, and Faral, have been less inclusive. Cohen (p. 75) admits that the farces drew upon *fabliaux* for material, a fact which Bédier has denied. He sees the beginnings of the *sottie* as early as the thirteenth century and calls the *Jeu de la Feuillée* the first of the *sotties* (pp. 19, 59). M. Cohen refuses to admit with Mario Roques and others that *Aucassin et Nicolette* was a dramatic representation (p. 12). He also rejects the suggestion of Louis

Cons and R. T. Holbrook that Guillaume Alécis wrote the *Pathelin* (pp. 80–82). For this last M. Cohen's arguments are largely *argumenta ex silentio.*

The author's bibliography is so thorough that the few omissions to be noted were doubtless intentional. Bédier's well-known article on the comic theatre in *Rev. Deux Mondes*, XCIC (1890), 869 and the chapter on Henri Baude in Pierre Champion's *Histoire du Quinzième Siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1923), vol. II, are not cited. There is no reference to Sepet in the bibliography. The absence of an index is much to be regretted. M. Cohen has arranged his material so well chronologically that one familiar with the subject can locate any reference quite rapidly, except in the treatment of the fifteenth century. There I searched for Henri Baude and Andrieu de la Vigne under the heading *Moralité* (pp. 68–69) where we should expect to find them, and finally located them mentioned incidentally under *Les Fous* (pp. 57 and 58). The discussion devoted to the beginnings of comic drama in myth and folklore, in the first three pages of the Introduction, is too highly condensed for the reader who knows nothing of primitive totemism and the primitive belief in *mana.* The reader finds himself wishing that M. Cohen had given more space to the influence of the *Roman de la Rose* on the later dramas, and, if possible, a more systematic treatment of the *puys* and *confréries.* M. Cohen mentions the observations of Etienne Pasquier on the *Pathelin;* Claude Fauchet's remarks on the *Jeu de la Feuillée* (*Recueil de l'Origine etc.*, Paris: M. Patisson, 1581, p. 196) would have been worth citing if only to invite speculation on the source of his error.

One error might be called to M. Cohen's attention. The University of Illinois should not be referred to as the *Université d'Urbana* (p. 80). This history of the French comic theatre in the Middle Ages should take its place, with M. Cohen's other books, on the shelf of every student of mediaeval literature. At the same time, it must be remembered that it is a selective account, representing the author's personal judgements, and is not an exhaustive compendium of facts.

URBAN T. HOLMES,
The University of North Carolina

GEORGE G. FOX, *The Mediaeval Sciences in the Works of John Gower.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1931. Pp. iv+164.

READING the many passages on science from different sections of the works of Gower inevitably gives one the impression that here we have the mediaeval equivalent of the modern *entrepreneur* of popular scientific information. Nor is the conclusion of the present study that 'Gower's knowledge' . . . 'was neither profound nor vital' (p. 156) entirely out of harmony with such a comparison. Dr Fox accompanies the poet through the various fields of

Nature and Fortune, the Microcosm, the Macrocosm, Astrology, Dreams, Alchemy, and Magic ('And he continuing evere in sturdinesse'!), giving a clear estimate of the discussion of each in a proper and orderly fashion. He is generally fair to his subject; and only now and then does he seem to ignore Gower's purpose, as for instance when he remarks that 'to assert that any particular passage in Gower's writings is the dullest is to challenge controversy' (p. 65). Lowell and Quiller-Couch have had enough sport with the poet's monotony; it remains for someone to appraise his direct method. What artistic use Gower made of all this science Dr Fox does not tell us, having occupied himself merely with the task of making the material 'more intelligible' and with ascertaining the importance of the subject in the poet's thought (p. 1).

The study would have gained considerably with a richer background. After all, to consider the whole field of mediaeval science even as it is reflected in the works of only one poet is a large order. Small wonder, then, if we rely chiefly on other treatments of the field like Thorndike's, Wedel's, and Curry's, for reference. Frequent allusion to parallel discussions (like Chaucer's observation on the physician and the apothecary in league) is lacking. But Dr Fox has done good work of his own quoting material from Brunetto Latini, Albertus Magnus, and others. It may be useful here to append a few minor comments:—P. 10, nature forbids war because sorrow and death are her enemies (cf. *Book of the Duchesse*, 512–513). P. 17, with Gower Fortune also aids the bold (see my study, *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature*, p. 83, n. 4). P. 46, the material from the *Liber de Passionibus* appears to be a translation, but the translator is unnamed. P. 60, surely the Latin of Thomas Aquinas should be somewhere quoted; or the Latin original should be listed in the Bibliography.

Howard R. Patch,
Smith College

Max Geisberg, *Der deutsche Einblatt-Holzschnitt in der ersten Hälfte des XVI. Jahrhunderts.* Munich Hugo Schmidt Verlag, 1923–1931. Forty portfolios.

It is not too late to pay a tardy tribute to the energy of the publishing house of Hugo Schmidt of Munich, already well-known for the excellence of its publications, on the realization of the colossal plan of Professor Max Geisberg, Director of the Westphalian Provincial Museum in Münster, to represent with the greatest possible completeness the German Single-Plate Woodcut of the first half of the sixteenth century in faithful reproductions and in the exact size of the originals. This ambitious purpose has now been achieved with the appearance of the last of the forty portfolios which contain reproductions of no less than 1600 woodcuts produced by the greatest German masters in the most flourishing period of German graphic art. All

the important woodcuts of acknowledged masters like Altdorfer, Baldung, Breu, Burgkmair, Cranach, and Dürer, as well as those of an imposing host of less well-known artists, are here assembled and presented to the public. The thorough training in research of the scholarly editor has made possible in each case the selection of the best-preserved specimens for reproduction. the plates themselves are models of excellent technical execution in printing and, being loosely collected in portfolios, can be arranged in the most varied manner for the purpose of private study or public exhibition.

In order to facilitate reference to this large collection, which in magnitude as well as importance may be claimed to represent the most monumental work ever attempted in the domain of the graphic arts, the editor and publisher have prepared a *Bilderkatalog* which gives reduced reproductions of the 1600 originals in one small handy volume. This catalogue is not only an indispensable handbook for the owner of the large and rather expensive portfolios but is a work of reference which no library, museum, or private person with scientific interest in the artistic or cultural aspect of Germany's past, can afford to be without.

Not content with this definitive presentation of the German single-plate woodcut in the first half of the sixteenth century, the publisher has now inaugurated under the same competent editorship a series of some fifty portfolios which are to present *Die deutsche Buchillustration in der ersten Hälfte des XVI. Jahrhunderts.* The publications which have already been issued in this new series give promise of the same artistic excellence and scientific value as those of the earlier set of single-plate woodcuts, now complete to which they form an important supplement. Both publications should appeal to all persons who are able to appreciate unswerving attention to an ideal and self-sacrificing devotion to science.

Arthur Burkhard,
Harvard University

H. A. R. Gibb, ed., *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades. Extracted and Translated from the Chronicle of Ibn al-Qalānisī.* (University of London Historical Series, No. v) London: Luzac & Co., 1932. Cloth. Pp. 368.

At the opening of the twentieth century it was thought, that we did not possess a 'contemporary Arabic record of the First Crusade and its immediate sequel.' But a chronicle containing a record of this kind was discovered about twenty-five years ago among the manuscripts of the Bodleian Library. It bears the title, 'Continuation of the Chronicle of Damascus,' and is the work of Hamza ibn al-Qalānisī, a well-educated Muslim who held high civil office at Damascus in the first half of the twelfth century. Publication of this text by H. F. Amedroz in 1908 rendered it generally accessible to Arabists; but historians of the Crusades

seem thus far to have neglected it, probably in large part because a translation has been lacking.

Designed as a supplement to the chronicle of universal history written by Hilāl b. al-Muhassin al-Sābi', the work in question begins at the year 1056 — where Hilāl's chronicle ends — and comes down to 1160, the date of Ibn al-Qalānisī's death. While the author was chiefly interested in chronicling the history of his own city, yet he has recorded much that occurred outside the political orbit which had its center in Damascus. The last two-thirds of his work includes a year-by-year narrative of the early crusading movement. From his point of observation in the interior of Syria, Ibn al-Qalānisī — who was nearly thirty years old when the armies of the Franks invaded the sultanate of Rūm in 1097 — noted most attentively and sympathetically the gathering Muslim reaction to the Latin expansion; and in his chronicle we may trace the development of that reaction from stage to stage, almost if not quite to the time of Saladin.

It is true, of course, that the recovered text was extensively quoted by later Arabic writers — e.g., Sibt ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn al-Athīr, and Abū Shāma — whose compilations have been diligently exploited by modern historians. 'Nevertheless,' to quote Professor Gibb, 'the original work of Ibn al-Qalānisī still retains so much material not utilized by the later compilers, and so many features of its own, that it will form an indispensable source for all future students of the early Crusades' (p. 11). This view seems entirely justified. There is now available a first-hand Muslim account against which it will be necessary to check our other sources, especially those for the first half of the twelfth century, and in particular Albert of Aix, Matthew of Edessa, and William of Tyre.

Detailed study of Ibn al-Qalānisī's chronicle will perhaps not revolutionize our knowledge of the period and subject with which it deals. But there is reason to believe that on many points it will serve to confirm, to correct, and even to augment our data. The reviewer has noted, for example, that Ibn al-Qalānisī (pp. 47–48) definitely verifies two admittedly tentative conclusions of a modern scholar: (1) that the Muslim host which the Crusaders routed near Ascalon in August, 1099, had originally been levied for the purpose of preventing Jerusalem from falling into the hands of the Franks; and (2) that the defeat of the Muslims was due in large part to the fact that they were compelled to engage in battle before their mobilization had been completed.[1] Our chronicler's account of the siege of Tyre in the winter of 1111–1112 (pp. 119–126) is so detailed and vivid as to render it

[1] W. B. Stevenson (see *Cambridge Medieval History*, v, 296) in 1926 deemed it necessary to qualify each of these points with the word 'probably.' In the light of the information supplied by Ibn al-Qalānisī, the qualification appears no longer necessary.

probable that he was an eye-witness of what he described; and a comparison of his account with a critical modern presentation[1] based on a collation of all the sources heretofore available, clearly reveals that Ibn al-Qalānisī supplies new material. On many other points, too, he will in all likelihood add something to our present information. He has much to say concerning the early activities of the Mohammedan sect known as the Assassins; he offers not a little illustrative material on Muslim customs and practices, e.g., the granting of 'robes of honour' (pp. 143, 191, 235, 356 and *passim*) and punishment by crucifixion (pp. 193, 254, 255, 270, 351); the figures he supplies with reference to the numbers of men engaged in particular battles, casualties suffered, etc., may perhaps enable scholars to estimate, at least with a higher degree of approximation than before, the strength of the military forces that opposed one another in Syria during the first sixty years of the crusading period.

In the volume under review, which has appropriately been named *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, we are offered an English translation of that portion of Ibn al-Qalānisī's work which treats of the period from 1097 to 1160 (A.H. 490–555), inclusive. Because the Arabic text — it is derived from the single recovered manuscript — gives evidence of being corrupt in a number of places, Professor Gibb found it necessary to emend certain passages which 'gave either no sense or an obviously wrong sense'; his emendations, however, are properly signalized and in each case an English transliteration of the Arabic original is supplied in a footnote. A few passages, without evident bearing on the crusading movement, have been abridged or omitted (pp. 207, 228, 316). The version has been but sparingly annotated, and has not been correlated either with the contemporary Western sources or with the later Arabic chronicles — on the ground that it is 'primarily intended as a textbook for students.' Without question, the translation will serve admirably as a basis for seminar exercises; but the scope of its utility is larger than that; it will prove useful to all scholars interested in the events it records and indispensable to those who cannot avail themselves of an Arabic text.

The volume is equipped with an excellent introduction, which contains (1) a brief account of the chronicle and its author; (2) an unusually clear analysis of the conditions and forces in Syria on the eve of the Crusades; and (3) a very helpful description of the composition, organization, equipment, and fighting technique of Muslim armies at this period. With reference to the indexes — there are three — it may be permissible to suggest that the first two, which include names of persons and places respectively,

[1] See R. Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem, 1100–1291* (Innsbruck, 1898), pp. 92–94.

might well in a subsequent edition be combined into one index of proper names; and that it would be desirable to give in parentheses the English forms of *all* the listed Arabic names for which there are such forms. The third 'index' is a (very useful) glossary of 'contemporary Western forms and transcriptions of names occurring in the Damascus Chronicle,' the Western forms and transcriptions being listed in alphabetical order opposite transliterations of the Arabic forms. A note on p. 359 sets forth a simple and easily remembered rule for the pronunciation of transliterated Arabic names. It could be wished that the volume but contained a good-sized folding map showing all the places named in the chronicle.

Einar Joranson,
The University of Chicago

Hans Gluntz, *Britannien und Bibel-text. Der Vulgatatext der Evangelien in seinem Verhältnis zur Irisch-Angelsächsischen Kultur des Frühmittelalters.* (*Kölner anglistische Arbeiten* herausgegeben von Herbert Schöffler, Bd. xii). Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1930. Paper. Pp. 187. RM. 16.

Biblical though its primary purpose is this, monograph summarizes mediaeval intellectual history from the patristic period to the twelfth century. This is necessarily so because the Bible entered deeply into the life of mediaeval men, and Dr Gluntz holds to the belief that from the beginning the Bible text was circulated and copied to satisfy the everyday religious needs of the people. As these needs changed or as new nations received the Word, efforts were made to bring out the essence of the message in the text more accurately and more clearly ('Man sah nicht die Worte, sondern den Sinn, nicht den Text, sondern die Botschaft, nicht die Form, sondern den Inhalt,' p. 24). Bible texts, consequently, were from the point of view of scholarship far from pure in any age or place. Even St Jerome's version, the first of many efforts to restore purity to the text, did not at once meet with contemporary approval, though later generations accorded it determining value in forming their own versions. Admitting this thesis, one apprehends the need of writing the intellectual history of the period to which Dr Gluntz for the present confines his study of Bible text types. One doubts, however, if he has underestimated the influence of heretical versions; of the Merovingian civil wars as a means of mingling peoples, and therefore Bible texts, in Gaul. Some notice of the wandering of art objects and designs might have made clearer the movement of Bible texts between the continent and the British Isles. Four maps show the prevalence of certain types of texts at different times and the places of especial influence in intellectual and bibical history. One misses on these maps, however, such important centers as Lerins, Iona, Anegray. The merits of the monograph are far more conspicuous than anything in it that suggests criticism.

F. J. Tschan,
Pennsylvania State College

J. Millas Vallicrosa. *Assaig d'Història de les Idees Físiques i Matemàtiques a la Catalunya Medieval*, I. (*Estudis Universitaris Catalans*, Sèrie Monogràfica, I.) Barcelona: Institucio Patxot, 1931. Paper. Pp. xv+349. Pesetas 25.

Since Rudolf Beer first indicated that among the manuscripts from the monastery of Santa Maria de Ripoll, now in the Archivo de la Corona de Aragon at Barcelona, was one of the tenth century containing works on the astrolabe similar to that often ascribed to Gerbert, a detailed analysis of this MS. (no. *225*) has been hoped for. The present work not only supplies this deficiency but also includes in the appendices the contents of the MS. (illustrated by plates) together with other hitherto inedited material dealing with the astrolabe, and the Roman *agrimensores*. In bolder relief now appears the picture of the transmission of Arabic scientific achievement to western Latin Europe in those early days before the period of the great translators.

Before proceeding to the discussion of the Ripoll MSS, which is the kernel of the work, the author deals chronologically with the scientific ideas of Spain, beginning with the Alexandrian Greek school, and the classic tradition surviving in Catalonia. Islamic culture in Spain in its first two centuries was not equal to that of the learned Spaniards, but its flowering on its scientific side is well illustrated in the tract on the astrolabe written by Aben Assafar (†1034), pupil of Maslama (†1004), which Millàs Vallicrosa here translates (pp. 29–48) from MS. *Escorial 964*. He then traces Moslem mathematical and astronomical achievement to the end of the twelfth century, and next centers his attention specifically on Catalonia in the tenth and eleventh centuries, especially on the monastery of Ripoll as the intellectual center of Catalonia, for which it was preeminently fitted because it received influences classic, Visigothic, Syriac, Mozarabic, Arabic, French.

To Gerbert, who came in contact with Arabic learning at Ripoll, is restored the honor of having been the leading intermediary through whom Arabic science reached the Latin West north of the Spanish peninsula, somewhat through his writings, but more especially through the acquisition of MSS from the Spanish March. No longer may Gerbert be credited with the composition of the *Liber de astrolabio* placed by Bubnov among his doubtful works, for MS. *Ripoll 225* contains half of this tract, and it is obviously anterior to the year 984 when Gerbert wrote *Lupitus*, archdeacon of the cathedral of Barcelona, requesting a translation of an astronomical work (ep. 24). As recognized by Bubnov, this tract is not a direct translation from the Arabic, but a literary revision of a direct translation. A comparison of the contents of the MS. with an anonymous Latin translation of Māshāllāh[1] revealed their close relationship to his *De compositione astro-*

[1] Ed. of R. T. Gunther, *Early Science in Oxford* (Oxford, 1929), v.

labii and *De operatione astrolabii*. The MS. contains, then; direct translations of Māshāllāh, which Millàs designates as J′, J″, *h*″ (thus keeping to the designations of Bubnov, J being the *Lib. de astrolabio* and *h* the first tract of Hermannus Contractus); and revised translations, J, *h*′; a compilation of J′, *h*′, and J, which he calls *h*‴; and some chapters of the *Geometria incerti auctoris* (sought for in vain among Bobbio MSS by Bubnov). One can now hope for a reconsideration of this *Geom. Inc. Auct.* on the basis of Millàs' study,[1] since Bubnov certainly has not given the definitive text, which seems to have been derived from an Arabic original (Māshāllāh?). These translations, recensions and résumés were the work of *Lupitus*.[2] If one admits *Lupitus*' authorship of the prologue fragment printed by Bubnov in App. v, the tract which conforms to this is *not*, according to Millàs, the *Lib. de astrolabio* printed by Bubnov (pp. 114 ff.) but J′, a direct translation of Māshāllāh found on fols. 24ᵛ–35ʳ of MS. *Ripoll 225*. The best text of this tract is to be found in MS. *BN*[Paris] *11248*, s. xi.

Millàs' discussion of other Ripoll MSS (nos. *74*, *59*, *106*; *BN*[Paris] *5132*; *Vat. Reg. 123*; *BN* [Madrid] *A 16*) is based very largely (almost too much so) on the work of others. However, he is inclined to attribute MS. *Vat. Reg. 123* to the scriptorium of Ripoll in spite of the recent denial of this provenience by P. Albareda. Burnam's contention, that the prototype of MSS *Escorial I.d.2.* and *I.d.1.* containing the first manuscript record of the nine ghubār numerals in Latin Europe, was at Ripoll in Gerbert's time, seems probable, and to the reasons adduced by Burnam the author adds the fact that Catalonian councils are found in the MSS which are not found in other collections of councils. (The lack of an index of MSS in the monograph proves to be a great inconvenience.)

From an analysis of MS. *BN* (Paris) *17868*, s. x, containing the *Liber Alhandrei*, it is clear that this text is one of the most ancient and most corrupt transcriptions of the twenty-eight lunar mansions. Although not related to the tracts on the astrolabe heretofore discussed, it has some connection with the tract of Alkindus (or Gaphar) as well as with the *Liber de mutatione temporum* or calendar of Cordoba, and is certainly of Spanish provenience.

Millàs Vallicrosa is abundantly conversant with the literature in the field, and makes extensive use of Beer, Nicolau d'Olwer and Bubnov. However, any discussion of the manuscripts of the Roman *agrimensores* should

[1] Millàs himself has begun this reconsideration in an article more recent than the work being reviewed, namely, 'La introducción del cuadrante con cursor en Europa,' *Isis*, xvii (Jan., 1932), 218–258.

[2] By relying on Nicolau d'Olwer, Millàs errs in believing this person to be the same as the Abbot *Lupinus* of Arles, as recently shown by the reviewer (Speculum, vii, pp. 58 ff.)

include the work of Carl Thulin, who shows the place of MS. *Ripoll 106* in the whole scheme. To the bibliography on Beatus (p. 92, notes) should surely be added the discussion of Miss Georgiana King in *Art Studies*, VIII, pt. 1 (Cambridge, 1930). In addition, English readers will be considerably enlightened on the activities of Abbot Oliba of Ripoll by the article of Joseph Pijon, 'Oliba de Ripoll' (971–1046), *Art Studies*, VI (1928). To the extensive list of MSS which were copies of *Ripoll, 225*, add Bern *Bong. 196*, s. XI; *Vat. 4539*, s. XV.

Some statements call for correction. Thus, Gerbert did *not* find the Elements of Euclid at Bobbio in 983 (as stated on p. 142 with citation to Bubnov), but rather a manuscript of the *agrimensores*, perhaps MS. Naples *Borbon. V A 13*. Had Millàs turned to Bubnov's addenda, pp. 556 and 558, he would have observed that Bubnov corrects his earlier statements with regard to the presence of Euclid at Bobbio. Bishop Miro Bonusfilius of Gerona could scarcely have seen Gerbert at Bobbio in 983 *after* attending a Roman Council of that year (p. 100) for the council in question actually took place in 981.[1] This Miro was certainly *not* the Count Bonfilius, son of Sinderedus, sent by Count Borrell II as ambassador to Calif Alhâquem II in 971 (p. 102), since the ambassador's name was Ennego and outlived Miro (†984) as is shown by a document of the year 996.[2] With regard to the fragment printed by Bubnov as *De norma rationis abaci* (pp. 23–24), Millàs repeats Bubnov's statement that Gerbert here explained the further use of the abacus. However, Bubnov later repudiated this statement.[3] Nor does Bubnov believe that Gerbert studied works on the abacus in Spain as Millàs states (p. 113), but rather has reconstructed the textbook he studied in France *before* going to Spain.[4]

Of errors, the following have been noted: R. T. Gunther and S. Günther are both listed in the Index under 'Günther.' P. 17 the name should be 'Günther,' not 'Gunther.' Further, read: 'J. W. Thompson' for 'J. M. Thompson' (Index, p. 341); 'Friedlein' for 'Freudlein' (p. 112 and Index, p. 339); '951' for '915' (p. 23); '*Hindu*' for '*Indu*' (pp. 114, 117); 'p. xxvi' for p. 'xxiv' (p. 178, n. 1); 'Etelwold, bisbe de Winchester' for 'Ethelwold, bisbe d'Utrecht' (p. 267). These are trivial compared to the worth of the monograph which is the most important contribution on the intellectual life of Gerbert since Bubnov's monumental edition. The next parts of this work, which are eagerly awaited, will deal with the translators and Hermannus Contractus, and the scientific-religious polemics of the thirteenth century.

HARRIET PRATT LATTIN,
Columbus, Ohio

[1] Martin Boye, 'Quellenkatalog der synoden Deutschlands und Reichitaliens von 922–1059.' *Neues Archiv*, XLVIII (1929), pp. 61–62.

[2] J. Mas, *Notes historiques del bisbat de Barcelona*, IX (Barcelona, 1914), no. 169.

[3] *Kievskija Universitetskija Izvěstija*, XLV (1905), p. 92.

[4] *Ibid.*, and later vols.

GEORGES MUSSET (avec la collaboration de MARCEL PELLISSON et CHARLES VIGEN), *Glossaire des Patois et des Parlers de l'Aunis et de la Saintonge*. La Rochelle: Masson Fils & Cie, 1931. Tome II (C,D,E). Pp. xxiii+657.

THE history of this *Glossaire des Patois et des Parlers de l'Aunis et de la Saintonge* emphasizes the peril to which obsolescent dialects are exposed. After gathering material for four decades, Musset secured the assistance of his two collaborators. The work was ready for publication at the moment when the Great War broke out. Because of financial obstacles, volume I did not appear until 1929. In the preceding year both Musset and Vigen had died. Now Pellisson, himself 82 years old, is making a herculean effort to fulfill his scientific mission before the Angel of Death comes to collect her toll. Would it be amiss, therefore, to suggest that American libraries lighten his burden by subscribing to this substantial contribution to the field of dialectology?

When completed, this glossary will contain some 22,000 word-studies. Not only does it summarize the *patois* dictionaries of Favre (1867), Jônain (1869), Meyer (1870), Éveillé (1887), for which acknowledgement is clearly made, but it also offers a rich harvest of terms from unpublished sources and from the living speech of the natives of la Charente-Inférieure.[1] The compilers of this invaluable compendium are to be congratulated upon their decision to refrain from proposing any etymologies and to concentrate their attention upon the lexicographical aspect. It is evident that they are not fully familiar with recent progress in Romance linguistics. The arrangement of the material into a lexicon with addenda and supplements forces one to seek a word in four distinct places, but this defect can easily be remedied by a cumulative index.

As an illustration of the linguistic value of this glossary, let us consider the history of *engendrer*, a verbal derivate of GENDRE. The *Dictionnaire Général* records as the most recent example of it a passage in *Le Glorieux* (1732) by Destouches, and states that 'Ce mot paraît dû à Molière.' Gamillscheg[2] gives credit to Molière for having coined the word as a pun by analogy to the homophone *engendrer*< *ingenerare*. The word, however, was used before Molière. The following examples of it are recorded in the dramatic literature of the seventeenth century:

[1] On page xii it might be added that Camille Beaulieu appended a glossary to the two works of Burgaud des Marets, which he edited at La Rochelle, in 1930: *Fables et Contes en Patois Saintongeais* and *Molichou et Garçouniére, Comédie en Patois Saintongeais*. Beaulieu is also preparing a *Bibliographie du Patois Saintongeais*. That fact is not mentioned. Nor do I find any reference to A. Boucherie, *Patois de la Saintonge* (Angoulême: Nadaud, 1865). It is an offprint from the *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique de la Charente*, and it contains a lexicon on pages 9 to 96. Cf. also E. Goerlich, 'Die südwestlichen Dialekte,' *Frz. Studien*, III, 2 (1882).

[2] *Etym. Wtb. d. Frz. Spr.* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1928), *s. v.*

1646 — Rotrou, *La Soeur*, II, 2.[1]
1653 — Thomas Corneille, *Le Charme de la Voix*, III, 5.[2]
1658 — Molière, *L'Étourdi*, II, 6.
1660 — Thomas Corneille, *Le Galant Doublé*, I, 1.
1674 — Molière, *Le Malade Imaginaire*, II, 6.
1674 — Thomas Corneille, *Don César d'Avalos*, V. 4.
1691 — Regnard, *La Coquette*, II, 2.

For earlier examples, we must go back four centuries to Judaeo-French texts. The word was used in three Biblical passages, *Gen.*, XXXIV, 9, *Deut.*, VII, 3, *Jos.*, XXIII, 12, in the *Glossaire Hébreu-français du XIII^e Siècle* (Paris: Leroux, 1905)[3] and in the unpublished Hebrew MS. of Leipzig, No. 1099. The *Glossaire des Patois et des Parlers de l'Aunis et de la Saintonge* records a survival of the word in the dialect of Saintonge. Reference is there made to the glossary of Éveillé, *s. v. engendrer*, 'donner un gendre'; *s'engendrer*, 'prendre pour *gendre*.' Finally, I take the liberty of reproducing a statement which was kindly sent me by M. Marcel Pellisson: 'Le participe passé pris adjectivement et précédé de l'un des adverbes *bien* ou *mal* prend la signification (1) d'avoir un grand ou un petit nombre de gendres, (2) d'avoir un ou plusieurs gendres de bonne ou de mauvaise qualité'.[4]

Raphael Levy,
University of Baltimore

Barbara Swain, *Fools and Folly During the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932. Pp. 234. Price, $3.00.

The first of April was appropriately chosen for the publication of Miss Swain's study of fools and folly in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. As she notes in her Introduction, 'The fool, in life and literature, is a perennial figure,' who appears in many forms, and under many names. (I do not observe that she lists among them those of 'author' and 'critic.') Tracing the Fool in disgrace — 'failure and sinner' — through his triumph (due to

[1] H. C. Lancaster, *A Hist. of Fr. Dramatic Lit. in the 17th Century*, part 1, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1929), I, 311, shows that *La Soeur* was put on the boards in 1645 and printed in 1646. M. Franzen, *Über den Sprachgebrauch Jean Rotrou's* (Rheinbach: Heuser 1892), p. 16, thought that *engendrer* 'ist vollständig veraltet.' I looked in vain for the word in, K. Sölter, *Gram. u. Lexikol. Studien über Jean Rotrou* (Altona: Meyer, 1882); E. Huguet, *Petit Glossaire des Classiques Français du 17^e Siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1910); G. Cayrou, *Le Français Classique-Lexique de la Langue du 17^e Siècle* (Paris: Didier, 1923).

[2] Recorded by Littré, *s. v.* Cf. G. Reynier, *Thomas Corneille* (Paris: Hachette, 1892), pp. 365–366, *Rom. Rev.*, XX (1929), 35–41.

[3] The editors, M. Lambert and L. Brandin, define the past participle inaccurately as 'engendrés' for the first two passages and as 'alliés par le mariage' for the other instance.

[4] For another example of the linguistic worth of this glossary, cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XLVII (1931), note 18.

the fact that the wise are, after all, sometimes wrong) to Brant's (Barclay's) *Ship of Fools* and Erasmus's (Chaloner's) *Praise of Folly*, the author notes 'Rôles of Folly in English Moralities.' There are earlier chapters: 'The Fool in Person,' 'The Joyous Societies,' and 'The Fool's Rôles in the Sotties.' A final one is entitled, 'The Fool Exhausted.'

Bearing in mind Professor J. A. K. Thomson's remarks (which Miss Swain quotes in her 'Conclusion'): 'The duty of the scholar is to expound the true meaning, as he sees it, of the written word . . . People want him to take sides. But how can the scholar take sides?' — we may cite from the Introduction the author's aims. She seeks to present 'some of the different groups of fools whose pictures, whether preserved in formal literary composition or in the records of actual life, may be discovered in the writings of Erasmus' age.' Her chapters 'do not pretend to be an investigation of the sources of the *Praise of Folly*, but to use contemporary material to show the unique effectiveness and interest of that ironic composition among the many others presenting fools.' 'Her 'limitation of the subject to the types of fool here presented, and to France and England, is arbitrary. The popularity of the fool as a literary figure was perhaps greatest in Germany, and certainly extended to Italy.' She presents her source material in its original French and Latin (paraphrasing it freely in the Notes) in order to preserve 'its effectiveness and charm' — a practice which seems to indicate that the book is prepared for the scholar rather than for the general reader. Another suggestion of this is the absence of the carefree spirit in which Elia composed *All Fools' Day*, and the illuminating references to modern times which shoot through Professor Bliss Perry's essay on *The Praise of Folly*. In this volume, we come to the subject carefully; but the different forms of folly are named rather than described — are treated philosophically rather than psychologically. The divine, more than the alienist, will be interested in the distinctions made. Miss Swain observes that Erasmus's synthesis 'of the various kinds of fool, and the attitudes toward them into a full-length portrait of Man the Fool is unique.' There is here little place for the wise man who plays the fool *in loco* — which Professor Wendell used to say was one sign of greatness; such a chapter would be too long.

If — and I speak with considerable hesitation — the learned reader will find little new in these pages, it is only fair to record that Miss Swain rather seeks to interpret accessible material than to collect new material. For this reason, she appends no separate bibliography to the work, listing her references in the Notes at the back of the book, with the paraphrases of the French and Latin source material. Her intrepretations are swamped, one feels, by the exposition, which is of less interest to the 'learned' reader, and sometimes is not wholly satisfactory. In her pages on folk-play and English

morality-play, she is (perhaps of necessity) brief. She knows the *Golden Bough*, but does not use it; she relies on Cushman, without sufficient corrective, merely referring, in passing, to 'many studies' which deal with the 'difficult problem' of the relationship of the Vice to fools, clowns, devils, badins, sots, and villains, taking the work of Cushman as their 'point of departure.'[1] Her treatment of the Fool in the folk-play is also summary: he is linked with 'The Fool in Person' — i.e., the jester attached to a court — on the slight ground that 'to impersonate the dullard, the booby, the dupe, the silly fellow, is a commonplace with comic entertainers at all times, and in the thirteenth century, as today, men amused themselves and their companions by playing the fool.' A short comment on the Feast of Fools has a better reason to be included in this chapter. I remain convinced that the Fool of the folk-play is one ancestor of the Vice — partly through the Devil of the mysteries — and feel that Miss Swain might have indicated the relationship more clearly than she has done.

After all, *The Ship of Fools* and *The Praise of Folly* are the chief chapters of the book. In preparing for them the author has shown so much erudition that one wishes there were more. If the use she has made of it leads to discussions, the volume will prove to be a stimulating one.

Robert Withington,
Smith College

[1] On p. 168, Miss Swain quotes Cushman correctly as stating that 'the devil, Vice, clown fool, and villain are parallel figures of quite independent origin and function,' but on p. 169, she says: 'Where Cushman traced the origin of the Vice from the devil of the mysteries . . . Chambers argues that the Vice came into the play through the avenue of the farce and is intimately related to the fool.' In 'The Corpus Christi Plays as Drama' (*S. P.*, October, 1930, n. 5) I recorded my inability to accept Cushman's conclusions concerning the complete independence of Vice from Devil, holding that the former was, at least in part, derived from the latter. Miss Swain was more fortunate than I in finding Cushman's recognition of this genealogy; I only regret that she does not record a reference to the passage in which he admits it.

CORRIGENDA

In Speculum vii (No. 2, April, 1932), p. 254, n. 1, for *mercatus* read *mercatur;* p. 255, n. 3, for *ām* read *pām; ibid.*, for *pelium* read *peluim; ibid.*, for *coquebatus* read *coquebatur.*

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BOOKS RECEIVED

UNDER this heading SPECULUM will list the titles of all books and monographs on mediaeval subjects as soon as they are received from author or publisher. In many cases the titles here listed will be reviewed in a future issue.

A. R. Anderson, *Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog, and the Inclosed Nations.* Cambridge (Mass.): Mediaeval Academy of America, 1932. Cloth. Pp. viii+117. $3.00.

H. Anglès, *El Còdex Musical de las Helgas (música a veus dels segles XIII–XIV).* Barcelona: Biblioteca de Catalunya, 1931. Paper, 3 vols. Pp. xxiii+385, xlv+168 facsimile folio plates, xv+411 (transcriptions).

H. Bett, *Nicholas of Cusa.* London: Methuen, 1932. Cloth. Pp. x+210. £ 0/7/6.

F. S. Boas, ed., *The Year in English Studies, 1930.* Oxford: The University Press, 1932. Boards. Pp. 400.

A. Burkhard, *Hans Burgkmair der Aeltere (Meister der Graphik.* vol. xv). Berlin: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1932. Cloth. Pp. 70+76 plates. RM. 20.

M. E. Curtis, *Some Disputes between the City and the Cathedral Authorities in Exeter.* Manchester (Eng.): Manchester University Press, 1932. Cloth. Pp. 98. £ 0/10/6.

G. Della Volpe, *Il Misticismo Speculativo di Maestro Eckhart nei suoi Rapporti Storici.* Bologna: L. Cappelli, 1930. Paper. Pp. vii+291.

R. J. Deferrari and J. M. Campbell, *A Concordance of Prudentius.* Cambridge (Mass.): The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1932. Cloth. Pp. viii+833. $12.50.

D. C. Douglas, ed., *Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1932. Cloth. Pp. clxxi+247. $10.00.

C. Dunlop, *Processions (Alcuin Club Tracts,* xx). New York: Oxford University Press, 1932. Cloth. Pp. 79. $1.00.

E. Emerton, trans., and ed., *The Correspondence of Pope Gregory VII (Selected Letters from the Registrum).* New York: Columbia University Press, 1932. Cloth. Pp. xxxi+212. $3.50.

W. J. Entwistle, ed., *The Year's Modern Language Studies,* Vol. II. New York: Oxford University Press, 1932. Cloth. Pp. xviii+154. $2.25.

Essays and Studies in English and Comparative Literature by Members of the English Department of the University of Michigan. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1932. Cloth. Pp. 231+x.

J. D. Fitz-gerald and Pauline Taylor, edd., *Todd Memorial Volumes (Philological Studies),* Vols. I and II. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. Cloth. Pp. xi+226. $10.00.

P. Fournier and G. Le Bras, *Histoire des Collections Canoniques en Occident. II (De la Réforme Grégorienne au Décret de Gratien).* Paris: Receuil Sirey, 1932. Paper. Pp. 386. Frs. 100.

S. Grünewald, *Franziskanische Mystik mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des heiligen Bonaventura.* Munich: Naturrechts-Verlag, 1932. Paper. Pp. xi+147. RM. 3.80.

A. Grunzweig, ed., *Correspondence de la Filiale de Bruges des Medici.* Brussels: Lamertin, 1931. Paper. Pp. lii+158.

Hortus Conclusus, a Series of Medieval Latin Hymns with Selected English Renderings. 6 Parts. Washington, D. C.: The St. Albans Press, 1931–1932. Boards. Pp. 25, 32, 26, 28, 26, 30.

M. R. James and C. Jenkins, edd., *A Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS in the Library of Lambeth Palace,* Part III (*Nos. 203–357*). Cambridge (Eng.): Cambridge University Press, 1932. Paper. Pp. viii+159. $4.25.

A. Jeanroy and E. Droz, edd., *Deux Manucerits de François Villon (B. N. fonds fran., 1661* et *20041) reproduits en Phototypie avec une Notice sur les Manuscrits du Poète.* Paris: E. Droz, 1932. Paper. Pp. xix+90 plates.

R. Klibansky, ed., *Nicolai de Cusa Opera Omnia Iussu et Auctoritate Acad. Lit. Heidelbergensis Edita,* II, *Apologia Doctae Ignorantiae.* Leipzig: F. Meiner, 1932. Paper. Pp. viii+49.

G. P. Krapp, *The Vercelli Book (The Anglosaxon Poetic Records,* II). New York: Columbia University Press, 1932. Cloth. Pp. xciv+152. $3.50.

J. L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 100–1291.* Cambridge (Mass.); Mediaeval Academy of America, 1932. Cloth. Pp. xxviii+293. $4.50.

T. Lewis, *Mabinogi Cymru.* Aberystwyth: printed by the Author, 1931. Cloth. Pp. xv+203. £ 0/10/6.

Fr. Rogeri Marston, O. F. M., *Quaestiones Disputatae de Emanatione Aeterna, de Statu Naturae Lapsae, et de Anima,* editae a Pp. Collegii S. Bonaventurae. Quaracchi: Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1932. Paper. Pp. lxxx+497. Lire 30.

C. H. McIlwain, *The Growth of Political Thought in the West from the Greeks to the End of the Middle Ages.* New York: Macmillan, 1932. Cloth. Pp. vii+417. $3.50.

M. McKisack, *The Parliamentary Representation of the English Buroughs During the Middle Ages.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1932. Cloth. Pp. xii+180. $3.50.

E. G. Millar, ed., *The Luttrell Psalter (B. M., Ad. MS. 42130).* London; British Museum, 1932. Cloth. Pp. 56, two colored plates and 83 in monochrome. £ 5/5/0.

C. B. Millican, *Spenser and the Table Round.* Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1932. Cloth. Pp. ix+237. $2.50.

E. Monsen, trans. and ed., *Heimskringla or the Lives of the Norse Kings (Snorre Sturlason).* New York: Appleton, 1932. Cloth. Pp. xxxiii+770.

W. A. Nitze and T. A. Jenkins, edd., *Le Haut Livre du Graal* (Perlesvaus), I (Texts, Variants, and Glossary). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932. Cloth. Pp. 537. $6.00.

C. W. Previté-Orton, ed., *T. Livii de Frulovisiis de Ferraria Opera Hactenus Inedita.* Cambridge (Eng.): Cambridge University Press; New York: Macmillan, 1932. Cloth. Pp. xxxvii+396. $8.50.

E. Rosenthal, *Ibn Khalduns Gedanken über den Staat, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Staatslehre.* Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1932. Paper. Pp. viii+118. RM. 6.50.

K. Rost, *Die Historia Pontificum Romanorum aus Zwettl.* Greifswald: Universitätsverlag L. Bamberg, 1932. Paper. Pp. 180.

E. Schulz, ed., *Bibliotheca Medii Aevi Manuscripta, I, Einhundert Handschriften des abendländischen Mittelalters vom 9ten bis zum 10ten Jhdt., II, Einhundert Handschriften des Mittelalters vom 10ten bis zum 15ten Jhdt.* Munich: J. Rosenthal, 1932. Paper. Pp. viii +106+21 plates; vi+128+21 plates.

C. Silva-Tarouca, *Nuovi Studi sulle Antiche Lettere dei Papi,* I. Rome: Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1932. Paper. Pp. 193.

R. Steele and F. M. Delorme, edd., *Opera Hactenus Inedita Rogeri Baconi,* XI: *Quaestiones supra De Plantis, Metaphysica Vetus Aristotelis e Codd. Vetustissimis.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932. Boards. Pp. xxx–335. $7.50.

B. Swain, *Fools and Folly During the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1932. Cloth. Pp. 234. $3.00.

C. L. Vogel, ed., *Psychology and the Franciscan School.* Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1932. Cloth. Pp. 168.

SPECULUM
A JOURNAL OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

THE PEACE OF STRALSUND, 1370

By DAVID K. BJORK

ON MAY 24, 1870, the Hanseatic banner flew once more over the towers of the old town hall of Stralsund, while scholars and laymen assembled in its halls to honor the memory of the German Hansa, the *Dudeschen Hense*. The Hanseatic League had long been dead, except for certain vestiges which scholars have found in the German Confederation. The immediate occasion of the Stralsund gathering of 1870 was the celebration of the five hundredth anniversary of the Peace that the League had forced from the Danish king, Valdemar. It was a scholastic affair, and farseeing German savants were prepared to capitalize the rising tide of national patriotism. The immediate results of the celebration were: the organization of the *Verein für Hansische Geschichte*, the beginning of the publication of the *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, and the announcement of a prize for the best essay written on the subject 'The German Hansa towns and King Valdemar of Denmark.' It is also significant that only a few months afterwards the first volume of *Die Recesse und Andere Akten der Hansetage*, edited by Karl Koppmann, made its appearance although not as a direct result of the celebration, for the work of editing the official documents of the Hanseatic League had been begun years before by Lappenberg and Junghans and had been retarded by their death in 1865.[1]

The Stralsund treaty has received a variety of interpretations from historians. English, German, and some Scandinavian historians have vied with one another in emphasizing the political and economic height reached by the Hansa towns. The theory that Denmark was humiliated is accepted by a number of prominent Scandinavian historians, but with certain qualifications and reservations. The Danes,

[1] Regarding the celebration in Stralsund see 'Nachrichten vom Hansischen Geschichtsverein, erstes stück, Versammlung zu Stralsund, 1870, Mai 24' in *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, Jahrgang 1871 (Leipzig, 1872), pp. iii–xxx. In regard to the publication of the *Hanserecesse* see Georg Waitz, 'Ueber die Ausgabe der Hanserecesse,' *ibid.*, pp. 165–171.

C. E. F. Reinhardt and K. Erslev, and the Swede, S. Tunberg, have noted the widening of the breach between towns and German princes. But the part played by the aristocratic Danish council for peace and restitution has received only incidental mention.[1] The aim of this paper is to show that although the peace of Stralsund is to be regarded as a victory for the German merchants in that they gained undisputed supremacy over the Baltic trade through the control of the Sound, nevertheless the Danish Council was able to secure the retention by Denmark of all her territory, even the suzerainty over Skåne, and the clause by which the cities were given the right to determine the succession to the Danish crown turned out to be of little importance because the cities declined to make use of this prerogative. In view of these facts it would seem that the peace was not so one-sided as it is usually considered.

The Peace of Stralsund marks the end of King Valdemar's Danish-Baltic aggressiveness and the beginning of Hanseatic supremacy in Baltic economic affairs. Valdemar Atterdag fell heir to a title but practically to no kingdom. Denmark had sunk to the lowest depth in its history[2] and all its provinces but one were held by foreign intruders when he became king in 1340. Although only a youth of twenty years, he possessed the energy, the cool calculation, and the

[1] Examples of the attitudes referred to above may be found in Helen Zimmern, *The Hansa Towns*, (New York, 1889) pp, 66–67; E. Gee Nash, *The Hansa* (New York, 1929), pp. 76–77; Dietrich Schäfer, *Die Hansestädte und König Waldemar von Dänemark* (Jena, 1879), p. 511, and *passim;* Johannes Oehler, *Die Beziehungen Deutschlands zu Dänemark von der Kölner Conföderation bis zum Tode Karls IV* (Halle, 1894), p. 33; E. Daenell, *Die Blütezeit der Deutschen Hanse* (Berlin, 1905), I, 42; Harry Denicke, *Die Hansestädte, Dänemark und Norwegen von 1369 bis 1376* (Halle, 1880), *passim;* Ernst Robert Daenell, *Die Kölner Konföderation vom Jahre 1367 und die Schonischen Pfandschaften* (Leipzig, 1894), *passim;* Adolph Hofmeister, 'Rostocks Antheil an den Kämpfen der Hansa gegen Waldemar IV, von Dänemark' in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Rostock* (Rostock, 1895), I, part iv, 19; Max Hoffmann, *Geschichte der Freien und Hansestadt Lübeck* (Lübeck, 1889), p. 120; Theodor Lindner, *Die Deutsche Hanse* (3d ed., Leipzig, 1902), p. 75; Peter Friderich Suhm, *Historie af Danmark* (Copenhagen, 1826), XIII, 647–648; Jørgen Olrik, in the third volume of *Det Danske Folks Historie* (Copenhagen, 1928), pp. 39–40; Kristian Erslev, in the second volume of *Danmarks Riges Historie* (Copenhagen, no date), p. 351, and in his *Dronning Margrethe og Kalmarunionens Grundlæggelse* (Copenhagen, 1882), p. 40; C. E. F. Reinhardt, *Valdemar Atterdag og Hans Kongegjerning* (Copenhagen, 1880), pp. 465–466; Sven Tunberg, in the second volume of *Sveriges Historia till Våra Dagar* (Stockholm, 1926), pp. 280–281; Absalon Taranger, in the third volume, first part, of *Norges Historie* (Kristiana, 1915), p. 129; William Christensen, *Unionskongerne og Hansestæderne* (Copenhagen, 1895), p. 12.

[2] Erslev, *Danmarks Riges Historie*, II, 279 ff. For a short and clear account of the conditions in Denmark under Valdemar see also Erslev, *Dronning Margrethe*, p. 2 ff.

determination to gain a kingdom by any means. With only the revenues of one county in Jutland at his disposal, he made his plans to wrest Denmark from the oppressors, mainly the Counts of Holstein. In twenty years he realized his dreams; Denmark west of the Sound was reunited.[1] Valdemar had become the 'Restorer of Denmark.'[2] These successes, however, only whetted his appetite. He planned new conquests in southern Sweden and in the eastern Baltic region, as well as the establishment of a Danish-Baltic Empire. These schemes proved his undoing.

The year 1360 dawned with fairly peaceful conditions around the Baltic, but these were soon to be disturbed by the restless Valdemar. In May, 1360, at Kalundborg, where the king and the people joined hands in a famous agreement for the pacification of Denmark, Valdemar talked about other lands that 'with the help of God' might be added to the kingdom.[3] Thus he foreshadowed future conquests. Skåne came first. In July of the same year, he invaded this province, and under the pretense of making peace with King Magnus of Sweden he inveigled representatives of the German trading cities to witness the act of retaking Skåne; thus postponing a breach with them.[4] On the seventeenth of the same month he notified them that 'God had helped him'[5] to retake this province from Sweden, which, after all, he said, King Magnus held without right.[6] It was a stroke of diplomacy to invite the representatives of the cities to witness his transactions in Skane since this province was the cornerstone of the trade of the German merchants.[7] He immediately put them at ease by assuring them of his good will.[8]

[1] Valdemar was crowned king in 1340. His numerous wars for the unification of Denmark ended in 1360 when peace was made with the Counts of Holstein. For full particulars of this subject see Erslev, *Danmarks Riges Historie*, II, 279–315; Olrik, pp. 6–30; Suhm, XIII, 3–431; Reinhardt, pp. 18–267; Schäfer, *Die Hansestädte*, particularly pp. 127–179.

[2] Olrik p. 42.

[3] Suhm, XIII, 405–411; Erslev, *Danmarks Riges Historie*, II, 321; Olrik, p. 29.

[4] Carl Gustaf Styffe, *Bidrag till Skandinaviens Historia* (Stockholm, 1859), I, xxvii–xxxi; O. S. Rydberg, *Sverges Traktater med Främmande Makter* (Stockholm, 1883), II, 282–305; Suhm, XIII, 411 ff; Tunberg, pp. 250–253; Erslev, *Danmarks Riges Historie*, II, 321–323; The report of the representatives of the German merchants about this affair is in *Die Recesse und Andere Akten der Hansetage*, I (Leipzig, 1870), n. 233. Skåne had been Swedish territory since 1332, see Carl Gustaf Styffe, *Skandinavien under Unionstiden* (3d ed., Stockholm, 1911), p. 50.

[5] *Codex Diplomaticus Lubecensis, Lübeckisches Urkundenbuch*, III (Lübeck, 1871), n. 364: '. . . dat vs Got to vsem erue, alse to Skone, beholpen heft, . . .' The date here is July 10, 1361. In regard to exact date see Rydberg, *Sv. Tr.*, II, 285, note 1.

[6] *H. R.*, I, n. 232.

[7] Olrik, pp. 30–31.

[8] *L. U. B.*, III, n. 364, in which they are assured freedom to visit his country; n. 365, in

But this assurance of good will was not to be taken seriously, for Valdemar, so skilled in battle, so certain of himself, was making ready to strike a blow against the very cities themselves. This happened with the swiftness of a summer's storm, and it was over before the tidings of it had crossed the sea. In July, 1361, Valdemar with his fleet sailed across the Baltic. Öland with its city, Borgholm, was conquered, and without warning[1] he swept down upon the unsuspecting Gotland. The object of his rapacity was Visby, the proud Hansa town, with its forty-eight towers rising from the city walls, and an immense wealth in gold and silver.[2] Visby was still the center of the Baltic trade, and Visby's conqueror might easily become the master of Baltic commerce, especially if he also controlled the Sound and Skåne. An effort by Gotland's people to stem the tide outside of Visby's walls ended in disaster,[3] and the proud city was forced to open its gates to the conqueror. A month later Valdemar returned to Denmark, having added a new title to his name, King of the Goths, and leaving behind him a ruined Hansa town.[4]

The echo of Valdemar's blow resounded all around the Baltic. The Swedes were sincerely grieved by the turn of events, but the German merchants were enraged beyond measure.[5] A delegation was immediately dispatched from Sweden to Greifswald to effect an alliance against the invader with the German merchants.[6] So eager were the

which they are given privileges; n. 393, an agreement between Valdemar and a group of trading cities regarding trade privileges and the payment of a fee.

[1] Visby is supposed to have been warned by King Magnus of Sweden who seems to have expected an invasion of Gotland; Tunberg, p. 258. See also Lindner, p. 64; Styffe, *Bidrag*, I, xxxii; Oehler, pp. 9–10.

[2] A short and good account of Visby at this time is in Lindner, pp. 64–66; and in Styffe, *Skandinavien*, pp. 428–431.

[3] In the battle, July 27, 1800 are supposed to have fallen; see Suhm, XIII, 443–444; Schäfer, *Die Hansestädte*, pp. 269–270; Lindner, pp. 65–66; Tunberg, p. 260, and others.

[4] For a full account of the invasion of Gotland see Suhm, XIII, 441–447; Schäfer, *Die Hansestädte*, pp. 262–274; Tunberg, pp. 258–260; Olrik, pp. 32–33. Daenell, *Die Kölner Konföderation*, p. 2, thinks that Valdemar had in mind to extend his power to Esthonia and in order to make this possible he conquered Öland and Gotland. See also Reinhardt, p. 292, who thinks that Valdemar desired to reëstablish Danish control over the eastern Baltic region as in the days of Valdemar Sejr. Esthonia belonged to Denmark when Valdemar became King. However, due to the conditions in Esthonia, especially the difficulties connected with its supervision, Valdemar sold this province to the Teutonic Order, 1346, for 19,000 marks; *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch*, II (Reval, 1855), n. 852; cf. Olrik, p. 13; Schäfer, *Die Hansestädte*, p. 142.

[5] The merchants prohibited all trade with Denmark, *H. R.*, I, n. 258; see also Daenell, *Die Kölner Konföderation*, pp. 2–3; Olrik, pp. 33–34; Oehler, pp. 9–10.

[6] This delegation represented King Magnus of Sweden and King Haakon of Norway and

representatives of Sweden to check the advance of Valdemar that they held out promises beyond their instructions.[1] The crafty German merchants took advantage of the situation and formed an alliance with Sweden and Norway.[2] A proud fleet of floating castles under the leadership of Johann Wittenborg, burgomaster of Lübeck, was sent against Denmark. The war was a fiasco. Johann Wittenborg returned with but a part of the fleet to Lübeck, was accused of mismanagement, thrown into prison, and a year later was executed in Lübeck. As usual, the cities dealt severely with those who failed to carry out instructions.[3] In the armistice which followed, Valdemar, who could afford to be generous toward the cities, reassured them of their former privileges.[4]

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were provided with blank documents to which were hung the seals of the two kings. These papers were to be filled out by the representatives of the two kingdoms and of the merchants and then be returned for ratification. These instructions were not carried out and the documents were left with the merchants; see Rydberg, *Sv. Tr.*, II, 313. Valdemar's attempt to establish Danish-Baltic supremacy resulted in opposition from the neighbors; Hofmeister, pp. 4–6; Reinhardt, 292 ff. The political powers of the north at times attempted to make use of the German merchants for their own benefit. Tunberg, p. 271.

[1] Rydberg, *Sv. Tr.*, II, n. 353a; *H. R.*, I, n. 260. This document, dated September 8, 1361, foreshadows the peace of Stralsund. War was to be made by Sweden, Norway, and the cities against Valdemar for the reconquest of provinces seized by him, particularly in southern Sweden. In compensation for their expenditures in this war the cities were promised possession of western Skåne from Helsingborg in the north to Skanör and Falsterbo in the south, these parts were to be held by them until they had been compensated for their expenditures, and a part to be held by them two years beyond that period. Skåne was not to be infeudated to any other master without the consent of the cities, who were to be given the right to acquire it By a special agreement the cities were given renewal of trade privileges with Sweden and Norway; see Rydberg, *Sv. Tr.*, II, n. 354; also Tunberg, p. 260 ff; Schäfer, *Die Hansestädte*, p. 280 ff. In regard to the Swedish representatives going beyond their instructions see Tunberg's clear account, *op. cit.*

[2] *H. R.*, I, nos. 262, 263; Rydberg, *Sv. Tr.*, II, n. 353b. Cf. Schäfer, *Die Hansestädte*, pp. 274–366, for a full account of this war.

[3] Wilhelm Mantels, *Beiträge zur Lübisch-Hansischen Geschichte* (Jena, 1881), pp. 184–194, gives an account of the conditions leading up to the war and the failure of Wittenborg, based principally upon the reports in the chronicles. This account was first printed under the title 'Die hansischen Schiffshauptleute Johann Wittenborg, Brun Warendorp und Tidemann Steen' in *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, Jahrgang 1871, vol. I (Leipzig, 1872), 114–122. Note also the same author *ibid.*, III, (1873), 145–147, See also E. P. Fehling, *Lübeckische Ratslinie von den Anfängen der Stadt bis auf die Gegenwart* (Lübeck, 1925), p. 36; Schäfer, *Die Hansestädte*, pp. 275–365; Lindner, pp. 67–70. Wittenborg sailed to Helsingborg to aid the allies in the war in Skåne. For twelve weeks he besieged the strong castle. Meanwhile Valdemar gathered his fleet, swept down upon the undermanned fleet of the cities (most of the soldiers and sailors were occupied with the siege of Helsingborg) and took twelve 'Koggen' with their provisions. The Swedes failed to put in an appearance due to internal strife between Magnus and his son, Haakon, and between the two and the aristocracy.

While Sweden was torn by civil war[1] and the cities by dissension,[2] Valdemar, feeling quite secure in his position, journeyed to southern Europe and paid his respects to the Pope, the Emperor, and other German lords.[3] On his return to Denmark he made peace with the cities in November, 1365, renewing their privileges.[4] In 1366 , at Aalholm, he shamefully began to plot with the Duke of Mecklenburg further acquisitions of border provinces in southern Sweden, provinces which rightfully belonged to his son-in-law Haakon.[5] The peace was merely a ruse to give him a free hand and more time to extend his domain at the expense of Sweden.[6] The German merchants soon found that Valdemar was not a man on whose word they could rely. Aided this time by his son-in-law, Haakon, king of Norway,[7] he ignored their privileges, seized their ships, and in general harrassed their trade.[8]

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[4] *H. R.*, I, nos. 276, 277, 278; the armistice was to last to January 6, 1364; see also *L. U. B.*, III, n. 440.

[1] The Swedish aristocracy, dissatisfied with King Magnus, whom they believed was secretly plotting with Valdemar, rose in rebellion and elected the son of the Duke of Mecklenburg, Albert, king in Sweden in 1363. He was crowned in February, 1364; see 'Olai Petri Svenska Chronica' in *Scriptores Rerum Svecicarum Medii Aevi*, I, Part 2 (Upsala, 1818), 272. This rebellion led to war between the rightful rulers of Sweden and the rebellious Swedish aristocracy; Tunberg, pp. 269–272. See also *H. R.*, I, nos. 322, 323, two letters, dated March 14, [1364], March 20, [1364], from Count Heinrich and Duke Albert describing the conditions in Sweden and the election of Duke Albert's son as king of Sweden. In 1364–1365 King Albert tried to extend his power into Finland. In the Spring of 1365 he conquered Åbo castle. While he was in Finland King Magnus and King Haakon attempted to retake Sweden. They were defeated by the opposing forces in March, 1365, and King Magnus was taken prisoner. He was held prisoner until 1371; see below. For the conditions in Sweden and Norway under King Magnus see Erslev, *Dronning Margrethe*, pp. 16–32.

[2] Because of difficulties regarding the cost of the war principally between the Wendic cities and the Prussian cities; cf. Schäfer, *Die Hansestädte*, p. 367.

[3] Olrik, p. 36. This was in the Fall of 1363. He was well received by both the Pope and the Emperor.

[4] See Koppmann's notes in *H. R.*, I, 316–317, and documents nos. 365–372.

[5] This is the famous Aalholm agreement dated July 28, 1366; see *Mecklenburgisches Urkundenbuch*, XVI (Schwerin, 1893), nos. 9513, 9514, 9515, 9516, 9517, 9518, 9519, 9520; Rydberg, *Sv. Tr.*, II, n. 374 with an excellent discussion of the subject; and Schäfer, *Die Hansestädte*, p. 413 ff., who depends upon Styffe's account in *Bidrag*, I, xlii and nos. 31, 33. This surprising agreement was probably not known in Sweden (Tunberg). The scheming Duke of Mecklenburg was willing to sacrifice provinces ruled by his son, Albert, for the assurance that his grandson should succeed Valdemar. The provinces would, after all, stay in the family and the good will of Valdemar would have been won.

[6] See Styffe, *op. cit.*

[7] Haakon married Valdemar's ten-year-old daughter in 1363; Olrik, p. 36.

[8] *H. R.*, I, n. 382, dated June 24, 1366, in which the cities request the release of ships

Valdemar had now reached the zenith of his power: Denmark was reunited; Skåne, Gotland, and Rügen—important trading centers—were the outposts of his domain; the German trading cities had been cowed into submission; the lords of north Germany and the King of Sweden feared his intrigues; and the Pope, the Emperor, and the lords of south Germany recognized him as the most powerful prince in northern Europe.[1]

But the fire of opposition to Valdemar was not completely extinguished; its embers still smouldered. So vastly profitable was the Baltic trade that the interest of the German merchants now lay in preventing Valdemar at all costs from enjoying the fruits of his victories. Gravely they debated the alternatives before them[2] and carefully they laid their plans. The result was the organization of the Cologne Confederation. On St Martin's day, 1367, representatives of the various trading towns from the Zuider Zee to the Gulf of Finland met in the Hansa Hall in the old Rhineland city, Cologne, and proclaimed, '. . . because of the many wrongs and injuries that the kings of Denmark and Norway have done and are doing to the rank and file of merchants we declare ourselves their enemies and bind ourselves to help one another . . .'[3] The antagonism to Valdemar caused

seized; *L. U. B.*, III, n. 596, dated October 22, 1366, in which Lübeck requests of Haakon that seized goods be returned; *H. R.*, I, n. 410, dated [August 22, 1367], ennumerating the complaints against Valdemar. At a meeting of the merchants at Rostock, December 16, 1366, the complaints against Norway and Denmark were reviewed and the Prussian cities advocated war against Valdemar and Haakon as the only remedy for the situation but the Wendic cities cautioned against such drastic action; *H. R.*, I, n. 388. The Wendic cities, which had carried the brunt of the burden in the first war, felt that negotiations might be more effective. Reinhardt, p. 397 ff., feels that the faults were not only on one side since the cities in many respects also were to be blamed.

[1] Even in internal affairs in Denmark Valdemar had reached the position of an absolutist, having almost entirely set aside the Royal Council; Olrik, p. 38; Erslev, *Dronning Margrethe*, pp. 8–16.

[2] That is, to make war or to negotiate. At Elbing, July 11, 1367, the Prussian and the Netherland cities joined hands against Valdemar and Haakon. The object of this alliance was to prohibit trade with Denmark and Norway. A date was also set for a new meeting in regard to these affairs to be held November 11, 1367, in Cologne; see *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, IV (Halle, 1896), n. 215; *H. R.*, I, nos. 400, §3, 402, §1. The Wendic cities had been approached to join this alliance, but partly because of their nearness to Denmark and partly because of their former experience with Valdemar they refused at least for the time being. They held out for negotiations as before. In an attempt to negotiate with Valdemar the Wendic cities requested him to pay them 150,000 marks in compensation for damages to them in the first war and to their trade after the war; *H. R.*, I, n. 421, §13. Reinhardt, p. 415, thinks them shortsighted since they thought Valdemar would listen to such demands.

[3] '. . . dat wy umme mangherleye unrecht unde schaden, dat de koninghe van Dene-

by his inconsiderate treatment of the merchants and their rights, his disregard of treaties, and his breaking of promises, was thus fanned into a powerful flame of opposition.[1]

The Cologne Confederation was an alliance of merchants. True enough, they represented strongly fortified centers and an amazing amount of wealth, and could fit out a fleet strong enough to make

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marken unde van Norweghen dôt unde ghedaan hebben dem ghemenen kopmanne, ere vyende willen werden unde malk dem anderen truweliken helpen . . .,' *H. R.*, I, n. 413. The Recess of this meeting has not been found. This account is from a report by the Lübeck notary, see *ibid.*, n. 412, and Koppmann's notes in *ibid.*, page 372. All sea towns and the inland trading centers were invited to join the Confederation. The inland trading towns were not particularly interested in joining the alliance. Dortmund's answer, that she was not interested in a sea war, is characteristic of the others; see *H. R.*, I, nos. 418, 430, 510, §11.5; VIII, n. 858. In regard to the cost of the war a special tax or duty, called *Pfundzoll*, was levied upon ships and cargo. This tax was of particular importance and was discussed pro and con at meeting after meeting. A similar tax was levied in the first war against Denmark and caused a great deal of difficulties between the cities. See the excellent discussion of this second Hansa *Pfundzoll* by Mantels in his *Beiträge zur Lübisch-Hansischen Geschichte*, pp. 233–286. In regard to the execution of this agreement, drawn up at Cologne, see *H. R.*, I, nos. 420, 421.

[1] The Cologne Confederation gave birth to the Hanseatic League, at first directed against Valdemar and Haakon but later developed into a definite Baltic power as the history of the League clearly shows. The Confederation was the result of earlier tendencies. The first step in the development of the Hanseatic League was the *hansa*, which was a guild for the protective purposes of merchants in foreign ports coming from the same locality; see Koppmann's Introduction to the first volume of the *H. R.* An embarrassing situation confronted merchants in foreign ports because they had no rights protecting them in the countries they visited. While the German merchants enjoyed protection at home through charters and similar documents they were without protection abroad. This led them to request privileges from the governments in the countries they visited. As early as the year 1000 the interests of the merchants from Cologne were safeguarded in London by a protective legal statute which reads: 'Et homines imperatoris, qui veniebant in navibus suis, bonarum legum digni tenebantur, sicut et nos.' See Lappenberg, *Urkundl. Gesch. des hans. Stahlhofes zu London*, Part II. n. 1, quoted by Koppmann in *H. R.*, I, xxvi. Such privileges became a bond uniting them into a guild or *hansa* in foreign ports; Hans Hildebrand, *Sveriges Medeltid*, I, (Stockholm, 1884), 638–639; and Koppmann's Introduction to volume I of *H. R.* The earliest *hansa* on record was the Steelyard in London. The second step in the formation of the Hanseatic League was the federation of the German cities in the homeland. The economic life of northern Germany developed a group consciousness according to geographical divisions and interests. In 1347 three groups were recognized as leaders of other groups and individual cities. These were; the Wendic and Saxon cities under the leadership of Lübeck, the Westphalian and Prussian cities, and the Gotland-Livonian cities under the leadership of Visby; see *H. R.*, I, n. 143 §1, which reads: 'Int erste es to wetene, dat die ghemenen cooplude vorseghet sint ghedelet in dre deel; dat es to verstane; de van Lubeke ende de Wendeschen stede ende die Sassen ende dat dar to behort in en derdendeel; ende die van Westfalen ende de van Prucen ende dat daer toe behort int ander; ende de van Gotlande ende van Lyflande ende van Sweden ende dat dar to behort int derde.' Northern European trade was divided geographically into two main divisions, the *Westsea*, i.e., the North Sea, trade, and the *Eastsea*, i.e., the Baltic sea trade., The city that could unite these two regions would naturally become the leader of all trading

war on any power in the north. But the Baltic shores were tenanted by many strong barons who frequently changed allegiance, signing peace with their enemies and fighting with their friends: — a lusty company of warriors not to be depended upon but always to be considered whenever wars seemed imminent. In order to forestall a coalition between them and the Danish king, the Wendic cities, who clearly realized the seriousness of the situation, advocated at Cologne that the Counts of Holstein, the Duke of Mecklenburg and his sons,[1] and the dissatisfied Jutland lords be invited to join the merchants against Valdemar and Haakon.[2] The other cities agreed to this proposition providing the Wendic cities would assume all responsibility for such an alliance.[3]

So general was the antagonism to Valdemar that the cities encountered no difficulties in enlisting the support of the barons.[4] The

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cities in the North. This position Lübeck was destined to assume. In 1241 and 1255 Lübeck, the leader of the Wendic cities, and Hamburg, the leader of the Saxon cities, reached agreements beneficial to both and joined hands against oppressive forces; see *H. R.*, I, xxxii. A few years later, in 1285, Zwollen and Kampen recognized Lübeck as the leader of all cities; see *L. U. B.*, I (1843), nos. 485, 486: 'quasi capud et principium omnium nostrum.' At the same time Lübeck rivaled Cologne since she also had a *hansa* in London, see Hildebrand, I, 638–640. This *hansa* was established as early as 1267; see Koppmann's Introduction to volume I of *H. R.* When Visby was conquered by Valdemar in 1361 Lübeck became the undisputed leader of the German trading towns. The third step in the establishment of the Hanseatic League was the federation of all German trading cities and groups of cities for mutual benefit at home and abroad. The center of trading policies now changed from foreign offices, *kontors*, to Hansa councils, meeting from time to time in one or another of the many Hansa cities. Internally the Hansa became an exclusive organization, a sort of trade union; externally this organization acted as a federation with a common policy for all; see Taranger, p. 122; Hildebrand, I, 639. Thus the town *hansas* were superseded by a league of cities, or we may say that the Hanseatic League was a federation of *hansas* and cities operating from the home basis instead of from the foreign ports. The first real step towards the establishment of this organization was the Cologne Confederation in 1367. See *H. R.*, I. 372 ff. Daenell, *Die Blütezeit*, I, 40, states that this confederation was an organization effecting compromises between the Wendic, Prussian and Netherland city groups, but that underneath lay common interests and the need of common protection, and that during the war against Valdemar it became more and more apparent that a merchant policy was needed and that this was realized by the establishment of a central office for all merchants speaking in the name of all and for the good of all. Christensen, pp. 2–10, states that the Cologne Confederation was of considerable importance to the internal development of the League and created more intimate relations between its members. In regard to the number of cities which joined the Confederation see Schäfer, *Die Hansestädte*, pp. 447–451, and notes. See also note 2, page 22, below.

[1] Including also King Albert of Sweden.

[2] *H. R.*, I, n. 413.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, n. 479, §26.

[4] Oehler, pp. 15–16; Tunberg, pp. 277–278. The King of Sweden had lost Skåne, Gotland

Duke of Mecklenburg, the Counts of Holstein and some of the Jutland lords seized eagerly upon this invitation.[1] They met on January 25, 1368, in Wismar and enthusiastically agreed on the complete dismemberment of Denmark.[2] On February 2 of the same year, the cities record the fact that the barons had promised to aid them in the war.[3] Valdemar was now completely isolated; all the Hansa cities from Bruges to Novgorod, the king of Sweden, the Duke of Mecklenburg, the Counts of Holstein, and the rebellious barons in Jutland constituted a powerful coalition against him and Haakon.

But what might be the attitude of other powers in Europe? The crafty merchants did not overlook a possible interference from the outside. In letters to the Pope, the Emperor, the kings of England and Poland, the south German lords, and Flanders they pleaded their cause against the 'Tyrant and the Pirate' in well stated words, expressing the hope that these powers would not aid him but remain neutral.[4]

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and other provinces, the Duke of Mecklenburg was left with an empty bag after the Aalholm agreement, the Counts of Holstein were dissatisfied with Valdemar's policies in South Jutland, and the subdued Jutland lords were anxious to regain what they had lost when Valdemar united Denmark.

[1] Schäfer's attitude towards this alliance is set forth in the following statements: 'Unabhängig von der Verbindung der Städte hatten auch eine Anzahl Fürsten und Herren sich zu einem Bunde gegen Waldemar vereinigt.' in *Die Hansestädte*, p. 440, and 'Und mit diesen Gegnern vereinigte sich nun noch die für den Kampf mit dem dänischen Inselreiche entscheidende Macht der geld- und flottenstarken Städte,' *ibid.*, p. 443. This would indicate that the alliance between the barons was made before the invitation from the cities reached them.

[2] Rydberg, *Sv. Tr.*, II, n. 376a: '. . . so schal allent dat men in Schonen be[k]rechtighede, vnde in allem deme dat tuschen Schonen vnde Sweden ligt, vnde Gothlande mit alle den oelanden, de tho allen denen landen høren, koning Albert van Sweden hebben, vnd allent dat men in Sehlandt be[k]rechtighet, vnde in Møne vnde Valstere, mit allen den oelanden, de tho denne lande høren, de hertoghe van Mekelenborgh hebben, vnde wat men in Jutlande, in Vune, in Langelande bekrechtighet, dat schølen mid allen den oelanden, de tho den landen høren, de greuen Hinrike vnde Claws van Holsten hebben, . . .'; see also *ibid.*, n. 376; and *M. U. B.*, XVI, n. 9731. Old grievances were forgotten for the moment, and all concentrated upon the destruction of Valdemar.

[3] *H. R.*, I, n. 427, §1: 'Primo ob violenciam et injuriam eis et communi mercatori per reges Dacie et Norwegie illatum inierunt et fecerunt confederacionem contra dictos reges cum dominis Alberto rege Swecie, Alberto duci Magnopolensi, Hinrico et Magno suis filiis, Hinrico et Nicolao comitibus Holtzacie et cum Jutis ex parte istarum civitatum cum eis ad duos annos, sed ex parte civitatum Pruscie, Campen, Hollandie, et Zeelandie ad unum duraturam.' Also *ibid.*, n. 435; *L. U. B.*, III, n. 662; and Rydberg, *Sv. Tr.*, II, n. 377b, cf. Suhm, XIII, 605 ff.

[4] *L. U. B.*, III, n. 637; and *H. R.*, I, n. 431, dated February 2, 1368, written to the king of England, the king of Poland, and 27 worldly and ecclesiastical lords, in which the cities complained bitterly about the ruthless treatment they had endured at the hands of Valdemar,

Thus the stage was set for the second merchants' war against Valdemar. In February, 1368, he was notified of the situation.[1] Confronted by conditions which taxed his ingenuity to the uttermost, what was his attitude? At first, according to legend, he derisively mocked the 'seventy-seven geese who cackled,'[2] but in a more serious frame of mind he decided to leave Denmark in order to attempt to enlist in his cause some of his friends in Germany.[3] This action baffled

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hoping that no one would see fit to aid him, but if possible to support them by at least remaining neutral. *L. U. B.*, III, nos. 648, 649, dated March 12, 1368, written to the Pope and the Emperor. In the letter to the Pope the 'peaceful' merchants who were oppressed by a 'Tyrant' hoped for his prayers, while they passed lightly over the fact that they stood ready to seek their own justification by means of a powerful alliance against Valdemar. In the letter to the Emperor, who recently had asked Lübeck to send support for his invasion of Italy, the merchants thanked him for the great honor of being asked to support this undertaking, but were sorry that they were not in a position to do so since they were occupied with the protection of the Empire in the north against King Valdemar who sought to separate Lübeck from the Empire. They also hoped that he would not be displeased that they had decided to help themselves against Valdemar since the Emperor was too far away to render any protection to this remote part of the Empire.

[1] *L. U. B.*, III, n. 638, dated February 5, 1368. However, the actual declaration must have come later since at the meeting of the Hansa in Lübeck, December 8, 1367, it was decided that the ratification of the agreement at Cologne by the individual towns should be sent to Rostock by January 1, 1368, and that all renunciations of allegiance to the king of Denmark should be sent to Lübeck by March 19, 1368. In the meantime the cities would be notified as to the decisions of the barons, and word would be sent to the merchants at Bergen to leave by March 1, 1368; see Koppmann's notes in *H. R.*, I, 379, and n. 420. Also Taranger, p. 124, who states that the declaration of war was not made until March, 1368.

[2] '. . . Seeuen und Seuentigh Hensen, hefft seeuen und seuentigh gensen, wo my de Gensen nich en bitten, na de henssen frage ick nich en Schitten.' in 'Incerti Auctoris Chronicon Danicum ab Anno 1268 ad Annum 1523' in *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum Medii Aevi*, VI (Hauniae, 1786), 228. In regard to the number of cities which actually joined the Confederation see *H. R.*, I, n. 413, where four groups of cities are mentioned namely, the Wendic with 11 cities, the Prussian with 6, the Livonian with 4, and the Netherland with 16, a total of 37 cities. Provision was made for others which would care to join. It is difficult to assertain the exact number which actually belonged to the League at one time or another. The largest number recorded by name is 64 in a document in *L. U. B.*, VIII, n. 437. In *H. R.*, part II, vol. V, n. 263, §9, dated August, 1462, 77 are mentioned, but not by name. In *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, vol. I (1871), xxxi, there is a register of the Hansa cities numbering 96, and giving the name of each one. Schäfer, *Die Hansestädte*, pp. 447–448, has reached the conclusion that 57 cities were actually included; see also *ibid.*, pp. 449–451, and notes.

[3] 'Annales Danici ab Anno 1316 ad Annum 1389' in *S. R. D.*, VI, 533: 'Rex Waldemarus fugit de regno suo ad Alamanniam & perdidit ibi infinitam pecuniam per proditionem Marchionis.' Schäfer, Denicke, Daenell, Oehler, Erslev, Olrik, Tunberg, Taranger, and Reinhardt hold that Valdemar thought it was best for Denmark to remove his unpopular person and leave the settlements to the Danish Council while he attempted to enlist foreign aid and strike the allies in the rear. Reinhardt, p. 429, goes so far as to say that Denmark ought to be grateful to Valdemar for this action since, no doubt, a better peace was reached without his

his opponents and caused a great deal of uneasiness amongst them,[1] especially since Valdemar took with him large sums of money and more was forwarded to him from Denmark. In spite, however, of his money and his many friends, he had no marked success. Not even the Emperor supported him directly.[2] As for Denmark, he left her in the hands of Henning von Podebusk as regent, who together with the royal council had to assume all the responsibilities of war and peace.[3]

The war began with great hopes and popular enthusiasm on the part of the allies. Careful plans had been made to attack simultaneously Norway, Skåne, and Denmark. To that end the Netherlands fleet had received instructions to harrass the coast of Norway from Göta Elf to Bergen. So thoroughly were these instructions carried out that the damage inflicted upon Norway was later estimated by Haakon to amount to 50,000 Marks.[4] The main fleet, under the command of Brun Warendorp, burgomaster of Lübeck,[5] assembled in the channel at Gellen[6] between the ninth and sixteenth of April and sailed to Copenhagen. On June 16,[7] that city was taken and destroyed and its castle was occupied by the Hansa as a strategic point for

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presence, but then Reinhardt always tried to find an excuse for all doubtful actions of Valdemar. See Erslev's review of Reinhardt's book in *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 5 Raekke, III (1881–82), 285–307. Erslev thinks that Reinhardt idolized Valdemar unduly, going beyond the proper limits of a historian in that respect, and whitewashed every questionable action of his, while he found fault with Valdemar's opponents; see also Erslev *ibid.*, pp. 565–566.

[1] *H. R.*, I, n. 469, §28; and n. 475.

[2] *Ibid.*, n. 476, and n. 479, §§1, 12. Also *ibid.*, p. 466, regarding allies. Reinhardt, pp. 448–459, has an account of Valdemar's wanderings abroad.

[3] Olrik, p. 38.

[4] Erslev, *Danmarks Riges Historie*, II, 349; Taranger, pp. 126–128. The German merchants of Bergen had been notified to leave by May 1. They had to go in haste since the ship carrying the tidings just barely reached Bergen before the Netherlands fleet. These merchants booked passage on English and Flanders ships which cost them 4500 marks. Their stores, ships, and outstanding money were confiscated by King Haakon, and the English took over the staple trade in Bergen, which caused an additional loss to the merchants.

[5] Mantels, *Beiträge*, pp. 194–207; Fehling, *Lübeckische Ratslinie*, pp. 42–43.

[6] At the southern point of the Island Hiddensöe, formed between northern Pomerania and Rügen. The fleet was composed of seventeen large and twenty small ships, with about 2000 troops, Schäfer, *Die Hansestädte*, p. 476. This was really a smaller force than in the first war against Valdemar.

[7] That June 16 was the date when Copenhagen was captured has been established by Karl Koppmann in his article 'Die Einnahme Kopenhagens durch die Hansestädte. 1368 Juni 16' in *Festgabe für Wilhelm Crecelius zur Feier der Fünfundzwanzigjährigen Lehrthätigkeit in Elberfeld* (Elberfeld, 1881), pp. 198–204. Schäfer's date for the capture of Copenhagen is May 2, in *Die Hansestädte*, pp. 476–477; this date is accepted by Hofmeister, p. 18, and by most authorities on this subject.

further operations.[1] Meanwhile, the Swedish troops under King Albert invaded Skåne, meeting with marked success. Indeed, so successful was he that he soon was recognized as 'Lord of Skåne.'[2] Later, with the aid of the Hansa fleet, he captured the coast towns, except Helsingborg. The rebellious Jutland lords and the Counts of Holstein subdued Jutland and proclaimed themselves masters of the peninsula. Some of the islands, e.g., Falster and Laaland, presently changed masters. Helsingborg, the strategic point on the Sound, held out for another year; not until September, 1369, did the Hansa banners fly from her battlements.[3]

The fortunes of war, indeed, smiled upon the allies. The complete blockade and the destruction caused by the Netherlands fleet in Norway forced Haakon already in the summer of 1368 to negotiate for an armistice.[4] A year later, and again in 1370, attempts were made to turn this truce into a definite peace, but so numerous were the difficulties created by the complaints of both the Norwegian and the Hansa merchants that the result was an agreement to renew the armistice until St John's day, 1371, provided a definite peace was not concluded in the meantime.[5] Since the Hansa, however, by agreeing

[1] *H. R.*, I, n. 479, §10.

[2] Albert issued several important documents from Skåne. One of these, dated July 25, 1368, is the ratification of the alliance which his father had made for him with the Hansa; Rydberg, *Sv. Tr.*, II, n. 377b. Albert had given his father, the Duke of Mecklenburg, November 16, 1367, full power to make this alliance; *ibid.*, p. 375. However, his seal was not attached to the official document of January 25, 1368. Another of these documents issued by Albert from Skåne, dated July 25, 1368, grants full trading privileges to the German merchants; *ibid.*, n. 378. In both of these Albert calls himself Lord of Skåne: 'Wy Albert van Ghodes gnaden der Sweden vnde der Ghoten koninch vnde here des landes tho Schone, . . .' See also Styffe, *Bidrag*, I, xlvii; *M. U. B.*, XVI, n. 9808; *L. U. B.*, III, n. 662. In regard to the privileges granted to the merchants see *H. R.*, I, nos. 453–466. The Hansa soon forgot that Albert was master of Skåne.

[3] In regard to giving up Helsingborg by September 8, 1369, see *M. U. B.*, XVI, n. 9947, dated at Helsingborg July 21, 1369. Regarding the campaigns in the war see Schäfer, *Die Hansestädte*, pp. 437–511.

[4] *H. R.*, I, n. 475, dated August 10, 1368, records that the armistice began June 24, the same year. For the relations between the Hansa and Norway regarding peace, armistice, and complaints see Denicke, pp. 9, 127, 141–144, 185–192, 226 ff.

[5] The agreement between the Hansa and King Haakon included the reopening of trade with Norway. The Hansa merchants promised to observe the Norwegian laws. The principal reasons why Haakon did not conclude a definite peace were the financial situation in Norway and the question of the succession to the Danish throne. On May 19, 1369, King Haakon and the Norwegian Council authorized their representatives to make arrangements for a renewal of the armistice; *H. R.*, I, n. 492. August 3, 1369, the Norwegian representatives reported that the truce would last until June 24, 1370; *ibid.*, n. 503. The same year the armistice was re-

to the armistice, had been given monopolistic trade privileges in Norway, and since the difficulties between the Hansa and Norway regarding compensations for damages suffered during the war could not be settled, no peace was definitely arranged between them until at Kalundborg in 1376.

Faced by swiftly approaching disaster and troubled by visions of complete annihilation the Danish council under Henning von Podebusk sued for peace.[1] The Danes were weary of the war and anxious for future tranquillity and restitution. At the same time, the Hansa was desirous of being reimbursed for her expenditures and to be assured of unmolested monopoly of trade through the Sound and in Skåne. On November 30, 1369, at a meeting in Stralsund, Henning von Podebusk and twenty-five knights and squires from Denmark presented to the representatives of the league a proposition for peace.[2] It is significant that the negotiations were conducted with the Hansa only, and not with the entire group of allies opposing Denmark in the war. The reason for this was undoubtedly the conviction of the Danish council that Denmark would fare better if she entrusted her future to the merchants alone.[3] Certainly the merchants

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newed until June 24, 1371; *ibid.*, nos. 505–506. In the meantime a meeting was held at Baahus, in 1370, at which the armistice was extended for five years; *M. U. B.*, XVI, n. 10076; *H. R.*, II (1872), n. 5. The ratification of this by the cities is in *H. R.*, II, n. 6; King Haakon's report *ibid.*, n. 7, also printed in *L. E. K. U. B.*, III (1857), n. 1073. At the Hansa meeting, May 25, 1371, the armistice with Norway was discussed and plans made for observing it; *H. R.*, II, n. 11. In regard to the complaints by the Norwegian merchants and the king as well as by the Hansa see *ibid.*, nos. 1, 2, 3, 4; and Rydberg, *Sv. Tr.*, II, 403–423. At Tönsberg, September 30, 1372, it was again agreed that the armistice should be continued; *L. U. B.*, IV (1873), n. 179. The Hansa representatives report on these agreements, *H. R.*, II, nos. 45, 46, 47.

[1] Added to the disasters at home disturbing news reached Denmark about Valdemar's affairs abroad. Reinhardt, p. 456, feels that the following reasons prompted the Danes to seek peace: the ill success of Valdemar abroad, rumors of abdication plans by the king, the sufferings in Denmark, the folly of continuing the war against overwhelming odds, and the news that Norway had agreed to an armistice with the Hansa.

[2] This document was first printed by Suhm, XIII, 857–863, in 1826; then in the *L. E. K. U. B.*, III, n. 1064, in 1857; and in *H. R.*, I, n. 513, in 1870. A part of this document is also in *M. U. B.*, XVI, n. 9992.

[3] Already at a meeting in Stralsund, October 6, 1368, the merchants had agreed that if an attempt was made by Denmark to negotiate for peace they would be willing to listen; *H. R.*, I, n. 479. On January 27, 1369, the Danes attempted through the arbitration of Duke Eric of Saxony to learn the attitude of the allies regarding peace; *L. U. B.*, III, n. 678; *H. R.*, I, n. 488. The Hansa at the meeting in Lübeck, March 11, 1369, considered the possibility of arbitration; *H. R.*, I, n. 489, §§5, 12. Representatives were to be brought from Denmark to meet Valdemar at Demmin in Pomerania on April 8, and to make preliminary arrangements. This meeting was postponed. On July 13, Danish representatives were in Lübeck and it was agreed

did not desire the annihilation of Denmark, since this would materially damage their own status in the Baltic.[1] They had agreed with their allies to make no separate peace,[2] but realizing the plight of Denmark and the designs of the selfish barons, the merchants sympathetically began the negotiations. By treating only with the League, the Danish council thus sowed dissension among the allies. The final settlement for peace was not reached until May 24, 1370, since the Hansa representatives desired, at least for appearance's sake, to consult the allies.[3] This was probably only a subterfuge on their part, for the Duke of Mecklenburg later bitterly complained that he had not been consulted.[4] The final draft of the treaty incorporated word for word the proposition of the Danish council.[5]

The terms of the treaty of Stralsund were simple — each side keeping, in effect, that which it held at the beginning of the war.[6] Two principal documents were drafted concerning the settlements, both couched in the language of the Danish council and signed by the

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that trade on Skåne should be open to both Danish and Hansa merchants; *M. U. B.*, XVI, n. 9943; *H. R.*, I, n. 495. Further arrangements would be made at a meeting to be held August 19 in Lübeck. In the meantime the siege of Helsingborg should continue and when it was captured the castle of Copenhagen would be destroyed; *ibid.* On July 21, 1369, the commander of Helsingborg promised to give up the castle by September 8, unless assistance had reached him before that time; *ibid.*, n. 497. The castle of Copenhagen was actually destroyed in the summer of 1369; *ibid.*, II, n. 48, §4; Suhm, XIV (1828), 493. There seems to have been no meeting of the Hansa on August 19; *H. R.*, I, 451–464, i.e., between the meeting in Lübeck, July 13, and the meeting in Stralsund, October 21.

[1] The cities feared the rise of the Mecklenburg dynasty. A divided north would be better for them.

[2] *H. R.*, I, n. 489, dated March 11, 1369. At this meeting the alliance was renewed and the Duke of Mecklenburg promised, both for himself and for his son Albert, king of Sweden, to render further assistance in the war. Preparations for the continuation of the war were going on as late as October 21, 1369; *M. U. B.*, XVI, n. 9974.

[3] '. . . dat de ratmanne der sůlven stede, de tho deme daghe weren thome Sunde, nenerleye sunderlike daghe noch vrede noch vorword noch sŏne annamen wolden, eer see ghesprŏken hebben mit den heren unde mit steden, de ere hůlpere synt unde nu nicht yeghenwordich weren.' in *H. U. B.*, IV, n. 325, dated at Stralsund, November 30, 1369. See also the notes in *L. E. K. U. B.*, III, Register n. 1263; and *H. R.*, I, n. 516.

[4] *H. R.*, II, n. 48. The answer of the Hansa to this complaint n. 49.

[5] *H. R.*, I, nos. 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530. These documents were signed by Henning von Podebusk, the Archbishop of Lund, the Bishops of Roskilde and Odense and 27 Knights and Squires of Denmark. Later, on the request of the Hansa, 28 more names were added. The Hansa discussed the peace terms at the meeting in Stralsund, February 25, 1370; *ibid.*, n. 522.

[6] Denicke, p. 83, states that the peace, as far as economic settlements are concerned, did little but reaffirm the old privileges, while Erslev, *Dronning Margrethe*, pp. 40–41, thinks that the position of the merchants was improved. Oehler, p. 33, agrees with Erslev.

Danish representatives.[1] For the sake of convenience we may group the settlements under two main headings; the commercial agreements, closely associated with the question of compensation for the expenses incurred by the Hansa in the war; and the political clauses, dealing particularly with the question of the succession to the Danish throne. The main acquisitions made by the Hansa no doubt were derived from the commercial agreements since she thereby reached a monopolistic position in Baltic commerce. In the political agreements, which were only put into practice indirectly, the Hansa aimed to safeguard her commercial position by preventing the establishment of a combination of political powers strong enough to obstruct this.[2] Regarded then in its commercial aspects the treaty marks the realization of certain designs of the German merchants—designs which they had nourished since 1361.[3] More specifically, however, these agreements were practically merely the repetition of the privileges granted to the Hansa, July 25, 1368, by King Albert of Sweden.[4]

The commercial provisions of the treaty of Stralsund were: First, thirty-seven Hansa towns, listed by names, and all other cities associated with the League were assured unmolested freedom to trade in Denmark and Skåne on the payment of certain fixed duties.[5]

[1] The first *H. R.*, I, nos. 513, 523, dated November 30, 1369, and May 24, 1370, dealing with the economic settlements; and the second *L. E. K. U. B.*, III, n. 1062 and *H. R.*, I, n. 524, dated November 30, 1369, and May 24, 1370, dealing with compensations and securities.

[2] Oehler, *op. cit.*, p. 33, states that the advantages gained by the Hansa were: first, a guarantee of undisturbed trade; second, moral esteem won from friend and enemy; and third, political supremacy in the north. The first two will, no doubt, stand the test of criticism but it is doubtful whether the third will, in the light of historical events which developed later. The best detailed account of the Peace of Stralsund is in Denicke, chapter II. The keynote of his treatment is set forth in pages 117–119 where he states that the Hansa was an advocate of German interests, German economic affairs, and German nationality, against a malicious neighbor. He glorifies the Hansa and its leaders, and states, pp. 120–121, that the treaty marks the highest point in the development of the Hanseatic League. He also notes the break between the cities and the lords, p. 119; and emphasizes that the new relations between the cities, i.e., a closer union, was one of the chief results of the war against Valdemar, p. 121.

[3] Daenell, *Die Blütezeit*, I, 42; Tunberg, p. 280.

[4] Rydberg, *Sv. Tr.*, II, n. 378. King Albert's patent of privileges and the treaty of Stralsund are almost word for word the same, i.e., in regard to economic settlements.

[5] *H. R.*, I, nos. 513, 523: 'The deme ersten, dat alle borghere coplůde unde ere ghesynde unde de yn erem rechte syn, de nu syn und noch thokomende syn, møghen søken dat ryke tho Denemarken unde dat land tho Schone yn allen enden unde yeghenen, unde dat se moghen to lande unde tho watere varen unde keren yn allen yeghenen mit erem ghude unde copenschop ane yenerleye hinder tho brukende wes se hebben, unde ere kopenschop tho øvende, doch eren rechten tollen tho ghevende, wor se des plichtich syn, . . .'

With one masterful stroke the Hansa aimed to establish herself as the mistress of Baltic trade 'for eternal time,'[1] and in the following century she leans upon this settlement as perpetual whenever her privileges are being tampered with by the Scandinavian peoples.[2] Second, the abolition of *Strandrecht*. The most barbarous drawback to coastal trade was the jurisdiction over stranded goods held by rulers of countries or local authorities. It was bad enough to suffer shipwreck and to lose part of the cargo or to have that which was left damaged by water, but it was worse still to lose the right to whatever was salvaged. Hence it was stipulated that if merchants suffered shipwreck they should have the right to salvage their own goods, with hired help if necessary,[3] and if shipwrecked goods without a known owner drifted ashore they should be stored in the nearest church to be claimed within a year and a day[4] by the rightful owner or his heirs, provided they could prove ownership. The only demand which those who had salvaged the goods might present was that an 'honest' sum of money be paid as a reward.[5]

Third, extensive privileges in connection with the trade in Skåne. The importance of Skåne in Baltic trade hinged almost entirely on the herring fisheries.[6] Here thousands of boats and tens of thousands of fishermen,[7] predominantly German, assembled between July 25

[1] '. . . tho ewighen tiden.' *ibid.*; this is probably only a common term used much at the time, but it occurs so frequently in the peace documents that one can not help feeling that the merchants really hoped it would be taken seriously.

[2] *H. R.*, Part II, vol. v, nos. 243, §3, 244. In the first one of these the merchants refer to the privileges granted by King Albert of Sweden, July 25, 1365. See also Schäfer, *Das Buch des Lübeckischen Vogts auf Schonen* (2nd. ed., Lübeck, 1927), pp. xxxv and ff.

[3] *H. R.*, I, nos. 513, 523. This very thing was provided for in the Skåne law, i.e., if a man could salvage his goods in time of shipwreck they would remain his property and not that of the authorities. On the other hand the Skåne law stated that if a man was unable to salvage his own goods then the jurisdiction over them would go to the king or his representatives. See Hildebrand, I, 600–601.

[4] '. . . jare unde daghe . . . '; *H. R.*, I, nos. 513, 523.

[5] '. . . den arbeydesluden redelik lon.' *Idem.* For a good account of general conditions, see Hildebrand, I, 600–605. Taranger, p. 151, feels that the Hansa merchants represented the cultural and humanitarian interests of their time because of their demands for the abolition of the jurisdiction over stranded goods and the deliverance of salvaged goods to the rightful owner or his heirs.

[6] There were other places in the Baltic where the herring spawned, as for example outside Öland and Bornholm; see Hildebrand, I, 664–666.

[7] About the year 1500 at one time there were 37,500 men and 7,515 boats at Skanör and Falsterbo; *ibid.*, p. 671. J. Stefansson, *Denmark and Sweden* (New York, 1917), p. 35, quotes an account that 40,000 boats and 300,000 fishermen were assembled here at one time to catch fish. This is without doubt a gross exaggeration.

and November 11[1] to fish and to trade. The southwestern promontory of Skåne, at other times so lifeless, was transformed overnight into a hustling place of commotion, a veritable Babel of noise and confusion. Each city, or group of cities, had its own strip of land, *vitte*, set aside for its merchants in which the animated and colorful daily activities were governed by numerous regulations.[2] In the peace of Stralsund the German merchants naturally safeguarded their own interests in the Skåne fisheries and trade. Contrary to previous arrangements the merchants now could unload from ship to ship,[3] they were permitted to use their own smacks, barges, and wagons,[4] and were freed from dues on the loading of the herring except for a nominal fee to be paid for each ship on leaving.[5] In regard to land trade, they were given definite permission not only to sell cloth or fabrics wholesale but also by the yard in their stores on the payment of a nominal fee for each store.[6] The treaty also embraces minor agreements regarding fishing and fisheries, establishes a definite system of dues and tolls, and confirms patents already granted

[1] These are the terminal dates given by Hildebrand, I, 669. Olrik, pp. 30–31, states that the German merchants assembled here from August 24 to October 9. The fishing began either on August 10, or 15, or 24, and ended about October 9, but there was much work remaining after this last date; see Hildebrand, I, 671.

[2] Boundaries were marked out by posts or crosses of wood marked with the coat of arms of the cities. No stranger could settle in a *vitte* without the permission of the owner; Hildebrand, I, 662–674, who gives an interesting account of this whole subject. Cf. Styffe, *Skandinavien*, pp. 50–53.

[3] 'Vortmer magh en jewelk kopman schepen bord over bord, ut eneme schepe yn dat andere, . . . '; *H. R.*, I, nos. 513, 523. This probably has to do with goods brought from foreign ports and which were bartered on land. Cf. Styffe, *Skandinavien*, p. 58.

[4] ' . . . moghen de vorscreven borghere unde coplude menliken hebben eghene schuten unde visschere dar tho Schone, unde møghen der bruken unde visschen na erem willem, . . . ' and ' . . . eghene waghene hebben . . . ' and ' . . . hebben eghene prame unde lůchteschuten . . . '; *H. R.*, I, nos. 513, 523. The ships, because of the shallowness of the water near the coast, had to anchor far out. Goods were then transferred to small boats, or smacks, or barges. These, however, could not even reach the shore so the goods had to be transferred to wagons pulled by horses. The large ships, or 'Koggen,' were assigned to definite anchorages and the boats used in fishing were assigned definite places; see Hildebrand, *op. cit.*

[5] This fee should not be confused with the Sound dues which had existed before. The tolls levied by this treaty were export duties from Skåne rather than tolls on trade brought through the Sound. See the excellent article by J. A. Fridericia, 'Fra hvilken Tid skriver Sundtolden sig?' in *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 4 Raekke, V (1875–77), 1–20. Denicke, pp. 81–83, thinks this was the forerunner of the Sound Dues.

[6] ' . . . verkøpen want unde lynewant by lakenen edder by repen, edder by stuven, . . . ' and ' . . . yn den wantboden snyden wand unde lynewand by der elen, . . . '; *H. R.*, I, nos. 513, 523. Taranger, p. 151, criticises the merchants for interfering with piece trade.

to individual cities.[1] Furthermore, it was decreed that each *vitte* could have six inns, free from taxation, where ale and mead could be distributed, while the sale of wine was left unregulated and free from taxation.[2] Since the Danish government, i.e., the king, habitually put new coins into circulation and thus brought about a great depreciation in the value of the old ones when they were redeemed, it was agreed that new money should not be introduced until eight days before St Michael's day, and merchants who failed to observe this rule should be fined.[3]

Fourth, the cities were given rights to appoint their own magistrates, *vøghede*, for Skanör and Falsterbo as well as for other places under the control of the League.[4] These *vøghede* were permitted to decide all cases arising in these places. No one should suffer for the guilt of another, except the breaker of the law;[5] if a German died in Denmark, his heirs should inherit his property whether they were in the kingdom or not. Only in passing from ship to lodging or from lodging to ship was a merchant allowed to carry arms, and if found armed on land he would be subject to the payment of a fine.[6] Finally, it was agreed that the strife between Valdemar and the Hansa should be considered as ended and the belligerents be reconciled.[7]

[1] *H. R.*, I, nos. 513, 523. Regarding former privileges it was provided: ' . . . desse bref nicht hinderlik wesen alle eren anderen breven unde vryheyden, de se edder erer yenich van kønyngen van Denemarken hebben, unde der scholen se bruken unde de scholen by erer vullen maght bliven.'

[2] 'Vortmer moghen se hebben uppe eren vitten sôs krøghe uppe jewelker vitten tho beere unde tho mede, men wyn mach me tappen unde setten uppe der vitten, wor me wil, unde is dar af nicht plichtig,' *ibid.*

[3] The king should: ' . . . nye mũnte nicht eer utghan, eer achte daghe vor sũnte Michels daghe.' And those who broke this rule: ' . . . schal dat beteren mit vif marken Schons.' *Idem.* See Hildebrand, I, 672, about depreciation of the old coins. Denicke, pp. 65–70 thinks this was also a protection for the Hansa against the use of foreign coins.

[4] 'Vortmer moghen de vorscreven stede eres sũlves vøghede setten up eren vitten tho Schonøre unde tho Valsterbode, . . . ' *H. R.*, I, nos. 513, 523. On this point cf. Denicke, Chapter II, *passim*.

[5] 'Vortmer schal neman vor den anderen beteren, men we se brekt, de schal vor sik sulven beteren; dar schal ok neman des anderen untghelden; ok schal nen knecht synes heren ghud vorslan edder verbreken.' *H. R.*, I, nos. 513, 523. This particular clause assumed greater importance later when piracy swept the Baltic and attempts were made to find the guilty party; cf. Erslev, *Dronning Margrethe*, p. 87 ff.

[6] 'Ok magh en jewelk kopman syne wapene dreghen, wen he uppe dat lant kũmpt, went yn syne herberghe; des ghelikes, wen he wedder tho schepe gheyt sunder brøke. Breke he ok darane, dat he dar bovene syne wapene drøghe, dat schal he beteren mit ener mark Schons.' *H. R.*, I, nos. 513, 523.

[7] ' . . . mit dessen vorbenomeden stucken alle twydracht unde schelinge, de twũsschen

It was not, however, so simple as all that; other settlements had to be made in order to compensate the League for its losses during the war and to safeguard its future position in the Baltic. These are set forth in the second document of the same date,[1] one which is a mixture of compensations for the past and securities for the future. A cursory glance at this document gives one the impression that it was the result of crafty diplomacy on the part of the merchants. Viewed, however, in the light of contemporary political conditions, this impression loses its force; the Danish council no doubt felt that the time had arrived when an adroit diplomacy might place Denmark in the enjoyment of not only her own territory but Skåne which Sweden had conquered. This province, geographically a part of Sweden and separated from other powers by deep flowing waters, held a strong strategic position from both a military and commercial point of view.[2] The chief center of Skåne was Helsingborg,[3] situated on the heights of the northwestern shores and overlooking the most narrow passage of the Sound, the door through which immense trade passed from and to the Baltic.[4] Skanör and Falsterbo, on the southwestern peninsula were the chief centers of the herring fisheries and of great importance in the exchange of European and Eastern products.[5] The future lordship over Skåne was at stake. The tragedy in which the solemnities of compensations were concluded deals not with Denmark but with Skåne.

In compensation for the damages which the Hansa cities and their trade had suffered during the war they were given full possession for fifteen years of the Skåne castles Skanör, Falsterbo, Helsingborg, and Malmö, with numerous dependent districts, and the right to collect two-thirds of all revenues from these places; the King of Denmark had to content himself with the remaining third.[6] As security

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unseme heren deme kønynge, deme ryke tho Denemarken, uppe ene side, unde den vorbenomeden steden unde eren borgheren up de anderen syde, gheweset hebben, schølen gheleghert unde ghesõnet wesen tho ewighen thiden,' *ibid.*

[1] *Ibid.*, n. 524, dated May 24, 1370; and *L. E. K. U. B.*, III, n. 1062, dated November 30, 1369.

[2] I.e., in trade and military command of the Sound; cf., Styffe, *Skandinavien*, p. 57.

[3] Lund was the largest center and in many respects the most important city in Skåne and Denmark; *ibid.*, p. 54.

[4] Helsingör's importance dates from the 15th century when she took the place of Helsingborg, particularly in regard to the Sound dues; *ibid.*, pp. 40–41.

[5] I.e., during the fishing season; *ibid.*, pp. 58–59.

[6] '. . . umme mengherleye scaden, den ze unde ere borghere ghenomen hebben in jaren,

against any interference with these agreements, the Hansa was also given full possession of Varberg castle with adjacent districts for the same length of time.[1] Thus a joint ownership for at least fifteen years, was the result. The main issue, however, is clear; Skåne was to remain Danish territory. But who was the real lord of Skåne at this time? In 1360, Valdemar had by questionable manipulations taken Skåne from Sweden. In the agreement made between the barons on the eve of entering the alliance with the Hansa it was stipulated that all the conquests east of the Sound should become the property of King Albert of Sweden who was the son of the Duke of Mecklenburg.[2] Again in 1368, King Albert of Sweden, with the aid of the Hansa, had reconquered the province and was publicly recognized as its overlord. This was not inconsistent with expectations, since on July 25, 1368, when Albert ratified the alliance with the Hansa,[3] he definitely stated that he would share half and half

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de vorgaen syn, vor dessem ørleghe, dat ze scolen vor den scaden hebben de twe deyl, unde unse here de koningh unde dat rike to Denemarken dat derdendeil, alle der nůt unde orbar, deze velt to Schonøre, to Valsterbode, to dem Elenborghen unde to Helsinghborg, vefteyn jar, dat sy van tollen, van schuten, van pramen, van waghenen, van richten, van alle den boden, de wes plichtich synt to ghevende; dar to alle de nůth, de dar velt an dem mynsten unde an dem meysten. Unde umme dat, dat ze dit myd vrede besitten unde myd vrede opbøren desse vefteyn jar, so scolen ze to bewaringhe hebben desse vefteyn jar over Helsingborgh, Elenborghen, Schonøøre unde Valsterbode mit allen dorpen unde voghedyen unde herden, de dar to høren . . . Unde wan desse vefteyn jar umme comen, so scolen desse vorescreven stede unsem heren, dem koninghe unde dem rike to Denemarken desse slote wedder antwerden.'; *H. R.*, I, n. 524. According to Denicke, Chapter II, *passim.*, this peace was the result of crafty diplomacy on the part of the merchants. The same attitude is taken by Schäfer, Daenell, and other writers. The indemnity inflicted upon the Danes by this clause was for damages suffered by the Hansa trade in the war and did not include the cost of the war which was estimated to 450,000 Lübeck Marks—an enormous sum when one considers that one Lübeck Mark corresponds to about 70 Rm. The yearly income from Skåne for the Hansa was later estimated to amount to about 6000 Lübeck Marks. At this rate it would have taken the Hansa about seventy-five years to collect the cost of the war alone. In the light of this, one can not help but feel that the Danish Council, craftily eluded a heavy indemnity and also succeeded in retaining Danish suzerainty to all the territory acquired by the enemies in the war. The management of these places in Skåne proved very difficult to the Hansa; cf. Denicke, pp. 125, 127 ff., 137 ff., 150–152, 169–170, and *passim.*

[1] '. . . so scolde syk Cord Molteke . . . dem slote to Wardberghe unde mit al siner tobehøringhe holden to den steden, also langhe, . . . ' *H. R.*, I, n. 524. The letter of guarantee to hold Varberg castle for the cities, issued by Cord Molteke, captain of Varberg castle, dated Stralsund, November 30, 1369, is in *L. E. K. U. B.*, III, n. 1063; and in *M. U. B.*, XVI, n. 9993. The same letter, with only minor changes, dated May 24, 1370, is in *H. R.*, I, n. 525.

[2] I.e., January 25, 1368. See above in regard to the partitioning of Denmark.

[3] Albert gave his father permission to arrange this alliance for him; *H. R.*, I, n. 435; Rydberg, *Sv. Tr.*, II, 375, note, dated November 16, 1367.

with her in conquests of Skåne. He agreed that not only should the Hansa hold her part of Skåne until conpensated for her damages in the war but for two years more. At the end of that time these places should be returned to King Albert or to his heirs.[1] Whatever it was that prompted the Hansa to go back on Albert — whether the more profitable settlements in regard to the control of the Sound through the occupation of western Skåne, concessions yielded by the Danish council, or the dreaded appearance of the Mecklenburg dynasty on the political horizon of the Baltic — the fact remains that Denmark retained her suzerainty over Skåne. Thus, all the gains made by Albert in the war were annulled by a stroke of the pen.

The vigilant negotiators handled the Skåne question with deliberation and forethought to the satisfaction of both Denmark and the Hansa. With equal skill they manipulated the question of guarantees, so intricately associated with the question of the future lordship over Denmark. Although Valdemar unquestionably was king of Denmark, the whole political situation in the north hinged upon the succession to the Danish throne. Besides Valdemar's return to Denmark after his forced exile might spell disaster to both Denmark and the Hansa unless he could be restrained in his foreign activities in the future by being forced to subscribe to the peace settlements in such a way as to safeguard the interests of both parties. Hence, the political clauses regarding the ratification and the succession.

First, King Valdemar must affirm 'with his great seal' the agreements made between the council and the cities 'if he would remain with his kingdom.'[2] There is an undertone of threat in this clause, an echo of the former strife and dissensions between Valdemar and the Danish aristocracy.[3] This is not surprising, because his ascendancy to power had no doubt created many enemies. In twenty years he had

[1] '. . . dat schole wii vnde vse eruen half hebben, vnde de vorbenomeden stede scholen hebben de anderen helfte vor ere koste, de se doen, vnde vor eren schaden, den se nemen in dessem krighe . . . so scholen se ere vorbenomede helfte noch twe jare, de dar na neghest komen, inne hebben, unde wan de twe jare erst vmbe komen sint, so scholen se vs unde vsen eruen de suluen ere helfte, id si in sloten edder wor id ane si, weder antworden . . . '; Rydberg, *Sv. Tr.*, II, n. 377b.

[2] '. . . scal unse here koningh Woldemer den steden desse vorescreven stucke myt syme groten ingheseghele beseghelen, oft he by syme rike bliven wil unde anders nenem heren tosteden wil, . . . ' *H. R.*, I, n. 524.

[3] The aristocracy included knights, squires, and prominent church men, and Valdemar's seal alone would not suffice unless accompanied by those of '. . . . byscopen, ridderen unde knapen, de de stede dar to hebben willen van des rikes weghene to Denemarken; *ibid.*

transformed a degraded and debased kingdom, with a self-willed and defiant aristocracy, into a new nation, and had established a centralized royal power.[1] This change had not been accomplished without sacrifices on the part of the aristocracy and of the people in general, leaving a bitter taste in their mouths and an ill will towards him in their hearts.[2] In order to offset these conditions, he had issued at Kalundborg in 1360 what is often called a charter, but which in reality was simply an agreement between himself and the people to preserve the laws and the internal peace of the kingdom.[3] The decade which followed this agreement, however, proved disastrous because of his ambitious wars. When he left Denmark so unceremoniously in 1368, the burden of defense and upkeep fell upon the shoulders of the aristocracy, who also were given a free hand to make war and peace. He had dealt with them in a deceitful and high-handed fashion, and when the tables were turned, they retaliated with a hard bargain. It is significant to note that Valdemar was given this opportunity to return gracefully, for it was definitely stipulated in the treaty that peace settlements would be executed even though the king refused to seal the treaty.[4] Valdemar was not accustomed to follow the dictates of others. Self-willed and domineering, he found it extremely difficult to accept the new conditions, not because of the terms of the treaty — he probably could not have made any better ones or any so favorable — but rather because he felt that a new power, the royal council, had come between him and his kingdom.[5]

[1] Olrik, p. 23; and Erslev, *Dronning Margrethe*, pp. 2–16.

[2] See for example the account in 'Continuatio Chronici Danorum & praecipue Sialandiae ab Anno 1308 ad Annum 1357' in *S. R. D.*, VI, 530–531. Particularly interesting although somewhat biased is the account in 'Nicolai Archiepiscopi Lundensis Chronica Episcoporum Lundensium' in *ibid.*, 631, which states: 'Hujus autem Valdemari quarti tempore omnis tradicio seniorum, leges paterne, tota libertas Ecclesie Dacie abolite sunt. Militarium, mercatorum & rusticorum quies in tantum abrogata erat, quod non tempus in toto regno comedendi, quiescendi, dormiendi erat, quin ad labores per officiales & advocatos excitarentur sub obtentu regis gratie, recuperatione vite ac bonorum omnium dilapidacione.'

[3] Erslev, *Danmarks Riges Historie*, II, 314–315; Olrik, pp. 28–30. In this agreement Valdemar promised to hold a yearly Diet, *Danehof*. Erslev, *op. cit.*, p. 357, feels that recklessness was his chief characteristic, and that he was not a great patriot, but that in many respects his high-handed actions proved beneficial to the country, and that he pointed out a new way which Denmark later followed.

[4] 'Were aver dat wy de zone holden wolden, oft de koningh Woldemer to Denemarken der breve nicht beseghelde, so scolen de vorbenomeden heren des rikes rad unde dat rike vorbenomed alle de deghedinghe, alle de stucke unde alle de zone stede unde vast holden, de ze uns hebben beseghelt, unde wy en wedder.' H. R., I, n. 530.

Second, if Valdemar should abdicate or if he should die, 'which may God prevent,' his successor must ratify the treaty, and no one should be elected to succeed him on the Danish throne, whether named by him or selected by the council, without the cities' being consulted.[1] The principal issue here is clear; the cities, greatly concerned about who should succeed Valdemar, hereby reserved a deciding voice in the selection of his successor in order to assure to themselves the extensive privileges they had won in the war. The explanation of this is to be found in the confused political situation that faced Denmark at this time. Valdemar's only son, Christoffer, died in 1363.[2] He had two daughters, the older one married to the son of the Duke of Mecklenburg, the younger married to the king of Norway; each of these had a son who might be considered for the succession, since Den-

[5] It is interesting to note that the aristocracy of Sweden at this time also assumed a prominent position. In 1363 a great number of them rebelled against their lawful kings, Magnus and Haakon, and invited the son of the Duke of Mecklenburg to take over the kingdom. Duke Albert and his son, Albert, arrived at Kalmar in Sweden in the Fall of 1363, and were well received in Stockholm. The following year Albert was unlawfully—because he was a foreigner—crowned king at the Mora rocks. At the same time Magnus and Haakon were declared no longer kings of Sweden. See *H. R.*, I, n. 323, dated March 20, [1364], in which Duke Albert informs the cities that his son had been crowned king of Sweden. He also sets forth the sad plight of Magnus and Haakon who like fugitives wander around the country: 'Nam rex Magnus et filius suus Haqwinus, quasi fugientes, extra et intra regnum vagando transeunt, nescientes, quo se possint aut velint reclinare, non habentes aliqua loca munita, in quibus audeant firmare pedes suos preter solummodo in castro Wartberghe.' Also *ibid.*, n. 322, dated March 14, [1364], a letter from Count Henrik of Holstein to the cities in which he describes the conditions in Sweden. See also the account in 'Olai Petri Svenska Chronica' in *S. R. S.*, I, part 2, 273. Albert tried desperately to assert his power in Sweden, but because of the conditions by which this power had been established, or granted, he found it convenient to share it with the aristocracy; see A. Åkerblom, *Sveriges Förhållande till Norge under Medeltidsunionen*, (Lund, 1888), pp. 2–9.

[1] 'Vortmer were, dat use here koningh Woldemer by syme levende to syme rike to Denemarken enem anderen heren tosteden wolde, deme scolde wy unde willen nicht tosteden, it en sy by der stede rade, unde he en hebbe den steden (ere vryheit) myt synem groten inghe-seghele beseghelt, . . . In der zelven wyse scal me dat holden, oft de vorbenomede unse here de koningh af ginghe, dar ene Got vor beware. Des ghelikes scole wy nenen heren untfaen, yd en sy by rade der stede, unde he en hebbe den steden ere vryheyth myd synem groten ingheseghele mit byscopen, ridderen unde knapen besegheld, de ze dar to hebben willen. Also scal de here, dem unse here koningh Woldemer tostedet by syme levende, oft he des to rade worde, den steden al ere vriheyth myd syme groten ingheseghele beseghelen . . . ' *H. R.*, I, n. 524.

[2] Christoffer was wounded in the first merchants' war against Valdemar, 1362, but was sent with an army against Sweden the following year. He died June 11, 1363, either as a result of his former wound or because of illness. The Lübeck Chronicle states that he died from the wound received in the war, see Ellen Jørgensen, *Valdemar Atterdag: Udvalg af Kilder* (Copenhagen, 1911), p. 132. The Zealand chronicle states that he was sick for a few weeks and died from the illness: 'Ex Chronico Danorum et præcipue Sialandiæ in Annum 1282 cum continuationibus in Annum 1363' in *S. R. S.*, III, (1871–1876), 119.

mark was an elective kingdom.[1] The Danish people did not, however, surrender in the treaty their ancient right to elect a king,[2] but this clause was a protective measure for both the Hansa and for Denmark against the aggressiveness of the Duke of Mecklenburg.

The Duke of Mecklenburg intrigued ceaselessly to make his house the paramount power in the Baltic. Note for example the establishment of his son Albert as king of Sweden in 1364, the Aalholm agreement in 1366,[3] and his plans for the dismemberment of Denmark in 1368, by which he and his family expected to control the Sound, and the Baltic.[4] On August 14, 1371, he again made a strategic move by which he hoped to place his grandson on the Danish throne. On that day he and Valdemar concluded peace with one another. The Duke relinquished all his conquests in Denmark made during the war and in return was given an assurance by Valdemar that his grandson, Duke Albert the younger, should inherit Denmark.[5] Valdemar was not in a position to make such a promise. He was bound by the terms of his own election as king, which made it unlawful for him to designate his successor, and by the terms of the treaty of Stralsund. But Valdemar was not seriously concerned about any restrictions on his powers and this arrangement with the Duke seemed to afford him an opportunity to return to Denmark and take up once more the work of con-

[1] Because of the many disappointments, Valdemar entertained plans to abdicate in favor of Duke Eric the younger of Lauenburg, a youth of only fourteen or fifteen years. Reinhardt, p. 450 ff., feels that it was either the objections of the Danish Council or the fact that Valdemar's abdication would not effectively lessen the demands of the Hansa, that determined him to give up this plan. Erslev does not think that Reinhardt's abdication theory rests on good foundation; see Erslev's review of Reinhardt's book, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

[2] Denicke, pp. 96–101, thinks that while the Danes retained the right to name a candidate they relinquished their ancient right to elect their king. Oehler, p. 31, thinks that it was only for the time being, and only in connection with the successor to Valdemar, and that this clause lost its significance the moment Valdemar signed the treaty. Schäfer, *Die Hansestädte*, p. 514 ff., is not clear on this point. Erslev, *Dronning Margrethe*, p. 40, thinks that the treaty gave the Danes the right to elect whomsoever they pleased on the advice of the cities, i.e., they did not lose their elective rights.

[3] See above, and note 3, page 12. This agreement was made between Valdemar and the Duke of Mecklenburg who acted in behalf of himself and his son, King Albert. Important border provinces in southern Sweden and Gotland with Visby should be transfered from Sweden to Valdemar. The losers were the Duke of Mecklenburg's son and Valdemar's son-in-law, Haakon. Duke Albert agreed to these settlements thinking that some day all of these provinces would belong to his family since his oldest son was married to Valdemar's oldest daughter and Valdemar's son had died. There is an excellent discussion of this subject in Rydberg, *Sv. Tr.*, II, n. 374.

[4] See note 1, page 20.

[5] *M. U. B.*, XVIII (1897), n. 10229; Suhm, XIV, 3.

solidating his realm.[1] On the same day, i.e., August 14, 1371, peace was also concluded between King Haakon of Norway and King Albert of Sweden, by which Haakon's father, Magnus, who had been held a prisoner by Albert since 1366, was set free. This freedom was dearly bought, for both Magnus and Haakon had to relinquish all their claims to the Swedish throne and to Skåne.[2] The star of the Mecklenburg dynasty was surely in the ascendancy.

The Duke of Mecklenburg did not, however, think that these assurances were sufficient, and consequently he made advances to the Emperor, Charles IV, to secure his support for these transactions. In both 1373 and in 1374, mutual agreements were reached between the two by which the Duke and his family promised to support the Emperor in his policies in Brandenburg, and the Emperor promised to support the Duke's son, Albert, in Sweden, and his grandson, Albert the younger, for the succession to the Danish throne.[3] The danger of a Mecklenburg king on the Danish throne was particularly dreaded by the Hansa, since the success of the Duke's ambitions would result in a political wedge being driven between the Baltic and the North Seas. This danger, however, continued to darken the horizon.

Neither the council nor the cities anticipated an immediate ratification of the treaty by Valdemar, consequently, they accorded him a respite until September 29, 1371.[4] Whether or not he was actually

[1] The only opponents remaining were some of the rebellious Jutland lords and the Counts of Holstein. In making peace with the latter Duke Albert of Mecklenburg served as an arbiter; *M. U. B.*, XVIII, n. 10391, dated January 24, 1373. The difficulties with the Jutland lords occupied his time more or less until his death; Olrik, pp. 40–41; Reinhardt, p. 475 ff.; Denicke, p. 126 ff., 192–196.

[2] Rydberg, *Sv. Tr.*, II, n. 399; see also *S. R. S.*, I, part 2, 274. Taranger, pp. 130–136, says that it is sometimes considered that by the agreement in 1371 the Swedish-Norwegian union was dissolved.

[3] *M. U. B.*, XVIII, n. 10449 A and B, dated June 6, 1373. N. 10449A is also printed in Rydberg, *Sv. Tr.*, II, n. 400. The Emperor had designs on the Mark of Brandenburg held by the 'Wittelsbachern.' See also the numerous documents that follow in *M. U. B.*, XVIII, regarding the relations between Mecklenburg and the Emperor. E.g., n. 10454, dated June 10, 1373, n. 10461, dated June 22, 137(3), n. 10552, dated April 28, 1374, in which the Emperor promises to support the Duke in his possessions; n. 10554, dated April 28, 1374, in which the Emperor promises his support for Albert the younger in the succession to Denmark; n. 10553 of the same date, in which the Emperor promises to support Albert in Sweden; nos. 10555, 10556, 10557, and also of the same date and regarding the same subject; and n. 10571, dated May 28, 1374, in which King Wentzel promises to support the interests of Albert of Sweden and Albert the younger in Denmark. See also Rydberg, *Sv. Tr.*, II, nos. 401, 402, 404, all dealing with the same subject.

[4] ' . . . dat de koningh Woldemer van Denemarken vorbenomed alle de zone unde alle de

present at the meeting in Stralsund, May 25, 1371, is difficult to determine,[1] but on that date the representatives of the cities notified Riga that they had negotiated with him and that he showed an unwillingness to sign the treaty, but that the bishops, knights, and squires of Denmark had declared that they would hold inviolable all the agreements.[2] After hesitating for a year and a half the king finally swallowed the affront to his pride and attached his *private* seal to the treaty, October 27, 1371. He excused himself, however, for not affixing the great seal, as he did not have it with him, but promised to do so before July 25, 1372.[3] This he failed to do, and on May 7, 1373, the representatives of the cities, employing new tactics and calling themselves 'humble burgers of the sea towns,' complained that the great seal had not as yet been affixed to the treaty as he had promised, and 'implored' him, 'their gracious patron,' to 'condescend' to ratify the treaty in prescribed manner and to help them in their complaints regarding trade.[4] Valdemar replied by requesting the cities to return to him the Skåne castles,[5] a request which the cities answered eva-

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deghedinghe beseghelen scal mit syme groten inghesegele unde antwerden de uns beseghelt umbeworne twisschen hyr unde sunte Michelis daghe, de neghest to cumpt vort over een jar, dat dar neghest volghet, de synes rikes rad vorbenomed uns bebrevet unde beseghelt hebben.' *H. R.*, I, n. 530. Valdemar was still in Germany. He was thus given time to reflect over the favorable features of the treaty and to settle his difficulties with the warlike lords, who were not provided for in it. While in Germany he granted a *vitte* at Falsterbo to six Prussian cities, January 28, 1370; *H. R.*, I, n. 519. Regarding this arrangement see also *ibid.*, n. 520, dated February 17, 1370, and n. 521, dated [February 24, 1370].

[1] Koppmann in *H. R.*, II, p. 20, thinks that he was present but there is no record of it. On June 27, 1370, Valdemar asked for a safe conduct to negotiate personally with the cities: '. . . eynen slechtin gemeynen leyte brif, alse des gewonlich ist.'; *L. U. B.*, III, n. 728. See also *H. R.*, I, n. 539. He had already received such a letter but complained that he did not understand it. Erslev, *Danmarks Riges Historie*, II, 351, thinks that Valdemar attended this meeting.

[2] *H. R.*, II, n. 12.

[3] *Ibid.*, nos. 21, 22, and 18, §10. This meeting was held at Stralsund and Valdemar was present. The clause regarding Varberg castle was stricken out. At this meeting the treaty was ratified in the name of all cities with the seal of Stralsund; *ibid.*, n. 18, §11. The cities were admonished to send copies of the treaty ratified with the seal of each city before July 25, 1372; *ibid.*, nos. 23–26. The representatives of the cities promised definitely to return the Skåne castles at the end of the fifteen year period; *ibid.*, n. 26. Erslev, *Danmarks Riges Historie*, II, 351, thinks that Valdemar's ratification at this meeting was quite sufficient.

[4] *H. R.*, II, n. 56. They complained that their trade was interfered with and that they had difficulties in Skåne. See also *L. U. B.*, IV, n. 196.

[5] This report was presented to the meeting in Lübeck, May 21, 1374. '. . . unde bat van des konynghes weghen van Denemarken, dat de stede dem konynghe wedder gheven wolden sin vederlke erve, alze de slote uppe deme lande to Schone.'; *H. R.*, II, n. 73, §1. Again at the meeting in Stralsund, July 25, 1374, a similar request is presented, only made a little stronger,

sively.[1] They had no intention of returning these places before the time specified in the treaty but no doubt they were anxious to have the king ratify the treaty with the great seal. Nor had Valdemar kept his promise by June 24, 1375. At that time the cities requested a meeting with him, either in Germany or in Skåne, in order to settle the question of ratification and complaints.[2] This meeting did not occur, although the representatives of the cities visited Skåne and Denmark for that purpose. Stricken with mortal illness Valdemar was confined to Gurre castle in northern Zealand. His last message to the cities was that if God would grant him life until next St John's day, when the council met, he would keep his promise and sign the treaty.[3] It was not decreed that he should keep this last promise, his death, October 24, 1375, ended all further bickerings regarding the final ratification of the treaty by him.[4]

Thus the final ratification of the treaty of Stralsund, that is with the great seal, was left to Valdemar's successor. No sooner did the tidings of Valdemar's death reach the mainland than the Duke of Mecklenburg again began his scheming to place his grandson on the Danish throne. In spite of all his carefully laid plans fate mocked him and ruined his hopes for a Mecklenburg dynastic supremacy of the Baltic. The explanation of this is to be found in the Duke himself. He made several mistakes and ignored the two agencies which had the power to determine the succession, the Danish aristocracy and the Hansa.[5] He allowed his grandson to adopt the Danish royal coat of

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i.e., '. . . dat de stede wolden wedderghеven dem konynghe sines vader erve, alze de slote uppe Schone unde den tollen.'; *ibid.*, n. 77, §3.

[1] '. . . dat me nu dar to nicht antwerden konde, wente de van Campen unde de van der Suderzee unde etlike andere stede, de id mede anrored, nicht dar weren.'; *ibid.*, n. 73, §1. This is the answer to the first request. The answer to the second was that: '. . . me dar umme spreken wil to deme neghesten daghe to Lubeke, den me holden schal to sunte Johans baptisten daghe. [June 24, 1375]. Dar schal en jewelk komen unde segghen dar af to deme sulven daghe en endich antwerde.'; *ibid.*, n. 77, §3.

[2] *Ibid.*, n. 86, §2. N. 88 in *ibid.*, contains the instructions to the representatives of the cities, and §1 reads: 'To dem ersten scolen se den konynk bidden unde manen, dat hee de privilegie bezeghele mid sineme groten ynghezeghele, alze dar ghedeghedinghed is, unde alze hee den steden lovet heft.' Regarding the Skåne castles and tolls see the full discussion in Daenell, *Die Kölner Konföderation*, pp. 25–55.

[3] *H. R.*, II, n. 105, §§4, 5. §§1, 2, are in regard to retaining the castles by the Hansa, and to collect the revenues; §3, is in regard to a promise by the Danish Council to respect the treaty.

[4] Olrik, p. 41. Mantels in his *Beiträge zur Lübisch-Hansischen Geschichte*, p. 302, states that Valdemar had not ratified the treaty before his death.

[5] The Danish aristocracy which he failed to recognize as a significant factor in the election

arms and the title of King of Denmark,[1] assuming thereby that Denmark was a hereditary kingdom and that Albert the younger had rightfully inherited the crown. He also allied himself with the Counts of Holstein in January, 1376, promising to transfer south Jutland, a part of Denmark, to them if they would aid him in the event of a war with Denmark.[2] Then he induced the Emperor, who was in Wismar, to write a letter to the Danes ordering them to accept Albert the younger as their king,[3] which indicated that to the Emperor Denmark was a fief of the Empire.

While these blunders were carrying the Duke farther afield from the realization of his dreams, Queen Margaret, the second daughter of Valdemar, appeared upon the scene in Denmark, and grasping the situation, began skilfully to enlist the various powers to support the candidacy of her five year old son, Olaf.[4] By transferring Copenhagen and other places to the Bishop of Roskilde,[5] something which he and the clergy had long desired, she won the clergy, and by presenting Henning von Podebusk with Holbæk castle[6] she won at least a part of the aristocracy. The leaders of the Danish aristocracy were thus made to feel that a new royal power headed by Queen Margaret would not materially interfere with their position in the government, and consequently they rallied around her and her son. But it was also of paramount importance for Margaret to show the Hansa that the new government under Olaf, if instituted, intended to carry out

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of a king of Denmark, and the Hansa against which he harbored grievances for deserting him in the war.

[1] Suhm, XIV, 3, 8; *M. U. B.*, XIX (1899), nos. 10838, 10839, 10840, 10841, all dated January 21, 1376, and n. 10847, dated February 14, 1376, in all of which Albert the younger calls himself King of Denmark.

[2] Suhm, XIV, 8–9; Olrik, p. 43 ff. This meant the disposal of Danish territory to foreigners which no doubt roused the ire of the Danes.

[3] Suhm, XIV, 7; Olrik, p. 43; *M. U. B.*, XVIII, n. 10792, dated November 6, 1375. The tenor of this letter is to command the Danes to accept Albert the younger and not Olaf. He asked the Danes to be true to the Empire. Cf., Mantels, 'Kaiser Karls IV. Hoflager in Lübeck' in his *Beiträge*, pp. 289–323, first printed in *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, III (1873), 109–141; and Heinrich Reincke, 'Kaiser Karl IV. und die Deutsche Hanse' in *Pfingstblätter des Hansischen Geschichtsvereins*, Blatt XXII (Lübeck, 1931).

[4] Olrik, p. 44 ff. Queen Margaret probably arrived in Denmark before the death of her father. For an account of Queen Margaret see Erslev, *Dronning Margrethe*, pp. 45–52.

[5] Suhm, XIV, 4. In this transaction she called herself Queen of Norway and Sweden and heir to Valdemar. For an account of this election see Erslev, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–78.

[6] Suhm, XIV, 6; Olrik, p. 44. In this transaction she called herself Queen of Norway, Sweden and Denmark. While the aristocracy were pleased with her actions they advised her to give up the title Queen of Denmark.

the provisions of the treaty of Stralsund. For that purpose a commission, headed by Henning von Podebusk, was dispatched to the League submitting Olaf's election for its approval.[1] The cities were now placed in an embarrassing situation. To support Olaf would mean a break with the Duke of Mecklenburg as well as with the Emperor,[2] and to make a decision in favor of Albert the younger would mean a break with Norway and Denmark and thus endanger the privileges of the cities in these countries. Only one course seemed open, namely to make no decision, and this course the Hansa took.[3] The Danes interpreted this attitude to mean that whomsoever they elected king would be approved by the Hansa, and consequently on May 3, 1376, Olaf was elected by the estates at Slagelse in Zealand.[4]

His election was approved by the Hansa through her representatives at a meeting held at Korsör, August 14, 1376, and at this meeting the young king ratified the treaty of Stralsund with the great seal.[5] On the same day final peace was also concluded between the Hansa and King Haakon of Norway at Kalundborg by which the cities were confirmed in their privileges with Norway.[6] By the ratification of the treaty of Stralsund the Hansa was made supreme in Baltic trade, Denmark retained all territory lost in the war including Skåne, and the Danish council had the clause regarding the succession struck out of the treaty.

[1] Suhm, XIV, 8; Olrik, pp. 44–45.

[2] The Emperor notified Lübeck, January 16, 1376, that he expected her to support Albert the younger for the succession in Denmark; *L. U. B.*, IV, n. 282. See also Mantels, *op. cit.*, and Reincke, *op. cit.*

[3] *H. R.*, II, 119–135. Looking through the minutes of the meetings at this time we seek in vain for any decision. The matter was postponed from meeting to meeting. Erslev, *Dronning Margrethe*, pp. 60–61, thinks that there must have been an oral understanding between the Danes and the cities by which the former were given permission to elect Olaf, but there is no document to bear out this contention.

[4] Olrik, p. 45.

[5] *H. R.*, II, nos. 133, 134, 135, 136. The two clauses left out in the treaty by this ratification were the Hansa's right to determine the election of a king for Denmark, and the one concerning Varberg castle which was restored to Denmark.

[6] *Ibid.*, nos. 123, 124, 125. The two meetings were held on the same day but at separate places in Denmark in order not to confuse the relations between Norway and Denmark. In regard to the succession and the final ratification of the treaty, cf. Daenell, *Die Kölner Konföderation*, pp. 60–70; and Denicke, pp. 240–269.

University of California at Los Angeles

CORINTH IN THE MIDDLE AGES

By JOHN H. FINLEY, Jr.

In the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., at the time of the dismemberment of the Roman empire, little is known of Greece.[1] Up to that time, Corinth, the capital of the province had presumably enjoyed some degree of prosperity. But an earthquake[2] in 395 and the invasion of the Visigoths in 396 must have precipitated a decline which Corinth was soon to share with all the classic cities. It is reported by Zosimus that the Goths, finding Thermopylae undefended, ravaged all Boeotia except Thebes, which they were unable to take. This author makes the further statement that the ghost of Achilles frightened them away when they attacked Athens.[3] After Eleusis, therefore, Corinth was the first important Greek city to be seriously affected by the invasion. There is likewise a verse of the poet Claudian which commemorates the burning of both the Corinthian harbors,[4] but it is not known whether the harbors recovered or were reconstructed to any extent in the next century.

[1] It is not within the scope of this essay to describe the events of the period except in reference to Corinth. For a fuller history, cf. G. Finlay, *History of Greece from B.C. 146 to A.D. 1864*, ed. H. F. Tozer (Oxford, 1877); K. Hopf, *Geschichte Griechenlands* (Leipzig, 1867); J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1877), and *History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (London, 1912). For the period of the Latin domination, cf. W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant, 1204–1566* (London, 1908), also *The Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1923), IV, chapter XIV, by Charles Diehl and chapters XV and XVI by William Miller. Other works will be referred to in the course of the essay.

[2] Zosimus (Bonn), 192; 7. The earthquake spared Athens.

[3] Zos., 253.

[4] *In Rufinum*, II, 186–191:

Hic si tunc animis acies collata fuisset,
Prodita non tantas vidisset Graecia clades,
Non mare fumasset geminum flagrante Corintho
Nec fera Cecropias traxissent vincula matres.

From the last line it appears that the spectre of Achilles perhaps, after all, helped less than reported.

The Goths remained in the Peloponnesus a year. (cf. Bury. *The Latter Roman Empire*, I, 120, note 2.) But at least at the end of this time they had left Corinth, for when Stilicho came in 397, the action was in Elis, near Pholoe, (Zos., 254. Also Claudian, *Elogia ad Stilichonem*, I, 186–188:

Plurime Parrhasius tunc inter corpora Ladon
Haesit et Alpheus Geticis angustus acervis
Tardior ad Siculos etiam nunc pergit amores.

Alaric at first descended the east coast of the Peloponnesus, sacking Argos, Sparta, etc. Since he was later in Elis, he probably crossed thither directly, leaving Corinth after the first attack. Subsequently he is not mentioned in eastern Greece, and probably crossed directly to Epirus by boat.

During the reigns of Justin I and Justinian over a century later, other earthquakes are mentioned, of which the first, sometime before 542, is said to have done great damage at Corinth. 'These cities,' says Procopius, 'had always been most populous from ancient times. But now their walls were overthrown by an earthquake, and they were nearly emptied of inhabitants. For the onset of plague killed a half of the remaining population.'[1] Yet shortly after these disasters there must have been much activity at Corinth; for it was at this time that Justinian[2] undertook to rebuild, among other strongholds in Greece, those at the city of Corinth and at the isthmus. The former are mentioned as being wholly in ruins,[3] the latter as largely so. After the completion of the work, however, another earthquake occurred which did serious damage in Greece generally, but none specifically recorded as taking place at Corinth.[4]

With the end of Justinian's reign began that series of invasions which, by violent attack or subtle inroad, altered the population and the name of the Peloponnesus. The first of these were seemingly withstood by Corinth. Shortly after 580, the Avars[5] conquered the Slavonic tribes south of the Danube and with them invaded Greece. The invaders met with feeble resistance, and perhaps Corinth was taken; it was certainly attacked. But the numerous coins of the reigns of Justinian and his immediate successors found at Corinth, and the names of certain churchmen who are recorded as taking part in the theological disputes of the time suggest in any case that life in the city continued actively.

The period of invasion, commencing at this time and lasting until the be-

[1] Procopius (Bonn), III, 112, 1, 9. Muralt puts the earthquake in the year 522. The plague was in 542. In the *Book of Buildings*, Procopius speaks of the walls 'fallen at Corinth by reason of the extraordinary earthquake and at Athens and Plataea in the lapse of time' (Proc. III, 272, 19).

[2] There are two inscriptions perhaps from a church built during this time at the isthmus. (IG IV, 33). One is to the Virgin; the other begs God to 'protect Justinian, his faithful servant Victorinus, and all who live by God's grace in Hellas.' The historian Phrantzes, accompanying the Emperor Manuel II in 1415 at the building of the isthmus wall, saw and recorded these two stones. (Phrantzes, [Bonn.], 108, 11). He adds in the haze of centuries that Justinian did not fortify the isthmus 'from necessity, since he ruled, so to speak the whole universe, but merely because it seemed good to him' (*op. cit.*, 96, 13).

[3] Proc., III, 272. The isthmus walls were before not wholly useless; for in 540 the Huns invaded Greece and were apparently stopped only when they reached the isthmus.

[4] The two earthquakes were surely two different events. For the one was before the plague of 542. The walls were rebuilt before the composition of the *Book of Buildings* in 550, (Bury, *Later Roman Empire*, II, 308). And the second earthquake was contemporaneous with the siege of Croton by Narses in 551, won by the garrison transferred from Thermopylae. Justinian had placed the imperial garrison there after the repairing.

[5] The invading people are called Avars and Slavonians indiscriminately. (In the *Excerpta ex Menandri*, 334 and 404, they are called Slavonians; in Evagrius, VI, 10 they are called Avars.)

ginning of the ninth century, was one which left Greece much altered. During these years there are few references to Greece in contemporary history and none, so far as I know, to Corinth, specifically. Perhaps, through most of the seventh century, during the reigns of Heraclius (610–641) and Constans II (641–668), Corinth enjoyed some degree of security and peace. In his reign Heraclius changed the administrative divisions of the empire from provinces to themes, and Corinth, the former capital of Achaea, seems to have continued as the capital of the new theme of Hellas.[1] Coins of these two reigns have been found in the excavations at Corinth and there is mention in 680 of a bishop coming from that city.[2] But of the succeeding reigns prior to Theophilus I (829–842), few coins have been found, — in all, only ten covering a period of a century and a half. At the seventh synod, moreover, which occurred in 787, though there were many bishops present from Greece, none is mentioned as coming from Corinth. Those who attended came from Monemvasia, Troezene, and Aegina, in none of which places there had previously been a bishop, as well as from Oreos and Porthenos in Euboea[3] and from the western islands of Cephalonia and Zacynthos. Perhaps one is to infer that, since Corinth had been taken by the invaders, the seat of the bishopric was moved to one of the safer fortresses on the coast. At a later period, there is no further mention of a bishop from Aegina or Troezene, but after the beginning of the ninth century, bishops are mentioned as from Corinth once more. While positive deductions are scarcely possible, it may reasonably be assumed from the evidence of the coins and of the list of bishops that Corinth greatly diminished in importance as a Greek city or that it even ceased to exist as such. Certainly, in the eighth century, many invaders must have passed the isthmus with their heavy carts. In the next century, the Peloponnesus is referred to as a country of Slavs,[4] and although it is believed that the Greek

[1] Rambaud, *L'Empire Grec au X^me^ Siècle*, p. 188. Bury, *The Eastern Roman Empire* p. 226. 'The themes of Europe at the end of the eighth century which formed a class apart from those of Asia appear to have been four in number, Thrace, Macedonia, Hellas, Sicily. It was doubtless the Slavonic revolt under Nicephorus I (807) that led to the reorganization of the Helladic province and the constitution of the Peloponnesus as a separate theme.' This is first mentioned in the *Scripta Incerta*, p. 336 (A.D. 813). But before the reorganization of the province, troops were summoned to Corinth, as the capital (Con. Porph., III, 217, 17).

[2] For a list of bishops and of coins see Appendix I. Many coins of Constans II (but no later coins) were found in the little church on the summit of the Acrocorinth. Perhaps, therefore, its destruction is to be dated from this time. See Appendix I.

[3] Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, II (Paris, 1740), 218, 224, 227, 230, 232, 235. Rambaud calls Euboea 'une gigantesque forteresse dont le rayonnement protecteur se faisait sentir jusque dans le Hellade et le Peloponèse.'

[4] Con. Porph., III, 53, 18. Also St Willibald and the Epitome of Strabo (tenth century) call the Morea a land of Slavs. The statement of Constantine Porphyrogenitos that Greece turned Slav in the year of the great plague (747) has been taken by some to mean that the govern-

fortresses on the coast, including Athens,[1] survived under Byzantine authority during this period, it is not unlikely that so exposed a city as Corinth should have been overrun.

The next mention of Corinth is in the year 807, when the city of Patras,[2] besieged by the Slavs, asked help of the Byzantine general stationed at Corinth. It would thus appear that Byzantine authority had been reasserted at Corinth during the interval. The story is told of this siege that if the returning messenger, at a distance from the city, lowered his pennant, it was to be a sign that help was coming. He did not do so, but St Andrew caused his horse to trip, and shortly afterwards the expected help came from Corinth.

It was shortly after this siege that the Peloponnesus became a separate theme,[3] and Corinth, as its head, was the center of a more aggressive policy against the Slavs. In the year 845,[4] during the regency of Theodora, Theoktistos, called Bryennios, overcame all the revolting tribes in the Peloponnesus, except the so-called Ezerites in Lacedaemon and the Melings in Elis, each of which tribes, however, consented to pay a tribute for the sake of peace. These conquests appear to indicate the inception of a more stable era in the Peloponnesus. It is certain that at this period missionaries must have gone out from the church at Corinth to convert the heathen Slavs, since it is reported that in Basil's reign (867–886), the Mainotes, the last remaining heathen, were baptized.

Yet even the successful measures of Theoktistos were not able to keep the peace permanently. The Saracens, established in Crete since the seventh century, had by this time grown strong at sea.[5] They disturbed the peace both by their own looting and by their aid to any Slavs who might be in revolt.

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ment settled Slavs in the Peloponnesus as Justinian II did in Macedon. But though this may be true, St Willibald's statement, twenty four years earlier, shows how great was the transformation even then.

[1] Papparrigopoulo, *Studies in History*, p. 241. Continuous prayers for the dead from the fifth to the fourteenth century on the pillars of the Parthenon are thought to prove this. The empress Irene was born in Athens about 740. See also Rambaud, *L'Empire Grec*, p. 220.

[2] The vanquished Slavs at Patras were forced to supply servants and cooks for ambassadors, and foreign and imperial servants. 'This passage is interesting as it shows incidentally that, as we should expect, the ordinary route of travel from Italy to Constantinople was by Patras and Corinth.' (Bury, *East. Rom. Emp.*, p. 378, note 1). But Luitprand, emissary in the next century, went overland, crossing from Patras to Naupactus. And Benjamin of Tudela apparently came out of his way to Corinth since he returned to Itea and went thence by land.

[3] For this see above, note 1. Leo Skleros is named strategos of the Peloponnesus in the *Scr. Inc.*, p. 336. He was perhaps the first head of the new theme.

[4] Con. Porph., III, 221. For Mr Bury's ingenious determination of the date see *East Rom. Emp.*, note to page 379. For the Slavic character of these tribes, cf. L. Niederle, *Slovanské Staro˘itnosti*, II (Prague, 1906), 430–440.

[5] They were called in to help by the Slavs at Patras. Con. Porph., III, 217, 17.

In the reign of Basil I, they thus captured Patras and dominated the countryside as far east as Corinth. Nicetas Oryphas, a Byzantine admiral,[1] won a victory against them, however, by having his ships transported by land over the isthmus. But Basil I's great attack on the Saracens in Crete failed, and it was not until the reign of Nicophorus Phocas, at the end of the next century, that Greece was finally quit of the Saracens.

The Slavs are also mentioned as figuring in one more revolt. They refused to receive the emissaries of the general, to pay taxes, or to serve in the army, but after another campaign were once more defeated. On this occasion, the tribute of the Ezerites and the Melings was increased. But apparently a final peace had not yet been established. The story is told of how Bardas, the Byzantine general, surnamed πλατυπόδης, the 'broad-foot,' was in a continual dispute with his lieutenant, Leo, surnamed ἀγέλαστος the 'solemn.'[2] Perhaps it is to be imagined that one was heavy and tactless and the other vindictive, and that their constitutional antagonism kept affairs in the Peloponnesus from becoming settled. The emperor Romanos, however, reduced the tribute of the Slavs to the original sum established by the general Theoktistos. He is said to have feared that they would unite with a new tribe of Slavs, which had recently arrived, and begin a revolt. This is the last disturbance and invasion of which we hear. The latter part of the ninth century and the tenth century at Corinth must have been years of profound peace.

There are two accounts which tell of the wealth of Greece at this time. One is the story of the widow Danielis who knew the emperor Basil I (867–886) at Patras before he was emperor and who, after his accession, bestowed upon him certain valuable gifts.[3] Cloths and dyes are mentioned, objects presumably derived from the Peloponnesus. For there are legislative acts of the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitos which have reference to the commercial cities of Greece, notably Thebes and Corinth. By 950 the ship-builders, purple-dyers, and workers in paper were exempt from military service.[4] The generals at Corinth and Chalcis furnished yearly three thousand lances and thirty thousand arrows out of their manufactories of arms.[5] When Basil I fought in Italy, the wealthy and pacific merchants of the Peloponnesus, to avoid service, gave a thousand caparisoned horses and a hundred pounds of ready money. Their preoccupation with industry became so usual that the sum of five nomismata for a rich man or for two poor men became a fixed rate of exemption.[6] Perhaps the custom of

[1] Theophanes Contin., *Life of Basil*, p. 300.
[2] Con. Porph., III, 221–223.
[3] Theoph. Contin., pp. 318–319.
[4] Con. Porph., III, 244, 1.
[5] *Idem.*, I, 657, 20.
[6] *Idem.*, III, 244, 5.

transporting ships across the Isthmus, mentioned previously in connection with the naval victory against the Saracens, was a practice developed for commercial purposes. The Corinthians were called "dexterous and experienced" in this form of transportation. In view of the unsettled times, such active commerce can hardly have sprung up before the middle of the ninth century. One concludes, therefore, that the rise of commerce in the following century was marked, and that there was activity and wealth at Corinth.

But if capture by the barbarians leaves a city without history, so also does an affluent peace. It is to be supposed that Corinth of the tenth century was prosperous and wealthy. There is no mention of events there from the time of the generals just mentioned who subdued the Slavs in the Peloponnesus, until the capture of the city by the Norman Roger of Sicily in 1147. Roger's father, Robert Guiscard, the conqueror of Sicily, had died on a piratical expedition against Greece and was buried on the island of Cephalonia. His son Roger, determined to carry his successes farther east, and lured by the reports of the wealthy Greek cities, on his return from a marauding expedition as far east as Chalcis, entered the Corinthian gulf and, landing at Itea, marched on Thebes. The imperial garrison was apparently withdrawn at the time to guard Constantinople against the second Crusade.[1] At all events, Roger attacked and took Thebes, and departed with much spoil, both in money and in merchandise, and also carried with him a number of captives skilled in weaving whom he wished to establish in Sicily. After leaving Thebes, he passed on to Corinth, concerning the attack on which the whole account is perhaps worth quoting.[2] 'He then moved to Corinth, a wealthy city at the isthmus, rich with its two harbors, one for ships from Asia, the other for those from Italy, both of which were convenient for import and export by the mutual exchange of goods. He found the emporium empty (such was the name of the lower city), since all the inhabitants, having collected food and their entire wealth, profane and holy, had fled to the citadel. It was clear that he must make an attack upon the latter. . . . The Acrocorinth is the acropolis of the ancient city, now a strong fortress, and the hill itself is lofty, ending in a flat place like a table, safely fortified. Within are some springs of good and clear water, among them the spring of Pirene mentioned by Homer. In spite of the security of the Acrocorinth (for Nature, its position, and an unbroken wall made it hard or impossible to take), the Sicilians took it with no great effort and after a little time. Nor is this anything strange or wonderful. The castle could not have protected itself without guards, or repulsed an enemy without sentinels and a warlike garrison. To be sure, it had these in great number, but not subject to a commander efficient in the city's defence. The

[1] Chalandon, *Les Comnène* (Paris, 1912), II, 318.

[2] Choniata (Bonn), p. 101.

imperial troops were present with their general Nikephoros Kalouphes and the notables of Corinth, along with no little part of the population of the neighboring villages, who had come to this asylum. So that when Roger, after the capture, observed the impregnable defences, he remarked that he fought with God's aid and that God had given him this fortress to take, and he mocked the inhabitants as being incapable of war, especially the general Kalouphes, whom he called softer than a woman and skilled only in weaving, woman's work. So he then put the wealth of Corinth and the most distinguished Corinthians on his ships . . . not sparing even the image of the holy Theodore, greatest of martyrs and helpful worker of miracles. And one that saw the Sicilian triremes departing thence would not have guessed them to be pirate ships, but would rather have thought them merchantmen of a thousand wares; for they were full of rich and beautiful goods and laden by their burdens down to the top bank of oars.' This was the manner in which the wealth of Corinth sailed away, never to be regained in the centuries that followed. And when in 1155 the pope induced Manuel I and Roger to conclude peace at Ancona, all the Greek captives were returned as a pledge of peace, but not the Thebans and Corinthians. 'Even now,' Choniatas writes, 'one may see the children of these Thebans and Corinthians weaving their fine gold-stitched cloths in Sicily, just as the Eretrians, transported for resisting Darius, served the Persians in ancient times.'[1]

Corinth seems never to have recovered from the effects of the Norman attack. In the next century, Thebes was one of the celebrated towns of the Franks after their conquest of Greece in 1205. But Corinth is rarely mentioned in this period when Athens, Andravida, and Nauplia continued, along with Thebes, as important cities. The comparative poverty of Corinth seems to have followed directly on the attack by Roger. For[2] Benjamin of Tudela, a Jewish traveller of the year 1173, remarks of the city only that it was the capital and that it contained three hundred Jews. At Patras, he had taken note of the fine houses and at Thebes, of the skilful hand-workers and of the three thousand resident Jews, among whom were scholars in the *Mishnah* and *Talmud*. In other[3] times, Thebes and Corinth had been mentioned as equals, and Patras was not classed with them. In 1185, Corinth[4] was thus granted a release from taxes by the emperor Alexius III, a kindness from which it is possible to deduce the poverty of the city.

The last years of the twelfth century were years of relaxation of central

[1] Chon., 130: 1–6.

[2] Adler, *Itinerary of Benj. of Tudela* (London, 1907), 10.

[3] In 1082 Patras had not been one of the ports where the Venetians wished to trade. It must, accordingly, have been very small. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, I, 83.

[4] Lampros, *Letters of Michael Akominatos* (Athens, 1880) II, 54.

authority and of the rise of native barons. Apparently[1] Corinth was disturbed by the struggles of certain of these even before it was captured in 1202 by Sguros, at the time master in the Argolid as well. He is portrayed to us in the letters of Michael Akominatos, bishop of Athens, as a man of furious and unbridled nature. His oppressive[2] rule is represented as having depopulated Corinth, and he is accused of many crimes.[3] The letters of Akominatos, filled with passionate hatred, are our only full account of him, but, since Akominatos was his rival both for success in battle and for influence at the imperial court, some allowance must be made for partisan exaggeration. In 1203, Sguros, with Corinth as his base, made an attack upon Athens, but although he took the lower city, he was unable to capture the Acropolis because of the resistance led by Akominatos. He abandoned Athens, and after capturing Thebes, marched on to Thermopylae, where he met the emperor Alexius III and was married to his daughter. One may perhaps judge him correctly to have been a warlike and active man, grown great by violent means in an age of violence. He delayed in the north and returned in haste to Corinth only in 1205, when Hugh of Champlitte and the other members of the Fourth Crusade sent with him after the sack of Constantinople arrived in the Peloponnesus, where, though few in numbers, they were destined to make so celebrated a conquest. The Corinth to which Sguros returned and to which the French laid siege was depopulated and poor, if we are to believe Akominatos.[4] It is the general truth that, from this point forward, both under the Franks[5] and later Latins and under the despots of Mistra, Corinth is a place of less importance than it was in the previous century before the attack of Roger of Sicily.

Hugh of Champlitte, after arriving before Corinth and receiving the submission of the neighboring peoples, was joined by Bonifazio of Montferrat, his feudal over-lord, who, at the time of the conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders, had received Salonika as his capital and Greece as his fief. Since Sguros refused to abandon the Acrocorinth and a direct assault on that formidable position was impossible, the united French,

[1] Chon., 800, 9. Also the intimations of trouble in the letters of Akominatos before Sguros captured Corinth.

[2] Sguros assumed the title of πανυπέρτιμος and used a seal of the figure of St Theodore perhaps in honor of being lord of Corinth where the church to that saint was famous. Lampros, *Mich. Akom.*, I, 596.

[3] *Op. cit.*, II, 171, 183.

[4] 'Where are the happy citizens of Corinth? Are they not unknown, unthought of?' *Op. cit.*, II, 170. . . .' to the once rich Corinth.' Choniata, p. 801.

[5] Two excellent books on this interesting and romantic period are Sir Rennell Rodd, *The Princes of Achaea* (London, 1907) and William Miller, *The Latins in the Levant* (London, 1908). The former treats only of the French in Greece proper; the latter treats the Latin occupancy both of Greece and of the islands. In addition there is an interesting earlier work, Baronne Diane de Guldencrone, *L'Achaie Féodale* (Paris, 1886).

leaving a guard at Corinth, departed to Nauplia. There they were joined by Geoffrey Villehardouin, who, having missed the main body of the fourth crusade, had landed on his return from the Holy Land with a small company at the foot of the Peloponnesus and from that point had safely won his way to Nauplia.[1] The two parties had not been long united when news came that Sguros, in a sally from the Acrocorinth, had repulsed the French besiegers and had nearly won a thorough victory.[2] Jacques D'Avesnes had been knocked from his horse, but had not been killed. The latter, who led the besiegers before Corinth, was a man of crusading family whose father, of the same name, had been killed with Richard at Acre twenty years earlier.[3] No further sally on the part of the Greeks besieged in the Acrocorinth is reported. The united body of the French returned to Corinth, and the siege was prosecuted more vigorously. It was probably at this time that the castle of Penteskouphia was built on the ridge facing the entrance of the Acrocorinth. Soon Bonifazio departed to the north; Champlitte and Villehardouin then began their bold and successful conquest of the Morea; and the siege of the Acrocorinth was left to be conducted by a smaller force.

In 1208 Sguros died, according to one account by leaping from the cliffs of the Acrocorinth on his horse.[4] It is difficult to know how stubbornly the

[1] Since the chronicler of the fourth crusade and his nephew, the conqueror of the Morea, both bore the name Geoffrey de Villehardouin, the two were often confused in the later chronicles. The former's account, therefore, of his nephew's arrival in the Peloponnesus is doubtless the correct one. N. De Wailly ed., *Conquète de Constantinople* (Paris, 1874), pp. 324–333. According to this account, the younger Villehardouin and Champlitte after the arrival of the former, did not return to Corinth with the main Frankish army but set forth from Nauplia to the conquest of the principal towns of the southern Peloponnesus, i.e., Modon, Coron, and Kalamata. In the Aragonese version of the Chronicle of the Morea, however, the two are said to have participated in the siege of Corinth and to have set forth from there, not against Modon and Coron, but against Patras and Adravida, when it was agreed that Guy de la Roche (correctly, Othon de la Roche) should undertake a permanent siege of the Acrocorinth by building and maintaining the fort Montesquiou (Penteskouphia). A Morel-Fatio ed., *Libro de los Fechos et Conquistas del Principado de la Morea* (Geneva, 1885), pp. 100–105. The French version of the Chronicle of the Morea gives the same account, except that the building of the fort Montesquiou as well as the ultimate capture of the Acrocorinth is delayed (incorrectly) until the time of William de Villehardouin. S. Longnon, ed., *Livre de la Conqueste de la Princée de l'Amorée* (Paris, 1911), pp. 105, 192. Considering that the conquest of the Morea is not dealt with in the *Chronicle* of the Elder Villehardouin, but is the theme of the *Chronicle of the Morea*, the account of the siege of Corinth given in the latter, especially in the Aragonese version, is probably to be preferred.

[2] 'Dreues d'Estruein qui fu mult preuz et vaillanz' was killed. This is the only name we have of a Frenchman killed at Corinth. G. de Villehardouin, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

[3] *Chronicle of Geoffrey de Vinsauf* (London, 1876), 4, 20. For the further history of the family in the Morea, cf. Miller, *Lat. in the Lev.*, p. 169.

[4] Miller-Lampros, 'Ιστορία Φραγκοκρατίας, II, 66. Letters from the metropolitan of Monemvasia: 'Corinth was taken first by them. Sguros the lord of it having died.—A certain Fabricius says, he cast himself from the Acrocorinth on his horse to avoid the day of servitude, so that not even his bones were left.'

siege was carried on. Shortly, perhaps, after Sguros's death, Theodore,[1] the brother of Michael Angelus Comnenus then despot of Epirus, arrived at Corinth, and some fighting may have taken place at that time. For when in the spring of 1209, the Latin Emperor Henry called the council of Ravenika, Villehardouin was at Corinth. The council met for the purpose of making peace. Michael of Epirus, the native ruler who treated with the Crusaders at that time, is called lord of Corinth,[2] and one infers that that city was one of the chief points of dispute. In addition, as has been noted, Theodore, the brother of Michael of Epirus, seems to have been in command at Corinth. Doubtless, therefore, there was a truce at Corinth in the spring of 1209. On the day of Pentecost of that year, Hugh of Champlitte sailed homeward, and his heir, Robert, detained by trickery, arrived after the year and a day had elapsed in which he could assert his claims to the Duchy. Geoffrey Villehardouin at this time became the lord of Morea, and it was in these days, according to the Aragonese chronicle, that he took Corinth[3] The long siege, therefore, came to an end early in the year 1210, seemingly as a result of a truce; for Theodore departed to Argos, taking with him the entire church treasure.

Little is known regarding the details of the French occupation. Having been captured later than the other domains, the city was not one of the twelve seigniories of the realm, nor the possession of a great family. The references to it in the chronicles are rare. The town itself, after the unequal fortune of more than fifty years, must have been in a delapidated condition; and the castle, once captured, had for the moment no great importance in the united country. Corinth, however, was the seat of the archbishopric and also of the mint, until that was moved by William Villehardouin to Clarenza. The metropolitan church, robbed of its treasure by Theodore Angelus, continued empty; for Geoffrey Villehardouin and Othon de la Roche, after capturing Theodore and the treasure at Argos, refused to restore it. But[4] although the Pope urged Villehardouin to do so, *humano timore postposito*, it is not recorded that the Church ever received any of the treasure taken by him, by Roger of Sicily, seventy years before, or by Nerio Acciajuoli, as many years afterwards. Corinth seems to have been important as a military strong-point, as its name of captainate suggests.[5]

[1] Buchon, *Nouvelles Recherches*, Preface, p. lxix, note. Innocent III (*Letters*, II, 682) speaks of Theodore, a noble Greek, lately at Corinth. Muralt (*Essai de Chron. Byz.*, p. 1207) quotes a letter of Innocent not referred to by others, to the effect that Theodore was a son of Sguros who killed him. But neither the date nor the other letters of Innocent III seem to confirm this reference. See also Acropolita (Bonn), p. 27 who says that Theodore was called back just at this time from Nicea by Michael of Epirus to help him.

[2] Henri de Valenciennes (Buchon, *Rech.-Mat.*, p. 296).

[3] *Aragonese Chronicle*, p. 188.

[4] *Letters of Innocent III*, II, 623, 628.

[5] *Assizes of Roumania*, where it is named together with Androusa, near Ithome, as a captainate.

William Villehardouin repaired the walls of the Acrocorinth between 1248 and 1250,[1] and it was from here that he led his forces in 1256 against Guy de la Roche, duke of Athens,[2] and in 1259 against Michael Paleologus, the future despot of Mistra. In the battle with the latter at Pelagonia, William was captured, and Corinth, with Mistra and Monemvasia, was named as the price of his ransom. But in the circumstances, the captain at Corinth refused to surrender the city, and William regained his liberty without the loss of this possession. Beyond these few facts, little is known of Corinth under the Villehardouins, even at a moment when there is much information on numerous other Greek localities.

One reason, perhaps, for the relatively slight importance of Corinth to the French was that native Greeks held a portion of the land, called *terres de parchon*,[3] 'a designation which seems to imply that these lands were cultivated by the local peasantry and that the seignorial revenues had been divided on the advent of the French between the original territorial proprietors and the new feudal masters.'[4] Hugh of Champlitte, in 1205, had granted easy terms to such Corinthians as submitted; the barony of Kalavryta, not distant from Corinth, was in 1262 one of the first baronies to return to the hands of the Greeks; and by 1290 the family of Zassi from Kalavryta had lands which they oppressed in the neighborhood of Corinth. One can therefore believe that from the first the Greeks continued influential in this vicinity.[5]

About 1300, at the time of the marriage of Isabella Villehardouin to her third husband, Philip of Savoy, she ceded the territory and the town of Corinth to him. In April, 1305, a great tournament was held on the isthmus, an event romantic in itself and curious as an unconscious repetition of the ancient games. The reason for holding the tournament is said to have been

[1] *Ar. Chron.*, p. 216.

[2] Both Buchon and Rodd say that half the seignorial revenues of Corinth were given to Othon de la Roche together with Nauplia and Argos, but I cannot find mention of this in the chronicles.

[3] *Chron. of the Morea* (French version), p. 325.

[4] Rodd, *Pr. of Ach.*, II, 26, and a note on this passage, where he cites a contemporary document from the County of Hainault, in which *parchon* is mentioned as equivalent to *mortmain*.

[5] The source of our knowledge concerning the Zassi is the account of the death of Guy de Charpigny, killed by mistake by Photius Zassi. Peasants had complained to Gautier de Liederkirke, captain of Corinth, of their two masters, the French and Greek lords, who divided the revenues of the *Terres de parchon* and, particularly of Photius Zassi, whom Liederkirke proceeded to imprison in the Acrocorinth. Released, however, on the promise of money, Photius, instead of raising the money from his brother, Jacobus Zassi of Kalavryta, thought only of revenge. One noon, he met Guy de Charpigny, the young lord of Vostitza, who was then returning from a journey and resting, near his home, with a few followers at a shrine called St Nicholas of the Fig Tree. Mistaking him for Liederkirke, Photius approached and stabbed him with the cry, 'Now, Sir Gautier, you are paid.' He saw his mistake immediately. Charpigny was carried to Corinth where he died, and Zassi fled to Mistra.

that Philip of Savoy and St Omer, the duke of Thebes, had been bribed by Anna Cantacuzene, ruler of Epirus, not to attack her realm in the claim of their overlord, Philip of Tarentum. The tournament offered them a pretext; for the summons to war would find all the knights unprepared and distant from their fiefs. But however this may be, the tournament occurred, was largely attended, and was the scene of many great deeds. There were seven knights there, dressed in green, from the Holy Land, against one of whom the young duke of Athens entered the lists. The great St Omer, duke of Thebes and the principal noble in Greece, was insulted by his brother-in-law, the lord of Cephalonia, but when challenged, the latter alleged that his horse was unfit and that he could not fight. St Omer rejoined by having the horse led prancing about the ring. The account of the tournament is especially dramatic because the majority of those who participated in it perished only a few years later, when the French chivalry were overthrown by the Catalan mercenaries in 1313 on the Cephissus near Lake Copais.

We hear during the next fifty years of misery and unsettlement at Corinth. The Catalans in power at Megara and the Turks, now a rising menace from the sea, found easy access to a place neglected by its hereditary rulers. Safe at Naples, the princes of the house of Anjou were too remote to govern properly in the Morea, after the French, established there for a hundred years, had been overthrown. We hear of attacks, of land abandoned, and of plagues.[1] The two former afflictions are mentioned in a letter carried by a certain Luigi to the prince Robert.[2] 'Most noble lord, since thou dost permit our importunities, we have often . . . announced to your majesty the continuous, unbearable afflictions which each day the infidel Turks cause us, afflictions so great that we cannot at all keep up your castle because of the loss of citizens who either have been captured by the Turks or, for the lack of food, have departed to other lands, . . . Alas, we are the contempt of every nation; we are imprisoned by the Turks; our patrimony is wholly untilled; and that land which before was satisfactory for us has become a desert under tribute to others. . . . ' Robert and his wife Marie de Bourbon, who visited the Peloponnesus in this year, made the same observations. Corinth, they said, was a castle on the frontier of divers foes, Catalans, Turks, and Greeks, and was in the worst condition, precarious, ill-managed, and ready for rebellion. Only two months elapsed after the letter was sent before the sovereign gave the fief to Niccolo Acciajuoli, a man already possessed of lands from the house of Anjou in Sicily, Italy, Malta, and the Morea. In the same year, the inhabitants of Corinth were released from unpaid taxes, and the officers in Achaea were commanded to give all possible assistance to Niccolo Acciajuoli, the new

[1] Cantacuzene, III, 49. *Chronicon Breve*, p. 515.

[2] Buchon, *Nouv. Rech.*, II, 145.

overlord. He in turn undertook the work of strengthening and rebuilding the fortifications necessitated by the position of Corinth as an outpost against hostile powers. In a letter to Angelo, the son of Niccolo Acciajuoli, Philip, the brother of Robert of Anjou, says of this work, 'Your father, called the great Seneschal, went to great expense in the fortification and repair of this castle [Corinth].'[1]

Niccolo Acciajuoli made his will in 1358, the year of his acquisition of Corinth, leaving it to his eldest son Angelo, but he was still living in 1362 when he ordered the work of fortification to be continued. He died in the same year, and Angelo succeeded to Corinth, which became a county palatinate by royal act at Brindisi in 1371. Angelo never ruled there. In his stead two kinsmen acted for him as agents: Jacopo Acciajuoli, his first cousin, from 1365 to 1367, and later Nerio Acciajuoli, his adopted brother, who took the palatinate in pawn for a loan.[2] The latter had already great possessions in the Morea. His domain extended from the castles of Ligurio, the ancient Lessa near Nauplia, and Angelo Castro, near Epidaurus, westward to St Basil and Polyphengo (Phlius), and on the Corinthian Gulf as far as Basilicata and Vostitza (Sicyon and Aegion).[3] With such possessions, however, this restless man was not content. In the first years of his rule he busied himself repairing the damages to his palatinate which his neighbors at Patras and Argos had caused in the course of the struggle between Philip of Tarentum and his brother's widow, Marie, for the possession of Achaea. In 1373 he attended the unsuccessful council at Thebes, convoked by Pope Gregory XI for the purpose of uniting on a defense against the Turks. In the next year, with his mercenaries, he took Megara from the Catalans, whose power was now declining. And when in 1377 the Navarrese invaded Eastern Greece, Nerio joined Louis Fadrique of Salona in opposing them. He was absent some time at the defense of Zeitoun (Lamia), to which he brought fifteen hundred Albanian mercenaries.[4] The Navarrese, though they won large successes, never took Athens, and when after some delay they departed for the Morea, they probably went by sea, since there is no word of resistance at Megara or Corinth. But in revenge for Nerio's continuous hostility they descended on Vostitza, which they subsequently kept.

After the death of Louis Fadrique, Nerio, his ally, became involved in a dispute with Fadrique's family, and, through that dispute, in further con-

[1] Buchon, *Nouv. Rech.*, II, Letters 27, 28, 29.

[2] See Nerio's will, where he commands that Corinth should revert to the grand seneschal (Robert, the son of Angelo) if he would pay the debt. Buchon, *Nouv. Rech.*, II, 259.

[3] Rodd, *op. cit.*, II, 439 for the list of fiefs in 1364.

[4] He was called the Count of Mitre. Cf. Rodd, II, 229, where Mitre is conjectured to be Demetriada. But in the travels of the notary Nicolai di Marthonio in 1395 (*Rev. de l'Or. Lat.*, III, 657), Mitre is the name for Megara.

quests. When Fadrique's widow, granddaughter of the emperor Cantacuzene, considering Catalan, Florentine, or any unimperial hand too humble for her daughter, destined her for a Servian prince of Thessaly, Nerio appeared in Salona with his mercenaries.[1] Later he occupied Livadia and Thebes, and thus having surrounded Athens from the north and south, he wrested the city in 1387 from the remnants of the Catalans. He added Thebes, Livadia, and Athens to his own dominion, but restored Salona to its rightful owner, the widow of Fadrique. Nerio is usually criticized for his scheming and supple nature, but in this instance, at least, he acted with uprightness. But even now, his influence was not at its height. Soon after 1388 Theodore, despot of Mistra, Nerio's son-in-law, possessed himself of Argos and Nauplia, and the sphere of Nerio's direct control and indirect influence was increased by this much. In the process of Nerio's aggrandizement, Corinth, the seat of his authority, resumed an importance which it had lacked for some time. The wares in the port were valued at from twelve to eighteen thousand ducats. Because of his activity in trade, Venice conferred her citizenship upon Nerio. Yet it is true that Corinth did not entirely share Nerio's greatness. For after his conquest of Athens, Nerio resided there in a palace on the Acropolis made from the ancient Propylaea, and Corinth was a place of secondary importance.

But in September, 1389, Nerio, called to a conference by San Superan, head of the Aragonese company, and by Asan Zaccharia, was perfidiously overpowered by them. The protests of his brothers, the cardinal and the gonfalonier at Florence, and of his sons-in-law, the despot of Mistra and the Count of Cephalonia, were of no avail to release him. These relatives reminded Venice of Nerio's Venetian citizenship and his value as a commercial connection, but nothing was done until the parties concerned came to a conference at Vostitza in May, 1390. Here it was agreed that Nerio should give his daughter Francesca, together with the merchandise at Corinth and the town of Megara as a double pledge, first, that his captors should receive the ransom and, second, that Venice should receive Argos and Nauplia, which Nerio was to secure from his son-in-law, Theodore the despot of Mistra. It was winter before Nerio was released from his prison at Listrina, near Chalandritza. Three years passed before Venice returned Megara after the cession of Nauplia and Argos. To pay his ransom, Nerio confiscated the wealth of the churches both in Athens and in Corinth. Even after his release, however, the old man was not permitted to end his life quietly. The Turks, who even earlier, under the new Sultan Bejazet, had

[1] Miller, *Lat. in the Lev.*, p. 322. Gregorovius, 'Briefe der Correspondenza Accia,' in the *Sitzungsberichte der Bayr. Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Munich, 1890), p. 298. His force consisted in 1385 of 70 lances, 800 Albanians, and a large number of foot soldiers. He had also galleys in the gulf of Megara.

ravaged Euboea[1] and the islands, now entered the Morea itself and departed only after having sacked Mistra, Leondari, and Akhova.[2] This was the first of the great Turkish forces — of which many, in the next eighty years, filed by the Acrocorinth until the moment when it was captured by them. In his last years, an estrangement occurred between Nerio and his son-in-law Theodore, the despot of Mistra. Whether it was because Theodore called in the Turks,[3] or sided with the Aragonese, Nerio's enemies, or delayed too long to surrender Argos and Nauplia to Venice, the price that was stipulated for Nerio's ransom, is not known. Nerio died on September 25, 1394. In the last year of his life he had been recognized as the legitimate Duke of Athens. His will names his younger daughter as the heiress of his titles and property; in it he mentions also the Church of the Virgin, that is, the Parthenon, in addition to servants, and even stable boys, and asks that horses or bolts of cloth be given to them. He was a man who had known uncommon vicissitudes in his life, an able figure, whose history well illustrates the restlessness of his generation and place.

In 1394[4] Bejazet, the Turkish sultan, took Salona and carried off the daughter of Louis Fadrique, who had been destined by her mother for a far different marriage. But, although no Turkish force is recorded as passing the isthmus from 1391 to 1398, there was no peace at Corinth. Theodore, the despot of Mistra and husband of Nerio's disinherited elder daughter, claiming the city in her right, advanced and laid siege to the Acrocorinth.[5] He was supported by Nerio's illegitimate son, the inheritor of Thebes and Livadia. Carlo Tocco, count of Cephalonia, the husband of Nerio's younger daughter, defended Corinth, which he claimed as his wife's inheritance. Making a sally one night, he surprised Theodore in his camp and nearly captured him. There is a diary of a certain Nicolai di Marthonio, a lawyer, returning from a pilgramage to the Holy Land, which describes the condition of Corinth during this struggle. What he says is interesting enough to be quoted at some length.

'We could not reach Corinth by land on account of the great dispute then rife between the Count of Cifalonie and the despot, brother of the emperor

[1] Ducas (Bonn), p. 472; *Chronicon Breve*, p. 516.

[2] *Chronicon Breve*, 516. Miller, *Latins in the Lev.*, p. 345.

[3] Even in 1385 he employed Turks (Gregorovius, *Briefe*, 300): 'Pedites multos et Turchos etiam in copia.'

[4] Sometime before Feb. 30, 1394. (Greg., *Briefe*, p. 307. The letter written by Nerio during the last year of his life.) Most likely it is this expedition referred to by Chalcocondylas (p. 60; 7–12), when he says that Bejazet planned to attack the Peloponnesus but was withheld by the rumors of Sigismund's preparations. In the next year Theodore was occupied at Corinth, and could not have resided with Bejazet. Theodore is henceforth hostile to the sultan, according to the diary of Nicolai, the notary, quoted below, which states that Carlo Tocco was allied with the sultan.

[5] Greg., *Briefe*, p. 308, Chalcocondylas, p. 208.

at Constantinople, concerning the inheritance of Lord Raynerius, duke of Athens and father-in-law of the said count and despot. This count had a great force of Turks under arms with him and was leagued with the lord of the Turks against the said despot.' Instead, therefore, of going to Corinth, they went to Negropont hoping to get a ship from there to Italy. But, although they reached Negropont after a narrow escape from a Turkish raiding party and found there what Marthonio records as a polished society of Greeks and Franks, they were unable to get passage and returned to Athens. From there they went to Mitre (Megara) which had recently been acquired by the count of Cephalonia. They were not admitted to the town but forced to sleep outside, since the garrison was on the watch against the despot. They took a boat to Cenchreae for five hyperpers. 'And late in the evening we came to the port distant fifteen miles from Corinth and found there two other barques from Mitre. The sailors told us that we could not enter Corinth without the greatest peril to our persons, because of the despot's army, who had lately besieged Corinth with a great force of about twenty thousand men. He claimed it on the part of his wife, the elder daughter. The aforesaid count, realizing that he could not resist the force of his kinsman the despot, recruited Turks against him. So on a certain night the Turkish force, in number about forty thousand, passed over to Corinth. They suddenly rushed in on the camp of the despot, overcame the army, and took about three thousand cavalry. The despot barely escaped. But now the Turks are gone, and the despotessa with a strong force all day and night guards Corinth, and one cannot come near it without being captured. . . . But we went about the port and found a man from Corinth who knew all the secret paths by which we might reach the city. We engaged him and two mariners for a certain sum to take us, and began our walk through an obscure district of valleys and arid hills, always far from the road where the watch was, in fear and deep silence, thinking from hour to hour to fall on enemies. We wandered nearly all night in such labor, fear, and anxiety as heaven alone knows and we who bore it. Truly I thought often that my soul would leave my body. But by God's grace we came to that high hill where the city of Corinth is situated. We applied at the doors about midnight and had to sleep there. . . . In the morning, when we had been admitted, we were entertained by the bishop, because there is no lodging or food to be had there at any price. We obtained permission to go on the brigantine, which was waiting to remove the countess to Cifalonie. And later we saw how great the danger had been; for the mariners who had guided us were caught by the enemy on their return.

'Concerning Corinth there are many stories told in the west which are not true . . . In modern times the city is situated on the top of a high mountain, and is enclosed with mediocre walls. There are some poor houses

inside and many empty places. But in all the empty parts no more than three thumini of grain are sown. There are forty-five households there. On a certain infernal crag there is a sort of mean dungeon, as impossible a place as you wish."[1] This visit occurred about April of the year 1395. Soon after, the family made peace, and Theodore entered Corinth. He recorded the triumph in a statue which he caused to be erected before the gate.[2]

In the year after Theodore had come into possession of Corinth, he began the rebuilding of the wall across the isthmus, called the Hexamilion.[3] He also recalled the Greek metropolitan, who had perhaps abandoned Corinth in the previous period of trouble.[4] Corinth, now, as a possession of the despot of Mistra, became a part of the lands owing allegiance to the Byzantine emperor. In this last half-century before the fall of Constantinople, the Byzantine government looked more and more to its possessions in Greece for support; for as the Turks advanced, its lands in Asia Minor and Thrace were progressively lost, and its hope lay increasingly in the curtailed and impoverished districts of the Peloponnesus. Theodore was enabled to rebuild the wall at the isthmus because of a brief respite from Turkish attacks in the year 1396, when the Sultan's armies, gathered on the Danube, defeated the united European armies under King Sigismund. In May of the following year, Jacoub-pasha and Evrenus-bey led their armies unopposed across the isthmus, and after once more pillaging Lacedaemon, attacked Argos, from which they are said to have carried off fourteen thousand prisoners.[5] It was this calamity, says Phrantzes, that determined Theodore to sell his lands to the Knights of St John, an order which had first known the Morea in 1378, but had abandoned their leases after the capture of their marshal Heredia by the Albanians. Their occupation of the land was no more successful at this time that it had been twenty years before. They occupied Corinth, Mistra, and the other strongholds ceded to them by Theodore, but apparently as a result of the constant opposition of the native Greeks, abandoned the undertaking in 1404. Theodore returned to Mistra and Corinth and lived until 1407.

In March of the year 1415, there occurred again at the isthmus such a gathering as had been seen in the first years of each of the two preceding centuries. In 1205 had occurred the siege of Corinth by Hugh of Champlitte and the crusaders, in 1305 the tournament, and now, in 1415, the solemn rebuilding of the Hexamilion was undertaken by the emperor Manuel II.

[1] *Rev. de l'Or. Lat.*, III, 657–659.

[2] Miller, *Lat. in the Lev.*, 352–353.

[3] Hopf, *Griechenland*, p. 61. It had not been begun when Nicolai the notary was there; for in a part not quoted he says that he saw the old wall in some places fallen, and does not mention repairs.

[4] Miklosich and Müller: *Acta et Diplomata Graeca*, pp. 207, 213, 287.

[5] *Chron. Breve*, p. 517. Phrantzes, 63, 83, who makes the capture of Argos on the return.

For a decade Constantinople had been rid of the Turks. In 1402 Tamerlaine had defeated the Turkish armies and captured the sultan Bejazet at the battle of Angora, and it was some years before the Turkish power rallied once more. Manuel II, in the peaceful interval, desiring to set up his son Theodore II as strongly as possible as despot of Mistra and the Morea, came there accordingly in person, and began the official restoring of the wall at the isthmus. The young Constantine, destined to be the last emperor at Constantinople, accompanied his father, and years later, when the young man had become emperor, he recalled to an ambassador the time when he had been appointed grand constable of Greece at the isthmus.[1] Manuel restored the wall with 158 towers and a line of fortifications, which, as Phrantzes says, extended to the 'Keep of Corinth, above the clouds.' It was not until March of the next year, when the wall was complete and the rebellious barons had again protested their allegiance to the despot of Mistra, that the emperor returned home. He left a garrison to guard the isthmus. There is a certain pathos in this hopeful work of refortification, permitted, as we know, only by the momentary quiescence of the Turks.

But if any one in the Peloponnesus cherished hopes of peace, these were soon dispelled. Manuel had protected Mustapha, son of Bejazet and claimant of the throne, when the Turkish empire was in confusion on the death of Mechmet I in 1420; Murad, son of Mechmet, opposed by Manuel, was the other claimant. It was no good fortune for the Byzantines when Murad defeated Mustapha in 1421. The next year he sent Turakhan to the Peloponnesus. In May, this general, who for thirty years was to be a constant invader of Greece, passed the isthmus, where the defences were seemingly neglected, moved on toward Sparta, and after ravaging that district and, in addition, the Venetian territories about Argos, returned with the spoil derived from the fruits of twenty-five peaceful years. In spite of Manuel's work, Corinth was apparently in so poor a condition that Venice, now anxious for her lands and therefore assuming the leadership in the Peloponnesus, attempted to buy the fortress from the despot of Mistra.[2] But the sale was not consummated, and Corinth remained in neglect, while the local barons disputed among themselves.

The young Constantine returned to the Peloponnesus in 1427 when Theodore II of Mistra, harrassed by the temporal cares of a restive principality, determined to become a monk. Although he later changed his mind and remained as despot, his character lacked the practical energy which the crisis demanded. In spite of the fact that the Turks did not invade the Morea

[1] Phrantzes, p. 228. Other accounts of the building of the wall are: Phrantzes, p. 96. Chalcocondylas, p. 216. *Chr. Breve*, p. 518.

[2] Sathas, *Doc. Inéd. Relatifs à l'Hist. de la Grèce au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1880), I, 115–118. There is some intimation that the despot may have allowed the Aragonese in Corinth.

again for twenty-four years after 1423, Theodore failed to preserve or garrison the isthmus wall. His mind was perhaps occupied with the affairs of his brothers, Constantine and Thomas, who with him now possessed the greater part of the Peloponnesus. The fighting at Patras, when Constantine in 1430 expelled the Malatestas, probably did no damage at Corinth. But, in general, it was a troubled period of insecurity and plague.[1] In 1443 Theodore died and Constantine succeeded him as despot.

The last decade and a half in Greece before its capture by the Turks were years of active preparation for the expected attack. Constantine named the historian Phrantzes and a certain Joannes Cantacuzene as governors, the former of Mistra, and the latter, of Corinth. There was an assistant governor at Corinth, Joannes Eudaimon, whose authority also extended over Patras. By September,[2] 1446, Constantine had caused the isthmus wall to be put in condition, and had completed repairs in the strongholds as far north as Thebes and Livadia. On November 7, the expected blow fell; the sultan Murad and the general Turakhan advanced through Thebes and Attica, and in December appeared at the isthmus. The Turkish campfires spread from one gulf to the other, as the host took its position before the wall. Each day for four days they attacked and were repelled, and Constantine fought at this time with the same gallantry that he displayed at Constantinople seven years later. He is reported as having imprisoned a scout, who, sent to examine the enemy, returned in terror to recount their appalling numbers. On the fifth night, the Turks performed religious observances, and the cries of the devout announced a great attack in the morning. At dawn they advanced, and when, as a result of their numbers, they had made a breach in the wall, the defenders fled in spite of their leaders' efforts to rally them. The Turks pursued and cut down the fugitives. When the Moslems were reassembled with their booty, they are reported to have sacrificed six hundred captives to the souls of their dead comrades. The Acrocorinth was nearly deserted, since the Greek leaders had fled into the centre of the Peloponnesus, considering the arms and provisions at Corinth insufficient for a defense. The Turks, however, ignorant of the smallness of the garrison, offered no further hostilities, but departed to Sicyon and Patras, which they captured and looted. From the time of these successes, says Chalcocondylas, 'the Peloponnesus, which before had been free, was a captive country.'[3]

When Constantine was crowned the last Byzantine emperor at Sparta in 1449, his younger brother Demetrius succeeded to the despotate of Mistra. Demetrius was accompanied to the Peloponnesus at this time by

[1] Phrantzes, p. 156, 8.

[2] Phrantzes, p. 201. The *Chron. Breve* makes it two years earlier.

[3] Chalcocondylas, 349, 19.

his brother-in-law Michael Asan, who had a remarkable history under both Greek and Turkish rulers. He had previously taken part in a revolt with Demetrius against the emperor Joannes VIII, and when the plot had failed, had been pardoned. Now he was named harmost of Lacedaemon, an office by virtue of which he was also in command at Corinth.[1] Under his leadership, the Greeks rebuilt for the fourth time the wall defending the isthmus. The expected attack came in the winter of 1451–1452. It was the desire of Mechmet II that the Peloponnesus, by being involved in war, should be unable to give aid to Constantinople, against which he himself was then moving. Turakhan once more passed the undefended isthmus and made for Messenia, a district previously unravaged. On his return, however, Asan surrounded a detachment of the Turkish army in the defiles above Mycenae, and killed the entire number, among them Achmet, Turakhan's son. In spite of this success, however, the Peloponnesus subsequently paid a yearly tribute to the Turkish government.

After the fall of the Constantinople in the next year many Greeks abandoned the Peloponnesus for a safer country. The brothers Thomas and Demetrius, however, continued their strife with each other in the face of the imminent peril, and Venice, keeping her possessions of Monemvasia and Modon, once more attempted unsuccessfully to buy Corinth.[2] Asan, unable to collect the Turkish tribute because of the general unrest in the Peloponnesus, announced to Turkahan in 1455 that the Turks must collect the tribute for themselves. This was a time of great unrest; the local barons, employing bands of Albanians, carried on their petty struggles, and it was Asan alone, says the history, who kept any order. For three years, the Turks delayed their interference, until in May, 1458, Mechmet II, advancing with his army, took up a position before Corinth on the southern hill towards Penteskouphia. It is reported that Asan, although absent at first, was able to return to Corinth with arms and supplies while Mechmet was making an expedition into Arcadia. The sultan later returned and began the siege in earnest, (according to Chalcocondylas) shooting the marbles of ancient Corinth from his guns.[3] When he demanded surrender, Asan is reported to have replied to his messenger with this speech: 'We confess to the sultan that he has the greater army. On the other hand, consider this city which is built in the strongest situation of any city which we know. The present sultan, and all the Ottoman sultans, not only have not taken this city but have not even attempted to do so. Look at the circuit of walls and the one entrance, guarded by three gates and three sets of de-

[1] In 1458 a certain Loukanes, commanding at Corinth, is said to be harmost of Lacedaemon in the absence of Asan. Chalcocondylas, p. 444.

[2] Sathas, *Doc. Ined.*, I, 222, 225.

[3] Chalcocondylas, p. 448, 4.

fences. If you destroy the first with your cannon, how can you pass the second? And if you pass this, there remains yet the strongest of all. . . . For our own part, we have confidence in ourselves as well as in the defences, and shall fight to the end. Tell the sultan that we should be foolish if, after coming here to defend the city, we shrank from the difficulty and abandoned it.'

Asan took his position on the outermost of the three western walls by the gate, not expecting to hold it, and knowing that, in the end, the wall could not stand the cannon-fire. When, therefore, after a few days, the wall fell, the Greeks withdrew to the second and stronger wall. This also was demolished as a result of an explosion. Asan, however, would have continued the defence, had it not been for a priest who reported to the enemy the weakness of the garrison and roused his congregation to surrender. Accordingly, on the eighth of August, 1458, the Turks entered the Acrocorinth, which was to be theirs, except for a brief interval, for more than three hundred and fifty years.

The career of Asan, however, did not end here. Although he was at first carried in captivity to Lacedaemon, he was later released and became so successful as a general that he was usually preferred to Omar, conqueror of Athens and son of Turakhan. Since, as has been noted, Asan had killed this man's brother, they were at first hostile to each other. Yet in 1464 they were so far reconciled as to go jointly on a mission to Sparta, then Venice's last adherent, where Asan's eloquence converted the authorities to an alliance with the sultan. Some years later, however, when Asan's brother-in-law, the former despot Demetrius, left the Turkish court to join an insurrection in Bosnia against the sultan, the reproach fell on Asan, who, though loyal, died in disgrace. Demetrius, on the other hand, was pardoned. 'Contemplate,' says the chronicle, 'the relative intelligence of ruler and subject.'[1]

Corinth now became the seat of the Turkish government.[2] Its inhabitants, wearied, doubtless, by the interminable petty conflicts which they had endured before the advent of the Turks, refused help in two instances to parties attempting to deliver the city from its new masters. Loukanes, who had been Asan's lieutenant at Corinth, headed a revolt at Patras, and, after imprisoning the Turkish garrison in the fortress, appealed vainly to Corinth for help. Again in 1467, when the Venetian admiral, after regaining Argos and rebuilding the wall on the isthmus for the fifth and last time,[3]

[1] Lampros, *Ecthesis Chronica* (London, 1902), pp. 21–23.

[2] Chalcocondylas, p. 469, 1.

[3] Sathas, VI, 95. While the Venetians were attacking Corinth a band of Turks came and wondered at the wall 'from top to bottom, from one to the other cape' and then made off. This, so far as I know, is the one record of a Turk being stopped by the hexamilion during the seventy-five years that it had been the chief concern of the authorities in the Peloponnesus.

summoned the Corinthians to surrender, they refused point-blank. The Venetians attacked under a certain Bartoldo d'Este, but the season was late, and when a sudden cold came on and d'Este was accidentally killed by a stone cast on him from the wall by a woman, the attackers abandoned the attempt, and Corinth was left in peace.

The Turkish quietude that now descended upon Corinth remained unbroken for two hundred years. It is true that the sources from which the foregoing history has been derived now fail us. The plane of life in Greece was sensibly lowered, and perhaps, if we possessed more information than we do, what we should learn might be little more than the monotonous annals of an oppression wreaked by successive cadis and agas upon a dejected peasantry. Those Greeks who abandoned Christianity escaped not only the odium attached to their faith in the eyes of their conquerors but, in addition, the special taxes imposed upon Christians. Trade, never much practiced by the Turks, was turned away from the city. A continual danger now threatened from the Christian corsairs, just as a similar danger from the Turkish marauders had formerly menaced the city. In the year 1616, the Chevaliers of Malta, on a swift raid, attacked and took Corinth, which they immediately abandoned. The inhabitants of the town, according to the statement of a traveller, were constantly ready to flee to the castle. The town and castle in the seventeenth century contained together only fifteen hundred inhabitants. The governor had ceased to reside there; in his place was a cadi in command of the neighboring townships. Thus at the beginning of modern history, the once flourishing port had sunk to a condition little above that of a village.[1]

Harvard University

[1] The Turkish domination at Corinth, which lasted from this time until the Greek war of Independence, was interrupted for a period of twenty five years from 1688 to 1713. The Venetian expedition under the admiral Morosini met no resistance at Corinth, and when Athens was abandoned shortly after the siege rendered memorable by the destruction of the Parthenon, Corinth became a fortress of first importance to the Venetians. An interesting account of life in Corinth during this period, as well as a record of the extensive refortification undertaken there by the Venetians is preserved in the report of the governors in the Morea to the Venetian Senate, published by Lampros in the *Deltion*, II and V. The recapture of the Acrocorinth by the Turks in 1713, a siege which forms the subject of Lord Byron's poem, *The Siege of Corinth*, is described in the chronicle of Dioketes, edited by Jorga (Bucharest, 1913).

APPENDIX I

Report of coins identified by Professor Katherine M. Edwards from the excavations at old Corinth, 1896–1929, beginning with Anastasius I.

IN CORINTH

Anastasius I (491–518)	9
Justin I (518–527)	7
Justinian I (527–565)	42
Justin II (565–578)	78
Tiberius II (574–582)	18
Maurice (582–602)	10
Phocas (602–610)	16
Heraclius (610–641)	11
Constans II (642–668)	37
Constantine IV (668–685)	2
Constantine V (740–775)	1
Leo V (775–780)	2
Nicephorus I (802–811)	2
Michael I (811–813)	1
Michael II (820–829)	2
Theophilus (829–842)	18
Michael III (842–867)	7
Basil I (867–882)	43
Leo VI (886–912)	139

ON THE ACROCORINTH

Anastasius I	1
Justinian I	2
Justin II	6
Phocas	1
Heraclius	7
Constans II	24
Leo VI	1

BISHOPS IN CORINTH

(Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, II; 158–159.) Beginning with the eleventh bishop.

(11) Alexander advised in a letter by Chrysostom.

(12) Periginus reproved for his heresy by the emperor Theodosius II (435).

(13) Erasistratus present at the fourth synod (431).

(14) Peter addressed by Pope Leo VII (446).

(15) Photius present at the fifth synod (553).

(16) Anastasius appointed a judge by the emperor Maurice (about 590) but later deposed for simony.

(17) John, addressed by Maurice in a letter forbidding deserting soldiers to be kept in monasteries.

(18) Stephen present at the sixth synod (680).

None at the seventh synod.

(19) Hilary present at the eighth synod (859).

THE PALACE OF HUGON DE CONSTANTINOPLE

By MARGARET SCHLAUCH

Romance, broad mirth, *gabs*, piety, patriotism, and the glamor of remote places—with such ingredients as these, it is no wonder that *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* was popular both at home and abroad. It is an entertaining tale to read; it must have been still more entertaining to hear recited in hilarious company. And even the research done on it is more entertaining than most, because it touches on some of the most fascinating problems of comparative literature: cultural relations of Western Europe with the East, Celtic influence, mythology, and the Crusades. Much of the discussion of these matters hinges on the setting of Charlemagne's chief adventure, the palace of the Emperor Hugon of Constantinople, where the French paladins make their amusing *gabs* or jesting boasts.

This palace, it will be recalled, was vaulted and circular; moreover, it was adorned with the images of two smiling youths, each holding an ivory horn, who acted as weathervanes. If a wind came up, these statues blew their horns, giving forth a loud clear sound, and at once the palace began to rotate:

356 Il le font torneier et menut et sovent
Come roë de char qui a terre descent.

In a storm, the rotation is violent; yet within the palace everything remains calm and peaceful 'as in the summer month of May when the sun shines clear.' Moreover, the interior is opulently decorated. The walls are adorned with the likenesses of beasts, birds, serpents, and other creatures. There is a profusion of precious stones. The bed-chamber occupied by Charlemagne is vaulted, and adorned with painted flowers and crystal stones. It is illuminated by a carbuncle on a pillar in the center: no lamp is needed. Twelve rich beds are set up in a circle, and in the middle is a thirteenth bed, designed for Charlemagne. From a concealed opening a spy in an adjacent room is able to observe them. So splendid is the abode of Hugon that Charles, regarding it, holds his own possessions no more precious than a glove.

This description has been discussed a number of times by students of comparative literature. Gaston Paris[1] suggests that it echoed accounts of the real palace at Constantinople which might have been carried to France by travellers. The passages quoted by him are not, however, extremely close to the French account. Laura Hibbard Loomis[2] pointed out some close

[1] 'La Chanson du Pèlerinage de Charlemagne,' *Romania*, ix (1880) 1, 1–50.

[2] *Modern Philology*, xxv (1928), 331–349.

parallels in Irish literature, and argued that Hugon was really living in a mythological solar palace connected with Celtic sun-worship. I have myself, in an earlier article,[1] pointed out that details of the description in this and similar romances seem to be derived from learned mediaeval classical lore about the sun, perhaps in combination with Irish tradition. At present I wish to point out some further material, this time in Byzantine literature, which I think is important for the study of *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*. If I may state my conclusion by anticipation, I should say that I think the palace of Hugon is indeed modeled on a palace of the sun; that it is not impossible that the French poet used an Irish description as his source, though this is not absolutely sure; that public buildings in Byzantium did contribute details to the picture; and finally, whether or not the Irish accounts are mythological, they are not primitive, but due to learned literature of an earlier date.

I

One of the most striking features of the palace is the pair of statues which announce the coming of a storm. This, I think, is really an account of a similar pair which were placed over the gate to one of the chief palaces in Byzantium, known as the Βουκολέων.[2] William of Tyre mentions this gate because King Amaury I used it when he visited Manuel Comnenus in 1171. George Codinus, who lived under the first Paleologues, describes the gate and the statues as follows:

Τὸ λεγόμενον Βύκινον οὕτως ἐκλήθη. τὸ παλαιὸν γὰρ σάλπιγγες ἦσαν χαλκαῖ ἐπάνω τοῦ τείχους, ὁ δὲ πύργος ἦν κουφὸς καὶ συρριγγώδης, καὶ νότου γεγονότος ἢ βορρᾶ σφοδροῦ καὶ τῶν κυμάτων τῷ τείχει προσκρουόντων ἀνήρχετο τὰ πνεύματα βίαια, ἄνωθεν πρὸς τοὺς αὐλίσκους τῶν σαλπίγγων, καὶ ὑπηχεῖ τὸ μέλος ξενίζον ἀκοάς, ὅλον Σειρήνιον. ἦν δε ἄντικρυ τούτου καὶ ἕτερος πύργος, καὶ δεχόμενος τὴν ἠχὼ τοῦ τοιούτου μέλους ἀπεδίδου καὶ αὐτὸς ἦχον τὸν αὐτόν.[3]

In both the French romance and the Greek account the statues use their horns when a strong wind blows; in both they are made of bronze; and in both they number two. The likeness is close.

[1] 'The Rémundar Saga Keisarasonar *as an Analogue of Arthur of Little Britain*,' *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, X (1929), 189–209.

[2] For a general discussion of these buildings, and a plan, see Jean Ebersolt, *Le Grand Palais de Constantinople* (Paris, 1910).

[3] Georgius Codinus, *De Antiquitatibus Constantinopolitanis*, *Corpus Script. Hist. Byz.*, XXXVIII, p. 86 f. Translation: Buccinum locus ex eo ita appellatus est, quod ibi olim supra murum essent buccinae aereae; turris autem in fistularum modum concava erat. austro igitur vel aquilone vehementius spirante et fluctus maris ad murum allidente spiritus intus cohibitus ascendebat usque ad foramina buccinarum, et Sirenum instar edebat concentum auditu admirabilem; cuius sonum inde resultantem opposita turris excipiebat et similiter resonabat.

Vocal statues, like the famous one of Memnon, which gave forth melodic sounds upon being struck by winds, were of course well known in classical antiquity. They are to be found in Greek romances, both ancient and mediaeval. Codinus also mentions a horned statue on a column in Byzantium by which citizens could learn whether or not they were cuckold: if the suspicion were true, the statue groaned; if not, it remained silent upon being questioned.[1] But it is not necessary to search for literary parallels in order to explain the description in the *Pèlerinage*. The two real statues over the gate in Constantinople faced directly upon the sea and stood before the most imposing cluster of imperial buildings. No foreign visitor could fail to see them. Certainly many French visitors must have; and so it is easy enough to understand how the account of them reached Normandy, being carried thither by pilgrims, returned crusaders, or merchants.

Not every foreign visitor was permitted to enter the great palace, to be sure, and yet some pretty circumstantial stories about its splendors must also have been current. The most famous banquet hall, the Chrysotriclinos, constructed in the sixth century, must have been a dazzling spectacle, and in some respects it recalls the palace of Hugon. It had a vaulted circular roof,[2] pierced by sixteen windows. A chandelier (*polycandilon*) was suspended from the center. The mosaic decorations suggested a garden full of flowers. In addition to thrones, couches, and golden tables used at banquets, some ecclesiastical ornaments were borrowed from churches to dazzle strangers, such as sacred vases and suspended golden doves ordinarily used as repositories of the Host. Besides this room there was a Triclinos of the 19 Beds (*τρίκλινος τῶν δεκαεννέα ἀκκουβίτων*), supposedly built by Constantine. During the twelve feast days of Christmas and Epiphany the Emperor gave a series of banquets there. The Emperor invited twelve friends—always twelve, according to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, author of the lengthy book on the Ceremonials of the Byzantine Court[3]—to recline at his circular table. At each of the other tables also there were usually twelve guests. Of course the Emperor and his friends (*φίλοι*) were supposed to symbolize Christ and the Disciples. Court etiquette dictated the rank of those to be invited on each of the feast days: sometimes they were twelve churchmen, sometimes twelve lords; sometimes twelve poor brethren (*πένεται ἀδελφοί*). Here again one is reminded of the dispostion of Charlemagne and his twelve peers in the banquet hall and in the sleeping chamber, but the similarity may be fortuitous. However, the decorated walls,

[1] Codinus, *Excerpta*, *Corpus Script. Hist. Byz.*, XXXVIII, p. 119.

[2] The Greek word is *τροῦλλος*, which Du Cange glosses as *aedificium rotundum*. It is used by Byzantine authors to describe the hemisphere forming the roof of St Sophia.

[3] *De Ceremoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, *Corpus Script. Hist. Byzantinae*, II, 742 ff. and 77 ff See also Ebersolt, *Palais de Constantinople*, 58 ff. and 77 ff.

the suspended chandelier, the rich columns, and the circular vaulted roof of the Chrysotriclinos may have something to do with the *chanson de geste;* if only because the architect of the real palace and the author of the imaginary one were both copying the same description or real building. It may be mentioned by the way that the Church of SS Sergius and Bacchus was built on the same plan as the Chrysotriclinos, and was surmounted by a circular vaulted roof.

The number twelve is associated with the months of the year as well as with the Apostles, of course, and therefore there is a double reason for the frequency of its appearance in descriptions of Byzantine buildings. The twelve signs of the zodiac were often used for decoration. Codinus mentions moreover an *ἀνεμοδούλιον* or palace of the winds erected in the time of Leo Syrogenos, which contained twelve simulacra representing the twelve winds (*οἱ δώδεκα ἀνέμοι*), corresponding to the twelve points of the compass. This type of decoration appears again and again in mediaeval Greek romances where rich palaces are described.

Of course there was no rotating palace in Constantinople, no matter what other marvels that city may have contained. But there are some accounts of hemispherical domes there by mediaeval authors, which actually recall the strange movement of Hugon's palace. Apparently if one gazed long enough at a circular church dome with its many lights, the whole thing seemed to move. This is attested by several witnesses. For instance, Patriarch Photius says of one church:

ὡς εἰς αὐτὸν οὐρανὸν μηδενὸς ἐπιπροσθοῦντος μηδαμόθεν ἐπιβεβηκώς, καὶ τοῖς πολυμόρφοις καὶ πανταχόθεν ὑποφαινομένοις κάλλεσιν ὡς ἄστροις περιλαμπόμενος, ὅλος ἐκπεπληγμένος γίγεται. δοκεῖ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐντεῦθεν τά τε ἄλλα ἐν ἐκστάσει εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸ περιδονεῖσθαι τὸ τέμενος ταῖς γὰρ οἰκείαις καὶ παντοδαπαῖς περιστροφαῖς καὶ συνεχέσι κινήσεσιν ἃ πάντως παθεῖν τὸν θεατὴν ἡ πανταχόθεν ποικιλία βιάζεται τοῦ θεάματος, εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ ὁρώμενον τὸ οἰκεῖον φαντάζεται πάθημα.[1]

Paulus Silentiarius presents a similar idea as early as the sixth century, in describing St Sophia. Here the description implies circular shape, rather than motion; but some of the words are ambiguous, and might be misunderstood to signify rotation:

489 *ἐγρομένη δ' ἐφύπερθεν ἐς ἄπλετον ἠέρα πήλης*
πάντοθι μὲν σφαιρηδὸν ἐλίσσεται οἷα δὲ φαιδρὸς

[1] *Novae Sactissimae Dei Genetricis Ecclesiae Descriptio, Corp. Script. Hist. Byz.*, XXXVIII, 197 f. Translation: [When one enters the interior] tanquam enim in ipsum caelum nullo obstante adscenderit, variis et undequaque fulgentibus veluti astrorum splendoribus illustratus totus in stuporem agitur; iamque et alia omnia loco moveri et ipsum delubrum circumvolvi putat. nam cum sese frequentibus motibus et conversionibus circumquaque vertat, quod spectatorem pati cogit spectaculi varietas, id in ipso spectaculo accidere spectator sibi configit.

οὐρανὸς ἀμφιβέβηκε δόμου σκέπας ἀκροτάτης δὲ
σταυρὸν ὑπὲρ κορυφῆς ἐρυσίπτολιν ἔγραφε τέχνη.[1]

It was because of these and other expressions of Paulus that DuCange spoke of the same phenomenon in his description of St Sophia:

rem mirandam, inquit Silentiarius, intueri licet, ut inferne latior sensim deficiat et in orbem veluti caelum convolvatur testudo.[2]

The comparison of such domes to the supposedly concave vault of heaven with its moving planets is, of course, a fairly obvious thought. Paulus says:

530 ἢ τάχα φαίης
οὐρανὸν ἐς πολύκυκλον ἀλώμενον ὄμμα τιταίνειν.

To be sure, some of the verbs meaning 'to rotate' also mean merely 'to be circular in shape;' but I do not think this is true of all the expressions: περιδινεῖν ('to whirl about, spin like a tip;' Photius), παντοδαπαῖς περιστροφαῖς καὶ συνεχέσι κινήσεσιν ('various turnings and continuous movings'; *ibid.*); ἑλίσσεται, ἀνέρπει (ἀνέρπω='spring up' *or* 'creep up'; Paulus), and *convolvatur* (DuCange). In any case, if the roof of Hugon's palace was supposed to represent the heavens, certainly these real domes did also; the movement (real or imaginary) is a necessary corollary according to mediaeval cosmology. At least it is clear that Byzantine architects were particularly apt to represent the heavens on the vaulted roofs of their buildings; the shape is characteristic of Eastern, not Western Europe.

II

The classical Greek romances, as is well known, are adorned by many descriptions of pictures, landscapes, statues, gardens, and other architectural beauties. In fact, a long digression in order to describe one of these things is a common enough rhetorical device of Heliodorus and Achilles Tatios. The fashion set by them was continued in the later Sophistic romances and the mediaeval Greek tales. In the latter particularly there are many long descriptions of splendid palaces and miraculous images, some of which are astoundingly close to those in the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne.* They too deserve to be compared with the French account. Some of the passages to be quoted are late enough to have been influenced by the French romance, but the general style is native Byzantine, and for the present we shall not discuss the matter of relationships.

[1] *Descriptio S. Sophiae et Ambonis, Corpus Script. Hist. Byz.*, XXXII, 25. Translation: excitatus autem desuper in infinitum aërem apex ubique quidem in circuli speciem volvitur, et veluti pulchrum caelum, aedis tectum ambit, supra summum vero verticem crucem urbis liberatricem ars descripsit.

[2] Caroli du Fresni Domini du Cange, Descriptio Ecclesiae, S. Sophiae, appendix to Paulus Silentiarus.

As is to be expected, marvellous images are fairly commonplace in Byzantine romance. In *Belthandros and Chrysantza*,[1] the hero finds a human image of sapphire near a diamond peacock. The image seems to suffer and sigh. In the garden nearby is a stone dragon with wings outstretched, which discharges water from its mouth to make a spring. On the citadel of the palace are lions' and dragons' heads of gold, to be used as catapults (*ἀντιπυργοβολήματα*), from which emanates a roaring and whistling sound, no doubt caused by the wind. They therefore resemble the vocal images of the *Pèlerinage*, and the real ones in Constantinople. In *Charicles and Drosilla*[2] there is a description of a circle of statues near a spring:

101 *ἀγαλμάτων ἔστηκεν εὐζεστων κύκλος—*

but none of these is endowed with a voice. In *Hysmine and Hysminias*[3] a statue of Diana serves as a chastity test, in an episode clearly modelled on the *Aethiopica* of Heliodorus. In this same romance we are regaled with a fairly elaborate description of statues representing four virtues. In the allegorical poem *Sophrosyne* by Meliteniotes[4] there are also images representing abstract qualities; but the closest parallel to the statues of Hugon is to be found in *Lybistros and Rodamne*.[5] Here the heroine resides in a palace adorned with many images designed by a cunning artist, two of which are bronze warriors placed opposite each other at the entrance to the walled citadel. One of them plays on a lyre, and the other on a reed, and the wind causes real sounds to come forth:

793 *τοὺς ἄλλους πάλιν ἔστησεν ἐκεῖνος ὁ τεχνίτης*
τὸν μὲν νὰ παίζῃ λύραν . . .
καὶ ἄλλος νὰ παίζῃ τεχνικὸ καλάμιν ἀπὸ πόθου,
καὶ τὸ κατ' ἕναν τῶν ἠχῶν τοῦ καθενὸς καλάμου
ἤκουσες πῶς ἐφώναζεν ἐκ τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ ἀνέμου
ὡς ἦτον ἀπὸ μηχανῆς ἐκείνου τοῦ τεχνίτου.

This description was probably suggested by the real statues of the Boukoleon Gate at Constantinople.

The romancers were particularly fond of decorations representing the twelve months and other groups of twelve images;[6] and in this they were carrying out a genuine classical tradition.

[1] Émile Legrand, *Bibliothèque Grecque Vulgaire* (Paris, 1880), vol. I.

[2] By Niketas Eugeniano, ed. R. Hercher, *Scriptores Erotici Graeci* (Leipzig, 1859), vol. II.

[3] *Eustathii de Ismeniae et Ismenes Amoribus Libri* XI, ed. Gilbertus Gaulminus (Paris, 1617); also R. Hercher, vol. II.

[4] *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Imperiale* (Paris, 1858), vol. XIX.

[5] Ed. W. Wagner, *Trois Poèmes Grecs*, Berlin, 1881.

[6] J. Strzygowski, in 'Die Monatscyclen der byzantinischen Kunst,' *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XI (1888), 23–46, has given instances of the use of this motif in art, and of its close connection with descriptions in literature. B. Kiel, in 'Die Monatscyclen der byzantinischen Kunst in spätgriechischer Literatur,' *Wiener Studien*, XI (1889) 94–142, adds further parallels from the literature.

One of the most famous of these groups is described in *Hysmine and Hysminias*, where the 12 figures correspond to architectural designs preserved in Greek manuscripts.[1] In *Lybistros and Rodamne* the heroine's castle has twelve towers (δώδεκα πύργους), and is adorned with figures representing the 12 months, the 12 virtues, and the 12 attributes of love. The planets are used for decoration of the roof in *Sophrosyne* and *Callimachos and Chrysorrhoe.*

It is no wonder, then, that a number of the palaces in Greek romance appear to be Heliocastra or Abodes of the Sun, and some of them are so named. In *Belthandros and Chrysantza*, Erotocastron (the Palace of Love) contains a hall or triclinos constructed of sapphire, richly adorned, glowing with light, and roofed in part with three especially rare stones:

328 Ἦτον τὸ τρικλινόκτισμα ἀπὸ ζαφείρου λίθων,
λίθων μεγάλων καὶ λαμπρῶν, τεχνολατομημένων.
τὸ στέγος δὲ τοῦ κτίσματος τὶ νὰ τὸ ἀφηγῆται;
πολὺς ἦτον καλλωπισμὸς τὸ τρίτον τοῦ τρικλίνου.
τρία λιθάρια θαυμαστὰ ἐξαίρετα μεγάλα,
ἐσκέπαζαν, ἃ εἴπομεν, τὸ τρίτον τοῦ τρικλίνου.
φῶτα καὶ φῶς λαμπρόμορφον αὐγὰς παρέχων ἔσω.

Near by is a still more remarkable structure; a hall of diamonds and pearls, which actually hangs in the air—'it had no foundation nor did it rest on the earth, but the four walls of the *koubouklion* were suspended like the spheres of heaven':

451 θεμέλιον οὐκ εἶχασιν, εἰς γῆν οὐκ ἠπατοῦσαν.
ἐκρέμαντο οἱ τέσσαρεις τοῖχοι τοῦ κουβουκλίου
νὰ εἶπες καὶ νὰ ἀπείκαζες τὰς οὐρανίους σφαίρας.

In this hall sits Eros on a throne of jewels with a footstool of lychnite (λυχνιταρίν), a red self-luminous stone like the carbuncle, at his feet.—In *Callimachos and Chrysorrhoe*, the Dragon's Castle is also called the Shining Castle (τὸ κάστρον τὸ λαμπρόν), for the citadel tower is of gold and precious stones, the wall is also all gold (ὁλόχρυσον), and surpasses the rays of the sun in splendor:

180 ἐνίκα πάσας ἐκ παντὸς ἡλιακὰς ἀκτῖνας.

Elsewhere it is said that someone sees this castle glittering like the sun itself:

868 Εἶδον τοῦ κάστρου τὸ λαμπρὸν ἀστράπτον ὥσπερ ἄστρον,
ὥσπερ αὐτὸν τὸν ἥλιον ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ φέγγους.

Within this place is a magnificent bath-hall (λουτρόν), adorned with flowers of gold. Here Callimachos finds a marvellously rich bed, set with gold and red lychnite and pearl:

[1] See Strzygowski, *loc. cit.*

371 κλίνη λαμπρὰ, πολύτιμος, χρυσῆ μετὰ μαργάρων,
κοκκίνων λίθων τηλαυγῶν οὓς λέγουσι λυχνίτας.

Another room of gold has a roof representing the courses of the planets:

423 ἀλλ' εἶχεν στέγην οὐρανὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρων δρόμους . . .
426 Τὸ στέγασμα τὸ πάγχρυσον ἐκείνου τοῦ κελλίου
ὁ Κρόνος ἦν ὡς ἐν χερσὶν τὸν οὐρανὸν συνέχων
καθήμενος ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ θρόνου λευκὸς τὰς τρίχας
ἐκεῖ καὶ Ζεὺς ἱστόρητο λευκὸς οὐρανοδρόμος,
ὥσπερ τις μέγας βασιλεὺς, δυνάστης ἐπηρμένος
αὐθέντης ὅλων τῶν ἀρχῶν καὶ τῶν στεμμάτων ὅλων.
Ἀστὴρ ἐκεῖθεν ἔλαμπεν λαμπρὸς τῆς Ἀφροδίτης
ἔχων ἀκτῖνας τηλαυγεῖς, ἡδονικὰς, ὡραίας·
καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν ἱστόρησεν τὸν Ἄρην ὁ τεχνίτης
ἐρωτικῶς συμπαίζοντα μετὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης.
Εἶχεν ἐκεῖ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐν θρόνῳ καθημένην
καὶ διακοσμούσας χάριτας τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐκεῖνον.
Ἐν μέσῳ τούτων συμπλοκὰς πολλῶν ἀστέρων εἶχεν.

In the center of this room Callimachos find the heroine suspended by her hair, and he proceeds to rescue her from the dragon, who approaches with thunder and lightning and storm.

In Digenis Akritas we find a similar delight in rich and glittering decoration, in marble, gold, precious stones, and sculpture:

VII, 46 τοὺς ὀρόφους ἐκόσμησε πάντας μετὰ μουσίου
ἐκ μαρμάρων πολυτέλων τῇ αἴγλῃ ἀστραπτόντων
τὸ ἔδαφος ἐφαίδρυγεν, ἐψήφωσεν ἐν λίθοις.[1]

But none of the details is particularly significant.—Argyrocastron (Silver Castle) in *Lybistros and Rhodamne* is, on the other hand, expressly compared with the sun:

629 τὸ κάστρον ἐσυνέριζεν τὸν ἥλιον εἰς τὸ λάμπειν
εἰ μὲν εἰς ἥλιον ἤθελες πολλάκις ἐντρανίζειν
ἔδερνεν ὁ ἥλιος τὴν αὐγὴν τὸ πύργωμαν τοῦ καστρου.
καὶ ἔβλεπες ἥλιον αἰσθητόν, οὐκ ἦτον συντυχία
ὅτι ἀνατέλλει τὴν αὐγὴν ἀπέσω ἀπαὶ τὸ κάστρον.

There follows a description of the decorations: images of the months, the virtues, and the attributes of love; and the vocal statues over the gate, already mentioned. As is appropriate, the Princess who inhabits this splendid place is called ἡλιογεννημένη, or sun-born.

The most elaborate parallel to Hugon's palace is contained in a long allegorical poem called *Sophrosyne* or *Temperance* by Meliteniotes. The hero accompanies the goddess for whom the poem is named to her abode, which he portrays in great detail. He must pass a swift river, a bridge, a large iron

[1] G. Soyter, *Byzantinische Dichtung*, Heidelberg, 1930, 42–45.

gate, several walls, and sundry guardian monsters. The palace is resplendent with gold, silver, and precious stones. The κουβουκλεῖον is supported by red porphyry and milk-white pillars (κίονες, στοαί), and on these 'the artist had constructed a roof, making its various turnings, and the vaults of its well-rounded apses':

915 Ἐν αἷς τὸν ὄροφον λαμπρὸν στεγάσας ὁ τεχνίτης
πολυειδεῖς ἐποίησεν τὰς τροπικὰς τῆς στέγης,
τυρωσὰς τῶν ἡλιακῶν εὐκύκλων τὰς ἀψίδας.

In this passage τροπικαί probably does not mean rotations, but curved lines; nevertheless it is easy to see how the two ideas could be confused. In the description of another hall (πάτος), however, the expressions are more ambiguous. Here too there are any other details which recall the palace of Hugon: there are decorations in gold in the lower part representing the creatures who dwell on the earth, in the sea, and in the air, so life-like that they seem to move; the roof is circular and resembles a 'revolving wain' ('comme roë de char qui a terre descent,' says the French); and the whole place is illuminated by a fiery self-luminous spherical carbuncle suspended from the center:

950 Χρυσὸς γὰρ ἦν μονώτατος τῷ πάτῳ κεχυμένος,
φέρων ἀπὸ χυμεύσεως παντοίων ζώων γένη,
καὶ τετραπόδων, καὶ πτηνῶν, καὶ τινων θαλασσίων,
κινούμενα φαινόμενα τῇ τέχνῃ τοῦ τεχνίτου,
καὶ ὡσανεὶ φαινόμενα φυσίζωα τὰ ξῶα.
Μέσον δὲ τούτου τοῦ λαμπροῦ καὶ χρυσοτάτου πάτου
λίθος λυχνίτης ἔκειτο κυκλοφερὴς καὶ μέγας,
κυκλοειδὴς, φαινόμενος ὡσεὶ τροχὸς ἁμάξης,
συνηρμοσμένος καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ συγκεκολαμμένος
τῷ χρυσοχύτῳ καὶ λαμπρῷ τοῦ κουβουκλείου πάτῳ.

Who shall do justive to the splendor of this carbuncle (λυχνίτης), asks the author. It seemed that the whole roof was afire with its light, and it resembled a second sun:

950 Ἐδόκει γὰρ τὸν ὄροφον ἐκεῖνον ἐμπυρίζειν . . .
956 Ὥσπερ τις ἄλλος ἥλιος ὁ λίθος κατωρᾶτο
Ταχθεὶς θεόθεν ἐπὶ γῆς διφρηλατεῖν καὶ λάμπειν.

The roof, which is further characterized as στρογγυλοσφαροσύνθετος and οὐρανοκυκλοδρόμος, is made of sapphire, and to it are affixed representations of the planets (ἀστέρας) above and in circles around the torch-like carbuncle, so that he who looked up (even as in St Sophia) seemed to behold the very heavens:

989 Ὡς φαίνεται τοῖς βλέπουσιν τὸν ὄροφον ἐκεῖνον
Τὸν οὐρανὸν αὐτὸν ὁρᾶν μετὰ καὶ τοῦ φωσφόρου.

Four doors of this hall face north, south, east, and west. Within is a ladder (*κλίμαξ*) having 365 steps (*βαθμῖδες*).

1009 Καὶ μίμησιν ὡς ἔοικε τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ χρόνου.

Tiles on the floor represent rain-storms and other variations of the weather.

Another marvel of the *κουβουκλεῖον* is a large, spherical, snow-white pearl about the size of a wine-jar which depends from an iron pin above these tiles. This sphere rotates like a wheel, when a breeze or a wind blows through the hall: it is to be supposed, thinks the observer, that the motion and the winds themselves indicate the breath of an invisible controlling lord who turns the sphere, a god of the winds:

1075 Ἡνίκα δέ τις ζέφυρος ἔπνει τῷ κουβουκλείῳ
ὡσεὶ τροχὸς φαινόμενος ὁ μάργαρος ὡρᾶτο
ὑπὸ ρευμάτων ποταμοῦ δονούμενος ταχέως.
Εἰ γὰρ μικρὸν ἀνέπνευσέν τις αὖρα λεπτοτάτη,
στρεφόμενος ὁ μάργαρος ὡρᾶτο ταχυτάτως
ὑπὸ λεπτῆς ἀναπνοῆς κινούμενος ὀξέως·
καὶ νηνεμίας οὔσης δὲ πολλάκις καὶ γαλήνης,
ὁ μαργαρίτης, τὴν αὐτοῦ κίνησιν ἐποιεῖτο,
οἶμαι δεικνύων δἰ αὐτῆς τὶς τῶν ἀνέμων πνέει
τὶς κυριεύσει τῶν λοιπῶν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν,
προφήτης τις δεικνύμενος τὰ μέλλοντα σημαίνων.

Finally there is in the center of the hall a fabulously rich bed, adorned with every imaginable precious stone, (The catalogue of these jewels occupies many lines.) It is supported by legs in the shape of sculptured men bearing it on their shoulders; it is covered with an opulent spread; and yet there is something painful (*τι λυπηρόν*) about it which serves to recall death (*εἰς μνήμην τοῦ θανατοῦ*), to prevent pride, and to keep the mind on heaven. What that thing is, the author does not tell; nevertheless the bed and the carbuncle remind one of the room in which Charlemagne slept in Hugon's palace. The two descriptions must be connected. Meliteniotes, who probably flourished in the fourteenth century, could not have furnished the material for the French *chanson de geste*. There is a possibility that the reverse is true, and that the Greek borrowed from the French, but I do not think this is likely. The style of Meliteniotes, his material, and his treatment of it, are not isolated, as we have seen, but typically Byzantine. Even the most luxuriant imagination would scarcely take the few hints given in the *chanson de geste* and make of them what he did, without models nearer home. The relationship is probably not a case of direct borrowing. Moreover, there there are other literatures to be considered before we have done.

III

The closest classical parallel to the palace of Meliteniotes is to be found in the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, as part of the story of Phaëton. When that young man goes to visit his father the Sun-god, he finds himself in the following imposing edifice:

II, 1 Regia Solis erat sublimibus alta columnis,
clara micante auro flammasque imitante pyropo,
cuius ebur nitidum fastigia summa tegebat,
argenti bifores radiabant lumine valvae.
materiam superabat opus; nam Mulciber illic
aequora caelarat medias cingentia terras
terrarumque orbem caelumque, quod imminet orbi.
caeruleos habet unda deos, Tritona canorum
Proteaque ambiguum ballenarumque prementem
Aegaeona suis inmania terga lacertis
Doridaque et natas, quarum pars nare videtur,
pars in mole sedens viridis siccare capillos,
pisce vehi quaedam: facies non omnibus una,
non diversa tamen, quadem docet esse sororum,
terra vivos urbesque gerit silvasque ferasque
fluminaque et nymphas et cetera numina ruris.
haec super imposita est caeli fulgentis imago,
signaque sex foribus dextris totidemque sinistris.
23 . . . purpurea velatus veste sedebat
in solio Phoebus claris lucente smaragdis.
a dextra laevaque Dies et Mensis et Annus
Saeculaque et positae spatiis aequalibus Horae
Verque novum stabat cinctum florente corona,
stabat et Autumnus calcatis sordidus uvis
et glacialis Hiems canos hirsuta capillos.

Although this passage lacks the abundant details given in the mediaeval Greek, it nevertheless gives a picture already familiar to us in its general outlines. Particularly interesting is the word *pyropo*, which refers to a stone like the carbuncle.[1] The self-luminous carbuncle is one of the details appearing most frequently in the descriptions so far analyzed.

Old Irish literature likewise contributes an analogue to the palace of Hugon. It occurs in the famous *Fled Bricrend* or *Feast of Bricriu*, a story no doubt much older than the earliest manuscript we have (twelfth century), though how much older we do not know. This is the account of the palace built by Briciu:

It is thus that his house was made: it had the plan of the banquet hall at Tara. Then were nine sleeping-compartments from the fire to the wall, and a front-piece of bronze all overlaid with gold thirty feet high was on each. A royal couch was

[1] The Delphin edition (London, 1751) gives the following note on this word: 'Carbunculum intellige lapillum, eo, quem vocant Rubinum, preciosiorem.'

built for Conchobar in the front part of the hall above the couches of the whole house; it was set with gems of carbuncle and precious [stones] besides, and there was a splendor of gold and silver and carbuncle and colors of every land, so that it was as bright as day there even at night. And there were wrought also twelve couches of the twelve heroes of Ulster about it. And the quality of the work was as good as the material used to make the house. A waggon [was needed] for the fetching of every beam, and seven strong men of Ulster to place each pole, and thirty of the best masons of Ireland to make and direct it . . . .

An upper room was made likewise for Bricriu himself as high as the couch of Cochobar and the brave heroes. The room was made with decorations and wondrous ornaments, and windows of glass were placed on every side [looking] out of it. One of the windows he wrought above his own bed, so that the observation of the great hall was visible to him from his couch, for he knew that the Ulstermen would not let him in his house.[1]

Many of these details are familar, notably the self-luminousness of the carbuncle (an attribute of the stone mentioned by such classical writers as Pliny), the arrangement of the twelve couches about a central one, the windows around the upper part of the room, and the coign of vantage from which the interior can be observed. But there is less detail given than in the French poem or the Greek accounts, and the edifice of Bricriu is remote indeed from the Regia Solis of Ovid. The interrelations of these descriptions of imaginary palaces are probably quite complicated, but one is forced to try to disentangle them. The similarities and correspondences may be tabulated as follows:

Vocal statues	Greek		French	
Luminous carbuncle	Greek	Latin	French	Irish
Twelve couches in a circle	(Greek)[2]		French	Irish
Signs of the zodiac, planets, seasons, months, etc., used as decoration	Greek	Latin		
Reliefs representing forms of animal and vegetable life	Greek	Latin		
Splendid bed described	Greek		French	Irish
Use of winds	Greek		French	
Rotation of the roof	Greek		French	
Coign of vantage for spy			French	Irish

[1] Translated from: Ernst Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I, 254. The text is: Isamlaid trá dorónad a tech sin: Sudigud Tige Midchúarta fair. Nói n-imdada and o thenid co fairgid, *tricha* traigid i n-airdi cacha hairinig crédumæ co m-dió… [illegible] rígthige sin úss imdadaib in tige uile co n-gemaib carrmocail ocus lógmaraib an chens, ocus lígrad óir ocus airgit ocus charrmocail ocus datha cach thíre, co-m-bo chomsolus lá ocus adaig inti. Ocus conrotachtá dan da imdaí déc in da erred déc Ulad impe. Ba chómmart iarom indas in gníma sin ocus ind ad*bur* dobreth dó dénom in tigi. Sesrech oc tabairt cecha clethi mórfessiur di thrénferaib Ulad oc cor cach hóenslaite, ocus *tri*cha sé̇r do prím-sé̇raib hErend oc a dénam ocus oc a ordogud. . . .

Dorónad da*n* gríanan la Bricrind fodessin fó chomardus imdai C*ochobair* ocus inna láth n-gaile. Conrotacht iarom in gríanán sin do imdenmaib ocus cumtaigib sainamraib ocus ro

It is apparent that Greek romance (and reality) gives us the fullest account. For my own part, I believe that Ovid and the Byzantine sources together represent the classical tradition, that Ovid himself was borrowing ideas from Greece in his description (perhaps from actual designs in temples), and these same ideas remained popular among romancers in Greece throughout the Middle Ages. I do not believe that an elaborate description like that of Meliteniotes, so far surpassing the French poem in abundance of detail, can be merely an imitation of the French. To be sure, French influence can often be detected in Greek romance, but usually it is betrayed by subject matter and vocabulary associated with chivalry. When the Princess Rodamne is confronted by two wooers (one of them favored by herself and the other by her father), and suggests a tournament to settle the question, she is borrowing a device from French romance, quite obviously; and even the vocabulary betrays her. She speaks of one of the wooers as ῥῆγας τῆς γῆς Λιβάντρου (Rex Libantri); she calls both of them cavaliers or καβαλλαραίοι, and refers to the jousting by the verb καβαλλικεύειν—all of these words being borrowed from the language and literature of the Franks. When on the other hand the author of this same story interrupts his narrative to describe the architecture of her palace, her Heliocastron; when he paints the images of the months and their attributes, and dwells with loving detail on the statues, the splendid reliefs and opulent materials, he is following a native fashion. The late Sophistic novelists before him, and still earlier the Alexandrian romancers, had revelled also in the detailed, voluptuous descriptions of statues and paintings. Moreover, I think that the author of the French poem shows signs of contact with Byzantine culture, as well as a knowledge of Ovid. Probably he had never read or heard a Greek romance, but he may have seen or heard lively accounts of some of the marvels of Contantinople: the statues over the Gate, the splendid vault of St. Sophia, and the Imperial banquet-hall where the Emperor dined with twelve φίλοι.

There remains the three-corned relationship of the French, the Irish, and the Latin. Obviously the description in Ovid could have been accessible to the two later writers. On the other hand, the French coincides with the Irish in two important details: the arrangement of the twelve beds around a thirteenth, and the existence of a coign of vantage from which a spy may observe events within the hall. This would indicate indebtedness of the French to the Irish. Where then did the Irish get their account? Were they too echoing a classical ancient convention about a Regia Solis? I think this

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sudigthe senistre glainide ass for cach leth. Conrotacht iarom senester dſb uasa imdaid-seom fadéin, co m-bo fodirc dó-som imcissin in tige máir úad assa imdaí, deig ro fitir-som, nſ léicfitis Ulaid isa tech.

[2] In the accounts of real imperial banquets; not in the romance.

very likely. I do not feel warranted in saying that Ovid served as source for the paragraphs of the *Fled Bricrend*, but one parallelism in phraseology should be pointed out. Ovid writes: 'materiam superabat opus,' the Irish has, 'Ba chómart idrom indas in gníma sin ocus ind ad*bur* dobreth dó dénom in tigi,' or, 'The quality of the work was as good as the material used to make the house.'

After all, there may be many ways of accounting for a similarity between Old Irish literature and the traditions of classical antiquity. The Celts came in contact with Mediterranean culture often, and it would be strange if they had not borrowed ideas from the Greeks and Romans at an early date. In Scandinavia there is plenty of evidence of contact with Southern cultures in ancient times; and parts of the Northern mythology once considered purely and typically Germanic have been proved to be foreign importations. Loki, writhing on his cliff at the edge of the world, was originally an enchained giant causing earthquakes in the Caucasus—the same giant who became Prometheus for the Greeks; Baldr, the beautiful dying god, belongs in Asia Minor along with Attis and Adonis. An exquisite silver goblet found in Laaland, Denmark (now in the Danske Samling, Copenhagen), and dating from the time of Augustus, indicates graphically the many ways by which Italic and Hellenic culture reached the remote North. On the outside of the goblet is a relief of Priam on his knees before Achilles, begging for the body of Hector. Whether or not the Germanic 'barbarians' of Denmark learned the story when they acquired the lovely silver thing; whether they bought it or stole it or had it made by a captive we do not know; but there it is in Denmark as early as the first century of our era, and its presence is eloquent. So with the Celts, who came quite as near to Roman trade (witness Caesar) as the Germans. And later, when the Celts had become differentiated and the Irish were settled in Ireland, no branch of the family cared more for classical studies or did more to keep them alive than they. They developed their 'native traditions' to be sure, and preserved them carefully; but if Loki is Caucasian and Baldr Lydian, how sure can we be of the Irish?

To me it seems very likely that the palace of Bricriu and the palace of Hugon are both modified Regiae Solis, or Abodes of the Sun, and they may be Celtic for all I know, but I do not think they are therefore primitive. Compared to the pre-animistic stage of thought, mythology itself seems a late and sophisticated development. And certainly the use of symbols such as carbuncles, or twelve beds surrounding a thirteenth, or the signs of the zodiac, does not argue a primitive intelligence groping blindly among the most immediate phenomena of nature. Hans Naumann expresses the distinction in words upon which I can not improve:

An die fundamentale Bedeutung astraler Vorgänge für die primitive Religiosität glaube ich nicht. Die Mythologie der Mexikaner ist mir kein Beweis, weil deren

ganze Kultur nicht ursprünglich genug ist, Der ganz Primitive bemerkt die Natur gar nicht, weil er selbst vollkommen noch ein Stück der Natur ist. Naturreligionen sind, wenn und wo es sie gibt, nichts Ursprüngliches. Der geregelte Lauf von Sonne und Mond, der geregelte Wechsel von Tag und Nacht, der ewig gleiche Auf-und Niedergang der Gestirne erregen die Aufmerksamkeit des ganz Primitiven nicht; wohl aber der überraschende Uebergang von Leben zum Tod . . . .[1]

This is perhaps an extreme statement, but it serves to remind us that the word 'primitive' should not be lightly used, even in speaking of very ancient things; even in discussing Palaces of the Sun that may be as old as Babylon.

New York University

[1] *Primitive Gemeinschaftskultur* (Jena, 1921), p. 8.

THE COOPERATION OF MEDIAEVAL PENANCE AND SECULAR LAW[1]

By THOMAS P. OAKLEY

In the historical relations of Church and State there is an important chapter which until recently has been wholly neglected, and in which many pages are still missing. This chapter is concerned with the coöperation of the mediaeval Church and State in combatting what we now call crimes.[2]

It is known that the processes which furnished the foundations for modern penal law among Celtic and Germanic peoples developed in the Middle Ages.[3] The rise of orderly and relatively peaceful methods of settling disputes was ushered in by the customs of compounding the blood-feud into money payments, of submitting disputes to the judgment of a court, and of making some provision for the enforcement of court decisions; while malefactors must sometimes suffer additional punishment as breakers of the king's peace.[4] But these orderly processes had to struggle against powerful obstacles, which long retarded the development of peaceful justice. Private vengeance was still allowed in some cases, and sometimes developed into dangerous private wars,[5] for some time, the executive machinery for enforcing the law was weak;[6] the method of choosing compurgators would

[1] Read before the American Society for Church History, December 28, 1931.

[2] What we now regard as crimes against the public peace were then more often considered as torts, or wrongs against the individual or clan; cf. T. P. Oakley, *English Penitential Discipline and Anglo-Saxon Law*, (*Columbia University Studies in History*, cvii, no. 2, New York, 1923), chap. v, and *infra*. But we shall find it more convenient to use the word 'crime' in its popular sense—i.e., to mean an offence punishable by law.

[3] The native elements may have arisen before then and the Roman contributions certainly did, but the actual growth of all these elements among Celtic and Germanic races was in the Middle Ages. *Vide infra*, the works on the laws of these peoples, *passim*.

[4] Historical antecedent of the present public peace. *Vide* H. Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte* (2 vols., Leipzig, 1887–1892, 2d. ed. of vol. i, 1906 and of vol. ii, 1928), *passim;* Oakley, *op. cit.*, p. 165; *Anc. Laws of Wales*, (2 vols., ed. Aneurin Owen, London, 1841), *s.v. king*, etc. Among the early Irish, extra penalties were added for offences against persons, places, etc., within the 'precincts' especially protected by chieftains or kings; see the many references to 'precincts' in *Anc. Laws of Ireland* (6 vols., ed. W. N. Hancock *et al.*, Dublin, 1865–1901), *passim*. The king's peace among the Welsh and Irish has been neglected and is being investigated by the present writer.

[5] Brunner, *op. cit.*, i, 153; Oakley, *op. cit.*, pp. 152–154. *Anc. Laws of Wales*, i, 223, 229, 441, 443, 779; *Anc. Laws of Ireland*, iii, cxxii.

[6] Brunner, *op. cit.*, *s.vv. Selbsthilfe, Rechtsweigerung, Sippe*, and *passim;* Oakley, *op. cit.*, pp. 161–166; *Anc. Laws of Ireland*, i, xxiv–xxvi, iii, vii, lxxxix and *passim*. Enforcement was stronger among the Welsh than among the contemporary Anglo-Saxons; cf. Oakley, *loc. cit.* with *Anc. Laws of Wales, s.vv. king, courts, court officials, enforcements*, etc.

foster perjury;[1] and the secular law sometimes left unpunished certain heinous offences.[2]

In such circumstances, the pressure exerted against malefactors by the secular government needed reinforcement and supplementing. This aid was rendered by the Church, through religious sanctions and safeguards to strengthen legal procedure, provisions which backed secular enforcement, and supplementary penalties for delinquents. Ecclesiastical discipline was the natural means used for this coöperation,[3] and the chief instrument for such discipline was penance.[4]

Penitential discipline had close connections with many more aspects of mediaeval life than has usually been represented by historians dealing with penance.[5] It possessed many ramifications, which penetrated deeply into numerous phases of mediaeval society, secular as well as ecclesiastical. Social life was profoundly affected by numerous penitential prescriptions, which regulated such varied matters as food and drink, marriage, sexual relations, charity, the treatment of children,[6] the emancipation of bondmen, and the sacredness of oaths.[7]

Behind the constant pressure exerted upon the criminal by ecclesiastical discipline and secular law lay other close connections between Church and State. These associations are to be observed in manifold aspects, with an influence which pervaded a great part of life in the Middle Ages.

In contrast to our present practice, the secular laws of that time constantly reiterated that crimes were sins, and that secular penal law had a religious, as well as a punitive purpose.[8] In addition to being wrongs against

[1] They were usually chosen in fixed numbers from the kindred of the accused; hence it might often happen that compurgators would swear to matters of which they were ignorant. *Vide* Brunner, *op. cit.*, I, 123, 260, II, 375; Oakley, *op. cit.*, I, 156. Cf. *Anc. Laws of Wales, s.v. raith; Anc. Laws of Ireland*, I, 232, II, 280 *et seqq.*, III, 152 and *passim.*

[2] The exact offences so neglected differed for each of the above peoples. Among the Anglo-Saxons, the punishment of perjury, sexual, and ecclesiastical offences were usually left to the Church; *vide* Oakley, *op. cit.*, pp. 141–142.

[3] For moral and ecclesiastical purposes of penances, see the appropriate articles in the encyclopedias of theology, etc.

[4] In addition to excommunication, degradation, etc. The greater ban of excommunication was an emergency measure, whereas penance was the more usual means of discipline; cf. the references *supra* and the arts. *Excommunication* in the encyclopedias. *Penance* as used in this article connotes the penitential works of expiation, rather than the sacrament as a whole.

[5] Oakley, *op. cit.*, pp. 19–21 and the bibliographies *ibid.*, pp. 209–211, to which one should add J. T. McNeill, *The Celtic Penitentials*, etc., (Paris, 1923 and serially in *Rev. Celt.*, 1922–1923); art. by Magnin on *Indulgences*, in Vacant et Mangenot, *Dict. de theol. cath.* (1923); B. Poschmann, *Die abendländische Kirchenbusse* (Breslau, 1930).

[6] In penances for infanticide, *cf. infra.*

[7] Cf. Oakley, *op. cit.*, pp. 19–21 and *passim;* also *infra.*

[8] There are hosts of passages in the secular laws of the peoples concerned. *Vide* F. Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (3 vols., Halle, 1898–) II, *s.v. Moral, Homiletisches; MGH.*,

individuals or the State,[1] crimes were regarded as defiling the soul of the committor. This conception is best exemplified in the Irish laws, in which the Old-Irish verb used to express the commission of a crime also means 'to defile,' and it is definitely stated that 'body and soul are defiled by committing crimes.'[2] To purge the criminal from this defilement and to punish him for his crime, the secular laws constantly aided the Church by requiring and enforcing auricular confession, penance and excommunication. Such laws exist for each of the peoples in question.

Among the Welsh, the Laws of Hoel the Good required auricular confession of all above the age of seven;[3] and specifically demanded the performance of penance in cases of homicide,[4] waylaying, and treason against a lord.[5]

Among the Irish, the Brehon Laws elevated the position of culprits who had gone to confession and were undergoing penance;[6] demanded that criminals perform penance in addition to other penalties;[7] and visited them with partial outlawry until they completed the penances assigned by the clergy.[8]

In the Laws of Alfred the Great, criminals who sought sanctuary, and there confessed their offences to a priest, should have half of the secular composition remitted.[9] Other laws of the Anglo-Saxons required penance for sins in general and for crimes specifically, under penalty of fines for failure to do penance.[10] In addition to the pressure of penance and of secular compositions, the criminal was subjected to the ban of excommunication. This was greatly feared because of the terrible curses heaped upon each member of the culprit's body and upon all persons who aided him.[11] Excommunication carried additional force in that the excommunicated person was debarred from the royal court, from the right to burial in consecrated ground, and from the rites of the Church, as well as being subjected to social ostracism.[12]

Legg., Sect. II, vol. I (ed. Boretius, Hanover, 1883) *passim; Anc. Laws of Ireland, passim; Anc. Laws of Wales, passim.*

[1] Cf. *supra* on torts and the king's peace.

[2] *Anc. Laws of Ireland,* VI, 162; III, 96–97. Church and State required penance from all sinners as well as criminals, but we naturally stress the aspects pertinent to our theme.

[3] *Anc. Laws of Wales,* I, 135 (*Vened. Code*).

[4] *Ibid.,* I, 231, (*Dimet. Code*); cf. II, XXXV, 769. Also for perjury, discussed separately, *infra.*

[5] *Ibid.,* I, 551; II, 409, 411, 857 (*Dimet. Code* and later laws).

[6] *Anc. Laws of Ireland,* IV, 369.

[7] *Ibid.,* III, 107; IV, 229; V, 52–53, 120–121, and *passim,* under penance.

[8] Criminals suffered diminution or loss of honor-price, i.e., payment due for personal injury or insult; *cf. ibid.,* I, 57 *et seqq.* and V, 73–74, 76–87.

[9] Liebermann, *op. cit., I, Alf.* 5, 2. Apparently there was difficulty in enforcing penance; cf. the Treaty between Edward the Elder and Guthrum, *Prol.* in Liebermann, *op cit.,* I.

[10] As well as for violations of canon law. *Cf.* Oakley, *op. cit.,* p. 141 *et seqq.*

[11] *Ibid.,* p. 147; and Liebermann, *op. cit.,* II, *s.v. Exkommunikation.*

[12] Liebermann, *loc. cit.*; Oakley, *op. cit.,* p. 148.

Frankish secular laws for the enforcement of penance[1] were even more numerous and thoroughgoing than among the Welsh, Irish and Anglo-Saxons. With the Merovingians, such legislation is exemplified in a decree of Childebert, in 595, requiring penance for incest.[2] But the Carolingian monarchs constantly reiterated severe laws requiring the performance of public and private penance.

Under Carloman and Pippin, several capitularies were promulgated demanding that ecclesiastical discipline be strictly carried out. Beginning in 742, with provisions applying to false priests and sexual offences, the list of misdeeds for which penance must be performed was extended to many other offences.[3] Further decrees required penance for misdeeds in general.[4] Under Pippin, in particular, stern laws visited with exile,[5] outlawry, fines or imprisonment those who refused to do penance.[6]

The capitularies of Charlemagne frequently ordain ecclesiastical penalties, or otherwise hold up the hands of the bishops in disciplining their flocks, in decrees that increasingly become more detailed and severe. In the general capitulary of 760–761, there are several general provisions for enforcing penance.[7] In 779, the bishops were empowered to deal with those guilty of incest, and those who resisted episcopal action should suffer confiscation.[8] A capitulary attributed to the year 802 instructs the counts and the *missi* to coerce all who refuse to submit to sentences from their bishops, and to perform penances inposed.[9] In the same year, another capitulary passed at Aix demands penance for homicide, parricide, infanticide, and illicit and incestuous living, under pain of forfeiture.[10]

[1] For brief but inadequate treatments: J. C. L. Gieseler, *Church History* (Engl. transl. New York, 1857), I, 524; II, 54; art. *Buss* in Herzog-Hauck, *RE.*, but more fully under *Sendgerichte*, particularly for public penances; Schmitz, *op. cit.*, I, *passim;* H. C. Lea, *Auricular Confession and Indulgences* (3 vols., Phila., 1896), II, *passim.* For a few of Charlemagne's capitularies on penance, *vide* Watkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 672 *et seqq.*

[2] In *MGH., Legg.*, I, 9.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, 9, 18–24. Carloman's decrees were in 742 and 743; Pippin's in 744, 753, 755 and 757.

[4] By Pippin in 755: 'Si aliquis ista omnia contemserit,' etc. referring to penances and other ecclesiastical discipline; *ibid.*, I, 26, *cf.* 8–10.

[5] See the law of 755, *supra.*

[6] A capitulary of Pippin's at Compiegne, in 757; in *MGH., Legg.* I, cap. 22. *Capit. incerti anni* repeats some provisions of *ann.* 755 and 757, and requires sixty solidi fine for refusing obedience to the bishop; *cf.* the same ed.

[7] In *MGH., Legg.*, I, 32–34.

[8] *Ibid.*, I, 35. The date is somewhat uncertain. The bishop would act through the synodal court, penance and excommunication: Herzog-Hauck, *RE., s.v. Sendgerichte.*

[9] Lea, *op. cit.*, II, 110.

[10] *Capp.* 32–33, 37–38 in *MGH., Legg.*, I, 95–96. In 804, a capitulary of Carloman commands public penance for rapine, *ibid.*, I, 552–553.

After Charlemagne, Frankish monarchs continued to pass laws enforcing penance. Under Louis le Debonnaire, (814–840) capitularies attempted to revive public penance;[1] and one who should murder a penitent must pay a triple fine, in addition to the *wergeld*.[2] Still later, Charles the Bald, unable to repress or punish rapine by retainers of his lawless nobles, called upon the bishops to impose penance upon the offenders, and to excommunicate their masters who failed to desist and repent.[3]

The Church, on its side, supplied potent religious sanctions to reinforce the law. Many religious concepts and customs profoundly affected various phases of secular law, through religious taboos, ideas of magic and of *mana*.[4] veneration of ancestors,[5] fear of anthropomorphic deities,[6] and the like. These religious sanctions reached back into pagan times and were continued under Christianity, when the powers of pagan priests and deities over law were followed by similar powers of the Christian priests, saints and God.[7] Legal procedure was backed by awe-inspiring religious sanctions and surrounded by solemn religious rituals;[8] and it was devoutly believed that God and the saints visited with dire vengeance those who misused relics and other religious safeguards employed by secular law.[9]

Particularly significant were the religious rituals and safeguards used to impart greater sanctity to oaths, especially because such oaths were then required in a multitude of penal, political, business, social and religious transactions. Although these oaths were frequently administered among the Germanic peoples,[10] some of the most interesting examples survive for the Welsh and Irish.

In addition to the usual clearing-oaths in criminal cases,[11] the Welsh laws demanded oaths sworn on relics, or on other holy articles or persons,[12] in

[1] *MGH., Legg.*, IV, 526, in 819 and the Lombard Laws in *ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.*, IV, 282, *cap.* 5; Lea, *op. cit.*, II, 74.

[3] *Ibid.*, II, 111; *cf. MGH., Legg.*, I, 477.

[4] E. T. Jenks, *Law and Politics in the Middle Ages* (2d. ed., 1913), chap. VIII; H. Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte* (2d. ed.), I, 150, 184–185, 216, 236, 245 *et seqq.* McNeill, *op. cit.*, *passim. Mana* is illustrated in the belief that punitive power resided in the sacred objects on which oaths were taken. *Cf. infra* and an art. by Mauss, in *RHR.*, XXXV, 49 *et seqq.*

[5] *Cf. opp. citt. supra*, especially under the force of custom, etc.

[6] E.g. in appeals to their vengenace upon perjurers, etc., and in the judgment of God; *cf. ibid* and *infra*.

[7] Priests supervised or participated in the rituals of law. For the powers of priests, deities, saints, etc.: Brunner, *op. cit.*, I, 258 and *passim;* Oakley, *op. cit.*, pp. 139–140; McNeill, *op. cit.*, *passim.*

[8] *Opp. citt.*, under ordeals, oaths, procedure, etc.

[9] *Ibid., locc. citt.;* and *infra*, under oaths.

[10] *Vide* Brunner, *op. cit., passim.* They are well known.

[11] J. E. Lloyd, *History of Wales*, etc. (2 vols. London, 1911, 1912), I, 307 and *passim;* and in the Welsh Laws, *s.v. raith.*

[12] E.g. relics, the gospels, a church, an altar, the name of God, the Eucharist, the hand of a bishop, etc. *Vide locc. citt.*

cases involving property,[1] abduction,[2] attesting the paternity of a child who is being affiliated into a tribe,[3] seduction,[4] surety and contracts,[5] lodging information against a thief,[6] witnesses,[7] and the induction of a judge into office.[8] Similar religious oaths were used by the Irish in cases concerning distraint of property,[9] boundaries,[10] determining the disputed paternity of a child,[11] and controversies respecting honor-price,[12] besides the use of oaths of compurgation.[13] To take oaths falsely on holy objects, or to violate such oaths afterward, added to ordinary perjury the deadly sins of impiety and blasphemy. It was believed that such perjury was subject to supernatural punishment, which was greatly feared.[14] According to the Irish laws, God, Himself, also 'avenged upon a territory false witness, false judgment for hire and false contracts.'[15]

Both Church and State saw to it that perjurors received condign punishment through secular penalties and ecclesiastical discipline. The measures taken against perjury, that most deadly menace to law enforcement, furnish some of the best examples of the cooperation of the two disciplines. As there were essential differences in the treatment of this offence in Wales, Ireland, England and the Carolingian kingdoms, they must be discussed separately.

For perjury, the Welsh laws decreed that penance must be performed, in addition to the payment of heavy secular fines.[16] Perjurers were also subjected to serious legal disabilities, and were denied the right of sanctuary.[17] In the Welsh penitential canons, the penances for perjury were differentiated according to circumstances, ranging from one or two years[18] to six or

[1] *Anc. Laws of Wales*, I, 115, 134, 155, 561, 743.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, 749, 752–754.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, 207.

[4] *Ibid.*, I, 752–754.

[5] *Ibid.*, I, 132 *et seqq.* 273, 396 *et seqq.*, 613.

[6] Ibid., I, 246, 419.

[7] *Ibid., passim s. vv. witnesses, land cases*, etc.

[8] *Ibid.*, I, 371 *et seqq.*

[9] Used to compel a criminal to submit to justice, as well as for other purposes; *cf. Anc. Laws of Ireland*, I, 195, 197, 233, 245; II, 19.

[10] Many passages in *ibid.*; see index and glossary.

[11] *Ibid., locc. citt.*

[12] One of the compensations for personal insults or injuries. For numerous references in the Irish Laws, *vide locc. citt.*

[13] *Ibid.*, I, 232; II, 280, 283; III, 152 and *passim.*

[14] Lloyd, *op. cit.*, I, 307, after many passages in the Welsh Laws; P.W. Joyce, *Social History of Ancient Ireland* (2 vols. London, etc., 1903, 1914), I, 292–293, 103 *et seqq.*, 117; Brunner, *op. cit.*, I, 261; Oakley, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

[15] *Anc. Laws of Ireland*, IV, 53.

[16] *Anc. Laws of Wales*, I, 729; II, 34, 118–119.

[17] *Ibid.*, I, 422, 591, 596; II, 199, 218, 240, 700. For specific cases: *ibid.*, I, 115, 117; II, 34–35, 114–119 and *passim.*

[18] One, if ignorantly; two, if committed after doubt. *Cf. infra.*

seven;[1] while the Penitential of David required four-fold restitution for perjury committed in a church,[2] in cases involving property.

The Brehon Laws provided a great variety of penalties for perjury, corresponding to the different circumstances in which an oath had been taken, the rank of the injured,[3] the place from which an article had been stolen,[4] etc. Perjury in cases involving the ownership of property[5] entailed restitution,[6] plus the payment of honor-price and a fine.[7] Laymen who committed perjury also suffered diminished honor-price,[8] while clerics guilty of this offence lost full honor-price, plus ecclesiastical penalties.[9] The secular penalties were in addition to the penances imposed.[10]

The amount of penance to be assigned was determined by the clergy.[11] For taking a false oath, the Penitential of Vinnian required severe penance for seven years, plus the emancipation of a slave or the giving of equivalent alms; and the offender should never again take an oath.[12] In the Penitential of Cummean,[13] perjury is penanced according to the degree of the offence, terms of one, two, four, or seven years being assigned.[14]

Among the Anglo-Saxons, a few of the earlier secular laws penalized perjury by heavy fines;[15] while later laws punished it with mutilation, or fines,[16] or exile,[17] and perjurors were denied the right to take an oath.[18] But the English secular law put upon the Church the chief burdens of preventing

[1] Six, for lay suborners, and seven for the clergy. Welsh Synod of Victoria, sixth or seventh centuries, cans. v, ix, in H. J. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher, u.s.w.* (Mainz, 1883, 1898), I, 493–494.

[2] Probably a case involving ownership of property; see can. xvi, in F. W. H. Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen, u.s.w.* (Halle, 1851), 101.

[3] *Anc. Laws of Ireland*, III, 397.

[4] Whether under special protection or not; *ibid.*

[5] Theft, bargains, contract, pledge, hostage, etc.: *Anc. Laws of Ireland*, III, 397 and *passim.*

[6] Sometimes single, sometimes double; *ibid.*

[7] Sometimes one-seventh of the blood-fine of the rank against which the false oath had been made; *ibid.*

[8] For the first and second offences, but loss of honor-price for the third: *ibid.*, I, 57.

[9] *Locc. citt., supra.*

[10] *Cf. supra*, the secular laws requiring penance.

[11] Oakley, *op. cit.*, p. 60; Watkins, *op. cit., passim.*

[12] *P. Vinn.*, can. xxii, in Schmitz, *op. cit.*, I, 504. This is of the late sixth or early seventh century; *cf.* McNeill, *op. cit., passim.*

[13] About the middle of the seventh century; see the ed. by Zettinger, in *AKKR.*, LXXXII, (1902), 501 *et seqq.*

[14] *P. Cumm.*, can. iii in *op. cit.*, 512.

[15] *Ine.* 35, 1, 13; *EGU.* 11; I *Edw.* 3, all in the Liebermann ed. Brunner, *op. cit.*, II, 68, 682 erroneously limits secular punishment for perjury to the time of Cnut forward.

[16] *II Cn.* 36, 6—For perjury committed on relics, lose a hand, or one-half the *wergild;* see the Liebermann ed.

[17] For perjurors who will not do penance: *ibid.*, II, *s.v. Meineid.*

[18] *Ibid., loc. cit.*

and punishing perjury.[1] To strengthen the sanctity of the law, the penitentials used in England prescribed detailed and severe penances for perjury. The Penitential of Theodore penalizes different degrees of this offence by terms of one, three, or eleven years;[2] and somewhat similar treatment is accorded by the Penitential of Bede.[3] In that ascribed to Egbert, the penalties for perjury are very complicated; the terms running for various periods, from three *quadrigesimae*[4] to as high as eleven years.[5] Very severe penances for perjury are also prescribed by later English penitentials.[6]

According to a decree of Charlemagne, he who has been convicted of perjury shall lose a hand, or redeem[7] it. In addition to such a penalty, Continental penitentials of the eighth and early ninth centuries demanded, for perjury, penances differing according to the degree of the offence, like the corresponding prescriptions of Cummean, Vinnian and Theodore,[8] already mentioned.

Penitential discipline rendered valuable aid to the secular laws in other ways. Penitential provisions continually insisted that penitents obey the sentences of the secular authorities,[9] under pain of additional penance for refusal to do justice.[10] Restitution must be made for property stolen or for other wrongs perpetrated.[11] Of particular interest are provisions concerning reparations for wounds. Of Irish origin, and subsequently incorporated into penitentials elsewhere, these demanded that he who wounds another must pay for medical treatment, do the work of the injured until his recovery, and perform penance, as well as pay the regular secular composition.[12]

Some of the strongest obstacles to the preservation of law and order, in early stages of law, are the survival of the blood-feud and the right of private vengeance. Among the peoples under discussion, these customs persisted alongside of more orderly methods of settling disputes and, in some cases, were recognized by law.[13] But the penitential system set its face

[1] *Ibid.*, II, *s.v. Kirchenstaatsrecht.*

[2] Oakley, *op. cit.*, p. 175. This was of the late seventh century: *ibid.*, p. 105.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 175–176; *cf.* pp. 117 *et seqq.*

[4] Periods of forty days of fasting: *ibid.*, pp. 51, 90, 93.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 176–177. The date is the middle of the eighth century, *ibid.*, pp. 122 *et seqq.*

[6] Later than the eighth century: *Ibid.*, p. 131 *et seqq*, pp. 178–179.

[7] *MGH., Legg.*, I, 124, cap. 11.

[8] Oakley, *op. cit.*, p. 177 *et seqq.*

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 169 *et seqq.*

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 168–169.

[11] Either single, double or quadruple restitution: *ibid.* p. 172 *et seqq.*

[12] *P. Vinn.*, can. ix, *P. Bede*, cans. iv or iii or ii, 2, *Conf. ps. Egb.* xxii; *vide* Wasserschleben, *op. cit.*, pp. 110, 225. *Cf. P. Casin* in Schmitz, *op. cit.* p. 430. The custom is apparently derived from the requirement of 'sick-maintenance' in *Anc. Laws of Ireland, q.v., passim.*

[13] *Anc. Laws of Wales*, I, 223, 229, 441, 443, 779; Liebermann, *op. cit.*, II, *s.v. Fehde, Blutrache;* Brunner, *op. cit.*, I, 227 *et seqq.; Anc. Laws of Ireland*, III, lxxx–lxxxi, cxxii.

against such practices by providing penances for homicide committed in revenge, as well as for other forms.[1]

From the secular laws, we have already seen that criminals must perform penance, in addition to fulfilling the secular penalties. Hence, in the mediaeval system of social control, the administrative pressure exerted against crimes might amount to a severe total of discipline, composed of secular and ecclesiastical parts.[2] In general, the secular penalties were usually money compositions, paid to the victim's kindred in case of homicide, or to the injured person in case of other personal wrongs.[3] Penitential discipline generally consisted of fasting for three days a week or for three forty-day periods a year, during the term assigned for a specific sin,[4] with some commutation or redemption of penance for those who could not fast.[5] A few typical combinations of penances with secular penalties will show the severity of the total punishment suffered by the criminal.

Among the Welsh, the slayer of a common freeman must pay one-hundred twenty-six kine,[6] besides the penance for a capital offence.[7] For petty larceny, the penalty was convict-slavery,[8] plus a penance of six months, or of one or two years.[9]

With the Irish, the kindred of a slain freeman must be paid seven bond-women or their equivalent,[10] plus the honor-price of the slayer,[11] plus other secular compensations;[12] and the slayer suffered partial or complete loss of legal protection until he performed penance, of which the term was for seven years or more.[13] For theft, the customary secular penalty was double

[1] Oakley, *op. cit.*, pp. 167–169. The penances might be forty days, three years, three and one-half years, seven or ten years, according to the penitential in question.

[2] Penance was intended to be medicinal, as well as punitive. See the encyclopedias of theology, etc. *s.v. Penance.*

[3] If the offender could not pay, his kindred were responsible. *Vide* Brunner, *op. cit.*, *Anc. Laws of Wales, Anc. Laws of Ireland, passim.*

[4] Sometimes in addition to public penance; *vide* Oakley, *op. cit.*, chaps. ii–iii.

[5] Some penitentials did not allow such alleviation, but others did, under limitations; *vide ibid.* pp. 68–72, 88–104.

[6] *Anc. Laws of Wales*, I, 223, 229, 407 and *passim.*

[7] *P. Dav.*, can. x, Schmitz, *op. cit.*, I, 493, omitting definite terms for guilty laity. Their penances were usually less.

[8] For grand larceny, he might be hung: *Anc. Laws of Wales*, I, 462.

[9] *P. Dav.*, can. xiv; *Sin. Luc. Vict.*, can. i; Schmitz, *op. cit.*, I, 492, 494.

[10] Seven bond-women were seven *cumhals*, equal to twenty-one cows, paid by the slayer, if he were able, but otherwise with the assistance of his kindred. The reckoning was complex: *Anc. Laws of Ireland*, III, lxxx–lxxxiii, xc–xci, 371–377. In certain aggravated cases the amount was increased.

[11] Sometimes of the slain also: *ibid.*, III, xciii–xciv, 99.

[12] *Vide locc. citt., supra.*

[13] Depending upon circumstances, with higher penalties for the guilty clergy: *Can. Hibern. Tit.*, I, cans. ii–iii, *P. Cumm.*, can. iv, i, in Wasserschleben, *op. cit.*, 136 and *AKKR.*, LXXXII, 513.

restitution,[1] plus diminution of legal protection as above; and the penance was for one or two years.[2]

In pre-Norman England, some penitentials prescribed seven years for homicide,[3] but other manuals four or five years of penance,[4] to which the law of Wessex added two-hundred shillings for the killing of a common freeman.[5] Secular penalties for theft might be outlawry, or death, or the payment of his own *wergild*, or to be sold into slavery.[6] If he escaped death, he must perform penance for from one to seven years, according to circumstances.[7]

In addition to penalizing the offences mentioned, the penitentials prescribed penances for all sorts of sins, in detailed schedules that strongly remind one of the secular lists of compositions.[8] There were numerous penitential provisions condemning different kinds of sexual impurity, the punishment of which was one of the special tasks of the Church.[9] Finally, ecclesiastical discipline struck at the roots of evil actions by penalizing sins of thought.[10]

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[1] *Anc. Laws of Ireland*, III, 375 *et seqq.*, and the secular laws requiring penance, *supra*.

[2] With less for young people and in cases of necessity: *P. Cumm.*, can. iii in *AKKR.*, LXXXII, 507–508, 511–512.

[3] *P. Theod.*, can. iv, 4, if the slayer will not give up his arms. *Cf. P. ps-Bede*, can. xiii, 2 in Wasserschleben, *op. cit.*, pp. 188, 265.

[4] *P. Bede*, can. iii, 2 or can. iv, 2; *P. Egb.*, can. iv, 9, 11; *P. ps. Egb.*, IV, can. v. *Vide* Schmitz, *op. cit.*, I, 559; Wasserschleben, *op. cit.*, pp. 224, 235, 333.

[5] With more for those of higher rank: Liebermann, *op. cit.*, II, *s. v. Wergeld.* In Kent it was one-hundred shillings. Secret murder was unatoneable: *loc. cit.*, *s. v. Mord.*

[6] Distinguishing the degrees of theft was a complex matter: Liebermann, *op. cit.*, II, *s.v. Diebstahl.*

[7] The smaller penances were for stealing lay-property, the larger ones for stealing sacred property, i.e., technical sacrilege. *P. ps-Bede*, can. iii in Wasserschleben, *op. cit.*, p. 253. For heavy penances for grand larceny: *P. Egb.* can. x, 3, *P. Theod.*, can. iii, 3, *P. Bede*, can. viii, 4 in *ibid.*, pp. 241, 187, 228.

[8] Oakley, *op. cit.*, 14; McNeill, *op. cit.*, *passim;* Boudinhon, in *RHLR.* II, (1897), 503 *et seqq.*

[9] For hosts of provisions on these matters, see the edd. of the penitentials mentioned, *passim*. Sometimes the Church provided the only penalties for certain serious offences of this character: e.g. for sodomy, bestiality, and other unnatural offences. Among the Anglo-Saxons, many sexual offences were peculiarly in the jurisdiction of the Church: Liebermann *op. cit.*, II, *s.vv. Pönitenz, Kirchenstaatsrecht*, and Oakley, *op. cit.*, p. 141 *et seqq.*

[10] See the edd. of the penitentials, *passim*, under sins of thought.

THE ANCESTRY OF THE 'VICE'

By ROBERT WITHINGTON

It is, perhaps, a commonplace to observe that the continuity of dramatic development is one of the most striking things which a study of dramatic history brings out; cross influences are also interesting, based, as these are, on the principle that nothing imported from an alien stage can grow in a new environment unless the soil has been prepared for the transplanting. Familiar in broad outlines even to undergraduate students is the chain having as links the miracle-play, the morality, the interlude, all of which contribute to the Tudor and Elizabethan drama, which in turn leads to our own stage; familar to fewer are such semi-dramatic phenomena as the pageantic royal-entry and the folk-play, on the outskirts of the more legitimate dramatic field. More and more will historians of the drama be led to note the importance of this last form, which, like the ballad, is popular in origin and development, though, like the more regular drama, its birth may date from a religious ceremony.

The most important figure of the morality play, which was the most prominent form of the drama at the end of the Middle Ages, is the so-called 'Vice.' Originally the servant of the Seven Deadly Sins, he carried out the orders of his masters, in their attempts to lay hands on the soul of Man; there was, consequently, much roguery in his composition. He became also the mainspring of the action of the Mora Pities, and gradually, as pictures of contemporary life crept into these plays to make their preaching more effective, he absorbed comic characteristics which added buffoonery to his viciousness, so that, before the end of mediaeval times, he was a potential clown and villain. The later development of this figure has been sketched,[1] and one ancestor noted — the Devil of the miracle-play.[2] The late Mr R. J. E. Tiddy has suggested an ancestor of the Devil in the 'black-faced fools of the folk-play.'[3]

The origin of the folk-play goes back to the pre-Christian religious rites of the Teutonic peoples. The relation of sword-dance, morris dance, and similar celebrations, to the fight between Winter and Summer, reflecting the

[1] 'The development of the "Vice,"' in *Essays in Memory of Barrett Wendell* (Cambridge, 1926), pp. 155–167.

[2] L. W. Cushman, 'The Devil and the Vice in the English Dramatic Literature before Shakespeare,' in *Studien zur englischen Philologie* (Halle a. S., 1900) does not accept this genealogy, but his reasons are not wholly convincing.

[3] See R. J. E. Tiddy, *The Mummer's Play* (Oxford, 1923), p. 96. He traces the origin of the Vice through the Devil to the folk-fool, who also survives in the folk-play as it is found in English country districts to-day. For examples of the mummers' play in recent times, see Kenneth Grahame, *Golden Age* (1899 ed., p. 117) and Thomas Hardy, *Return of the Native*, Bk. II, chap. IV and V.

restoration to life characteristic of the New Year, has long been known.[1] Mr Tiddy does not let us forget that these 'plays' were given in isolated communities, by people who never got far away from their own villages, and it is in such communities that they are found to-day. Though (as he points out) the rejuvenation of an old man follows contests between fathers and sons in *The Clouds* and *The Wasps*,[2] the direct source of this feature of the folk-play is rather pagan ritual than Greek drama. Like the ballad, these plays were orally transmitted for centuries, each in its community, and like the ballads again, the dialogue was changed frequently. The Robin Hood figure doubtless came to these plays from the ballads, and perhaps, as Mr Tiddy suggests, the figure of St George was imported from the romances,[3] Bold Slasher became (perhaps in the eighteenth century) Beau Slasher, though 'at Chadlington [in North Oxfordshire] the mummers perpetuated the more suitable corruption of Bull Slasher.'[4] In the Leicestershire play we find Captain Slasher. Other corruptions are evident: St George becomes Prince George; William is introduced, as are King Alfred and his Queen; Old King Cole, Blunderbore and Little Jack, from nursery rimes and folk-tales; Mr Tiddy finds a Napoleon. The quack doctor, which Mr Pollard derives from the folk-play in the Croxton *Play of the Sacrament*,[5] develops as did the Devil in the Corpus Christi plays; Dr Whitmore points out that when this figure ceased to be feared, he became comic;[6] and Tiddy observes that once the medicine-man ceased to be feared, his natural fate was to become a target for witticism. The Vice's 'dagger of lath' Mr Tiddy holds to be the sword of sacrifice, and the *quête* in such a play as *Mankind* goes back, he thinks, to the collection which survives more generally than any other act of ritual.[7] This is, perhaps, carrying his theory too far; it would be perfectly natural for a band of strolling actors to take up a collection — how else would they gain their livelihood? — and such a collection would naturally be taken at an interesting moment of the play.

The most substantial of the links that unite Mummers' Plays, Miracles,

[1] Cf. Frazer, *The Golden Bough;* Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage;* Tiddy, *op. cit.*, ch. II. In this connection, the valuable article by Professor Baskervill, 'Dramatic Aspects of Mediaeval Folk Festivals in England,' in *Studies in Philology* (January 1920) XVII, 1, should be noted. Cf. also Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage;* Withington, *English Pageantry*, ch. I, etc.

[2] Tiddy, *op. cit.*, p. 75, n.

[3] Cf., however, Baskervill, *art. cit.*, p. 47, and n. 99.

[4] Tiddy, p. 75.

[5] A. W. Pollard, *English Miracle Plays, Moralities, and Interludes* (Oxford, 1914), p. xlv, n. It is not quite clear whether Mr Pollard thinks the doctor got into the folk-plays from the Croxton Play, or vice versa. Mr Tiddy finds in the Doctor a survival of the ancient medicine-man of primitive races.

[6] Charles E. Whitmore, *The Supernatural in Tragedy* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1915), p. 163.

[7] Tiddy, p. 114.

Moralities, and Interludes with the literary drama is provided, Mr Tiddy holds, by the Vice and the characters which are clearly akin to the Vice (pp. 112–3). 'Make every possible allowance for the universality of the dramatic instinct,' he says, 'and even so, it is still difficult — to me it is impossible — not to believe that the Morris fool, the Doctor's man, Beëlzebub, the Fool of the Mummers' Play, the clown of the Sword Play, the devils of the Moralities and the Interludes are all, by dint of their mischief or their black faces[1] or their fooling, ultimately one and the same. That they are all of a type which would exactly suit the taste and preferences of the folk will be conceded without argument.'

Perhaps the songs and dances, the grossness and the nonsense, the fairy-tale, magic, and supernatural elements of the later drama are links relating it to the ritual plays, but it is not necessary to see an influence in these resemblances. One cannot help feeling at times that Mr Tiddy rides a hobby fairly hard, seeing connections where none exist; it is to be deplored that his early death interrupted his work before he had a chance to elaborate his theories with more convincing proof. He would not, it is true, insist that the folk-play is the father of the English drama; but scholars must take it into account more and more, and more and more will it be recognized as of greater importance than historians have hitherto seemed to grant it. Very possibly Vice and witty page — such a figure as Pikeharness in the Wakefield *Killing of Abel* — may go back to the folk-play; Mr Tiddy may also be right in believing that the Devil, by popular pressure, was 'invested with some of the attributes of the black-faced fools of the folk-play.' (p. 96). If he suggests that Garcio, or Pikeharness, is a ritual survival 'connected with the cheeky boy of the Ritual Play,' he admits that he may be, both in Ritual and Miracle, a purely dramatic invention; but he thinks the 'cheeky boy' was influenced by the folk-play fool.

The boasting of the combatants in the Ritual Play may well have led, through such figures as Herod, Pilate, Octavian, and even Jehovah, to the *miles gloriosus*, though 'Udall certainly tricked out Ralph Roister Doister with feathers borrowed from Pyrgopolinices, the Ruffler of the *Miles Gloriosus*,' 'This borrowing,' continues Mr Tiddy (p. 109), 'only strengthens my opinion that the Ruffler must have been generally liked by the people.'

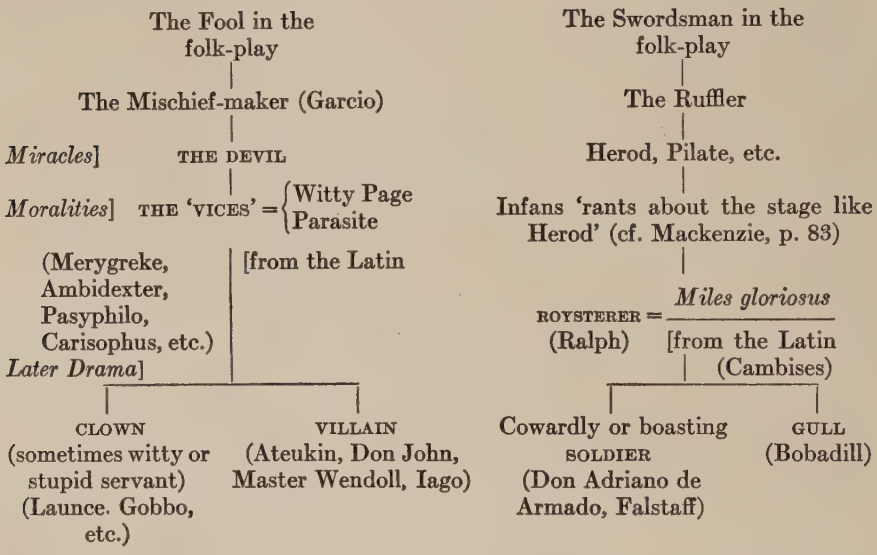
[1] Cf. Wit's

> And I, by the mas, a foole alone,
> Deckt, by Goges bones, lyke a very asse!
> Ingnorance cote, hoode, eares, — ye, by the masse,
> Kokescome and all. I lack but a bable!
> And as for this face, [it] is abhominable,
> As black as the devyll!

in John Redford's *Wit and Science* (*ca.* 1530), lines 811 ff. (Adams, *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas*, p. 338). Ignorance may be considered the 'Vice' of this late morality.

He finds an ancestor of the Mischiefmaker in the Fool and the impudent servant of the ritual drama, citing as later descendants Garcio, Backbiter, Tityvillus, Mischief (noting the name), Imagination (in *Hickscorner*), Iniquity (in *The Nice Wanton*), and similar characters. With Cushman, he agrees that the Vice is distinct from the Clown and the Fool (p. 112), but holds that these figures are akin to one another.

It might be possible to construct a genealogical table — like many another, incomplete — giving both ancestors and descendants of the Vice and related characters:



The minor devils of the Corpus Christi plays were, in a way, the servants of Lucifer; the parasite and witty page partook of many of the characteristics of the Vice, and even Falstaff has been likened to this personage of an earlier stage, though he also shows certain resemblances to the boasting soldier. The Vice was often cowardly, although not often a soldier; he looked out for his own fortune, though not strictly a parasite; his foolishness was not stupid — he was never gulled, though his prey (Mankind) escaped him and his masters. He served the Deadly Sins, or the World, the Flesh, and the Devil, but he was not a mere servant; he may have been part rogue, but he was also part buffoon, and it is this quality which links him with the Fool of the folk-play.

When witty page, parasite, and roisterer came from the Latin comedy to the English drama, they found figures already known, and popular, which resembled them, and so they found themselves at home. The minor devils of the Corpus Christi plays undoubtedly had other ancestors than that in-

dicated on our table, and there were Biblical sources for the historical characters in these plays; but we are likely to forget that the audiences of the mediaeval drama were familiar with folk-play as well, and characteristics of Fool and Swordsman might easily creep into the more sophisticated plays. Sharp as the distinction may have been between Miracle and Morality, there were influences not only from the earlier form on the later, but from the later on the earlier; and there is no reason to suppose that there was no influence from the most primitive form of all — which has not yet wholly died — on both the later forms. If occasionally this influence seems to be unduly stressed, it is because in the past this influence has been often overlooked; we may hope that future text-books illustrating the development of the drama will put the folk-plays nearer the early liturgical texts, if not, indeed, in the opening section of the volume.[1]

Smith College

[1] In Manly's *Specimens of the Pre-Shaksperean Drama,* they come between the Digby *Conversion of St Paul,* and the *Play of the Sacrament* (Part II), and the morality plays (Part IV); in Adams's *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas* after the morality plays (Part VII) and before the 'farces' or interludes (Part IX).

NOTES ON SOME POEMS OF HILDEBERT IN A HARVARD MANUSCRIPT (*MS. Riant 36*)

By MASON HAMMOND

Among the manuscripts from the Riant Collection, presented to the Harvard College Library by J. R. Coolidge and A. C. Coolidge is one catalogued as: *Varia Opuscula Sancti Hieronimi.* It is an octavo volume bound in calf and containing, with the modern cover leaves and vellum end pieces, 118 leaves of a rather fine vellum. The leaves, which have been clipped, average about ten by fifteen and a half centimeters. The volume seems to contain three manuscripts, either collected in one or the result of additions by various scribes. The first covers pages 3^{r}–54^{v}, the second 55^{r}–86^{v}, and the third 87^{r}–116^{v}. All are written in a similar style, a crabbed and small Carolingian on the point of becoming Gothic. This fact and a list of Popes at the beginning running through Eugenius III (1147–1154) suggest a date in the second half of the twelfth century. The earliest mark of ownership is on page 4^{r} at the top: *bibliot. s. sepulchri cameraci*, referring to the abbey church of St Sepulchre at Cambrai. While the note is late, there is nothing in the manuscript to prevent its having been produced in that area. It appears as though the punches had been made through all eight leaves after the gatherings had been folded. And possibly the rulings, in pencil on both sides of the leaves, were made from page to opposite page. All three parts contain miscellaneous selections from the works of various church Fathers, not only St Jerome but also Gregory, Augustine, Bernard, Ives, Isidore, and others. The selections are entirely arbitrary, often fragmentary, and clearly unimportant. They look like a collection of favorite passages for ready reference. Although the last section of the volume ends both a work and the manuscript together at the bottom of page 116^{v}, the other two sections originally had a number of blank pages at their ends, which have been filled by the same or other hands with various items. The first section had only one empty page, 54^{v}, on which was written nineteen lines from St Gregory, quite unconnected with the preceding extracts from the sermons of St Ives of Chartres. The scribe of the second section, however, originally left blank 73^{v}–86^{v}, or from the verso of the third leaf of the tenth gathering (so that these pages were not gatherings appended later but part of the original work at least for one page—the next gathering might have been added when the page and a half were filled up) through the eleventh gathering. The work which ends on 73^{r} is St Jerome's Preface to the *Book of Kings*. Probably the same hand, reduced in size and employing a lighter brown ink and many abbreviations, added a medley of passages which finish with an extract from St Gregory on 80^{r}. From 80^{v} to the middle of 82^{r} are some poems with which this note is primarily concerned.

De cultorib; vinee.

Vinea culta fuit. cultores p̄mi grē. Mlabor erit eccl̄ia bona fuisse
Quem uerentes dispensatore uocante. Tanto de recip̄ gaudia q̄ meruerant.
Sic dñs ostendit ad fndoq; uelim. Agg̃diam op̄ certi de munere simus.

De Inmaturino sup̄nar cēpe xp̄o. Q̄ maturini cantare cēpe psalmi.
dño resurrē. p̄ma canit ordo fidel. Tercia cūcanit cē. crucifixa mitra pat.
Sexta se tenebre. nubi p climata fudit. Nona diu spūs hora
Vesp̄e el audunt xp̄i sac membra sepulc. xp̄o bis sena custodia ponit hora.

I Inuiba sig̃ fuit. noua res. regi canit. Sig̃ fuit & nouū. sydereuq; bonū.
O seula tam gaudo. abscūdes in uba nupce. Deq; dū eius. mari altaq; sceptra
Salue festa dies. toto uenerabilis euo. Qua illuxit lux. imago dei.
Ecce nouo lucis ornatu. gaudia nobis. Hyabit. orbi auct. mors p̄ua pauis.
Ia repetit sumsu solatia. tapada cunis. Sic redit. regē hec dogs. aucta die.
Sexta iocundo reducunt sacra. mundo. Dura. regna uigent. desine ferreagem.
O ia mirent. stupeant. mi mentes. uenerent. Q. regē. ē. qd̄. fit. cernos. dñi. ē.
Q. S patriarchas. typicauerat. ubera prop. Ad. gr. uatis. clausa. recedit. parti.
Spina rosa. micat. dñi. nubecula. solis. Q. genuit. matrē. stella maria. mē.
Ygā ferens. florē. cui fructu. spirat. odorē. Sp̄s. p̄. ē. carnem. nuclei. ē. uia.
Cui sine. matre pat. cui patre. nupta. sine. mat. Diuerat. ut rabbi. nasci. ē. maria.
Salue porta. poli. uia uirgo. maria dei. Q. tuy. orbi. fulsit. ab arce. patri.

De Quid significet hostia duab; panib; diuisa.

Tollit̄ e medio fatis urentib; ōr. Et trahim̄ nos uita pacta uocat.
Hic mihi. hic sep. alup lectune. ad horā. Surgamus q; dñe. ē. uigilē.
Ia sibi. ista. altare. cruēt. Immolat. ecce. Deus. ē. ob. cui. sūt. amici. omnes.
P. cuius. nat. deq. malos. nil uota. suos. Nil. diuersa. deū. nil. locus. ulla. iuuant.
Mā. nec. ire. ego. nec. possim. ista. mereri. In medio. ē. uenia. cui. sac̄ mensa. patet.
Ipsa tamen. uos. aurie. calle. uagantes. Vt redeam. salue. seruo. tuam. ut.
Sic ite. ut. q̄uis. cito. accedim̄. aris. Sarcinulis. cedat. hostia. uicta. ē.
Pars. tertia. uicta. mero. p̄tuus. orat. ope. Sanctus. ne. carnis. erpiat. ipsa. caro.
Abeo defunctis. ait. precetur. un. Hoc. mūnere. ne. ego. alt̄. egeat.

O sacrum. cene. duas. cppit. esse. Oblata. panis. ne. pariē. idem.
Ma. pars. p. scis. pars. ē. pro. sc̄ificando. Illa. retent. gras. supplicat. ista. deo.
Hostia. p̄iustis. tam. ē. p. sc̄ificandis. Mentio. p. telicis. causa. agit. alt̄ius.
Fit. eis. hic. ex. pane. caro. dñi. ē. clemens. Mythic simulter. uniuerse. templer.
Fit. eis. hic. cui. ē. signo. leo. fortissimus. Ales. ad astra. uolans. uer. sup. astra. sedens.
Me. uel. pueri. illi. rumulū. ue. cruce. uestis. Ipse. calix. mutatū. denotat. ora. cruē.
Vrq; hoc. crescat. horror. rollat. ab. aris. Fit. eis. ipsa. caro. panis. imago. manet.

De eo quod cum in mari dñi cuncti celebrauerint missa.

In natale sac̄ sacre. solemnia. mistis. Quam cum. aut cur. celebrem. habes.
Nocte. dies. sub luce. tuis. et luce. suprema. Sub noe. sub dñi. cruce. sac̄ nota.
Nox. pane. aurora. pepulit. sic. fit. Nox. aurora. dies. umbre. fuga. deus.

O ratio domini. heldebeardi. archiepi. de deū. rogitare.

Cui. dicat. dñs. mihi. holy. holy. dñe. mi. Cui. dñe. rerū. sospes. cui. sunt. rerū. nosse.
Cui. ee. sūmū. bonū. cui. sc̄ē. ee. rationa. Sup. cuncta. subē. ceta. ere. ceta. ire. ceta.
Sup cuncta nec elate. subē. cuncta. nec. deic. Sup. ceta nec. celsus. ire. ceta nec. celsus.
Sup rore. pluendo. subē. rore. cubitens. Ore. sup. nō. celestem. ire. nec. opulento.
Sup nullo. subtrahitur. subē. nullo. nec. cari. Ere. nullo. ire. nullo. coarctari.
Omnibū. mouen. nō. mouet. locū. nec. mouet. Ire. nec. mutat. uaga. firmamēta.
Vt. elementa. sese. ē. alternat. nulle. hec. nec. nat. pot. sup. ē. nec. ibem.
Tuū. dñe. hodiernū. ide. uisa. sapientia. Hec. rerū. principia. rerū. simul. p̄fecisti.
Aeremplar. sūme. cuncta. forma. sūtans. el. mundi.

Nunc pars. corpis. pars. substantialis. Cuius. solemnis. sacra. factus. ē. creatrix.
Carne. meam. duxit. causa. nram. subiugat. Sepulti. in. mortali. mortis. uigat.
Vt. hō. uere. dē. ignitere. hō. ut. Meconditus. hic. tam. ut. nec. mutat. pat. carne.
Vt. cas. ipse. ut. ē. dñs. nec. consupē. ppe. ut. Sic. ut. pariter. minor. pat. uerecata.
Ds. pat. tamen. ideo. mat. ē. ds. Inita. noua. ut. sic. ut. ita. strac. natura.
Vt. semel. hoc. erat. facta. deo. ut. sic. ut. Mē. ut. mediator. ut. ste. leti. lator.
Circumcisi. uapulat. crucifi. et. humulat. Qui. tumulo. tribus. resurrexit. ascendit.
Sic ad celos. elevat. iudicabit. uel. cactus.

The pages here contain twenty-nine lines of text. The margins measure approximately: top 1.5 cm., left 1 to 1.1 cm., right very irregular according to the line endings, bottom 2.5 cm. (save that leaf 81 has been sliced off diagonally from the binding to the outside edge). Each line begins with an ornamental minuscule and there are titles at 81^{v}, line 20, 81^{r}, lines 8 and 12. Larger capitals occur at the beginnings of poems, notably an *A* two lines in height at 81^{r}, lines 12–13. These initials, especially the *A*, employ a faint brown ink which may represent a much faded red. There are paragraph marks at the beginnings or important breaks of selections. One title is written above the second half of the top line of 80^{v} and another in the margin of the same page opposite lines 4–5. Occasionally the lines have proved longer than the width of the page and the extra words have been inserted above. The first eleven lines of page 82^{r}, however, are only half as long as those on the preceding page as the scribe had plenty of space in which to finish his poem.

Only one of the poems on these pages, the last, bears the author's name, that of Archbishop Hildebert. Hildebert of Lavardin (1055–1133/4) was a not unimportant figure in the ecclesiastical and political activities of the twelfth century. Bishop of LeMans (1097) and Archbishop of Tours (1125), he consorted and quarrelled with the leading men of England and France.[1] Moreover, his writings both in prose and verse secured for him during the later Middle Ages an even wider fame. Since the Renaissance, however, they have undergone the same eclipse which has obscurred much of mediaeval literature. The poems in particular have been unfortunate in their editors and still await a definitive treatment to which, perhaps, the Riant manuscript can contribute something. What purported to be a complete edition was issued by Dom A. Beaugendre in 1708 and adopted with few changes by Dom J. J. Bourassé for the volume devoted to Hildebert in Migne.[2] The omissions and false attributions of these editors have been much criticized, especially by B. Hauréau.[3] Finally, Dreves devotes a few pages to Hildebert's hymns in the fiftieth volume of his great collection.[4] He refers there, under the letter *A*, to a manuscript in the Munich Library which appears to have been either the source or more probably a parallel to the Riant manuscript.[5] An examination of this manuscript by Mr S. E.

[1] A. Dieudonné, *Hildebert de Lavardin,* (Paris, 1898), F. X. Barth, *Hildebert von Lavardin* (Stuttgart, 1906).

[2] A. Beaugendre, *Ven. Hild. Opera* (Paris, 1708); J. J. Bourassé, *Ven. Hild. Opera;* Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, vol. CLXXI, Paris, 1854.

[3] B. Hauréau, *Les Mélanges Poétiques d'Hildebert de Lavardin* (Paris, 1882).

[4] G. M. Dreves, *Analectica Hymnica,* vol. L (Leipzig, 1907).

[5] Dreves' *A* is thus described in the *Catalogus Codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis,* Tom. IV, Paris III (*Cod. Lat.*, T. II, p. III), p. 49, no. 354: '16073 (S. Nic. 73) membr. 80 min. s. xii. 105 f. humiditate affectus et ligando perturbatus ac mutilatus. F. 1

Gleason, Jr has contributed some important points. These various works and manuscripts will be referred to as follows: *A*, Dreves' MS. A, C.L.M. 16073; *BCDEFG*, Dreves' MSS of the same letters; *R*, *MS Riant* 36 (MS. *Harvardianus*); Beau., Beaugendre; Drev., Dreves; Hau., Hauréau; Mig., Migne. In the collations, the reading of Migne is given as the standard of reference, but this does not mean that other readings are not preferable. Where the readings of *R* appear definitely better than those of Mig., they have been marked with a star.

The first poem in *R* will be found in Mig., vol. CLXXI, col. 1440 (Beau, col. 1363) no. CXXXII. It is discussed by Hau., p. 127, no. LXXV. The poem occupies lines 1–3 (representing six verses) on f. 80^{v}, with its title, *de Cultoribus Vineae*, above the first line. In *A* it will be found on fol. 20 in six lines. The following variations from the text of Migne may be noted:

Verse 1. praemia] Mig.;* dona, Hau. and *R*.

Verse 3. Qui fuit extremus dispensatore vocante] Mig.; qui venit extremus dis dispensatore vocante, *R* (with dittography); Ultimus adveniens dispensatore vocante, Hau.

Verse 5.* Sic deus ostendit quod quandocumque velimus] R; Mig. omits entirely; venimus, Hau. for velimus.

Hau. regards these lines as anonymous and points to the genuine verses of Hildebert on this subject in Mig., col. 1273 (Beau., col. 1225). But, as will appear presently, the scribes of *R* and *A* regarded them as genuine, and there is nothing to prevent Hildebert from having done two epigrams on the same topic.

The second poem in *R*, which extends from line 4 through line 7 of fol. 80^{v}, with its title *de Horis* in the margin, is not contained in the printed texts and may, therefore, appear here in full. It is not the longer poem in Mig., col. 1438 entitled *de Septem Horis Canonicis*. But it does occur in *A* on f. 22 in eight lines:

In matutino dampnatur tempore christus
Quo matutini cantantur tempore psalmi.
Quando resurrexit primam canit ordo fidelis.
Tercia cum canitur tunc est cruciamina passus.
Sexta sunt tenebrae mundi per climata factae.
Redditus est nona divinus spiritus hora.
Vespere clauduntur christi sacra membra sepulcro.
Christo byssena custodia ponitur hora.

The third poem, of four verses, occupies in *R* lines 8–9 on fol. 80^{v} without any title. It likewise occurs in *A*. The first line reads:

Innuba si gravis est, nova res et caelica vis est.

Hildeberti archiep. Turonensis varia poemata, inter quae de s. trinitate, de concordia vet. ac novi sacrificii, cfr. Leyser p. 408 et 386; item de alpha et omega, Leys. p. 388, de xii plagis Aegypti, ib. p. 409, et alia. F. 30, Theobaldi physiologus etc. etc.'

It may be found in Mig., col. 1436 (Beau., col. 1359–60), no. CXIX. Hau., p. 119, no. LXIV shows that it comprises two epigrams joined together and says that in two manuscripts they occur in this order without any attribution. He therefore denies them to Hildebert. Here again, the weight of *R* and *A* favors a Hildebertian authorship. *R* differs from Mig. in only one reading: Verse 2. Fit gravis Mig.; sed gravis, *R*.

The fourth poem is not given by Mig., but Drev. includes it on p. 419 (no. 319) of vol. L from *A*. He has the following note: 'Da des Lied in dieser Handschrift zwischen Gedichten Hildeberts steht — es folgt unmittelbar "tollimur e medio," sodann "in natale sacro" mit der Aufschrift "eiusdem cur in natale dei tres celebrentur missae" — zweifle ich nicht das es von Hildebert sei, dessen Geist es unverkennbar atmet.' The friend who inspected *A*, however, gives the order as the *de Horis*, then this poem, and finally then the piece beginning 'tollimur etc.' He does not mention the poem on the Christmas masses. At all events, the poem, whose first line begins 'Salva festa dies,' is undoubtedly a work of Hildebert and presents in *R* no important variations from *A* (Drev.). Drev. gives the title as *In Nativitate Domini*, whereas *R* has none, and he refers to a much reworked version in his vol. XLIII, 18, no. 20.

The fifth poem also does not appear in any printed version. It extends from fol. 80^{v}, line 20 through fol. 81^{r}, line 7, and in *A* it follows *Salva festa dies* on fol. 23 for 32 lines. The title is: 'Quid significet hostia in tribus partibus divisa,' and the text reads:

Tollimur e medio fatis urgentibus omnes,
  Et trahimur quo nos vita peracta vocat.
Hic nusquam, hii semper, alii plectuntur ad horam;
  Purgatisque datur transitus ad requiem.
Hanc illis altare sacrum vel criminis expers
  Vita vel obsequiis emptus amicus emit.
Perfectos valdeque malos nil vota suorum,
  Nil impensa precum, nil holocausta iuvant;
Nam nec iustus eget nec pessimus ista meretur;
  In medio est veniam cui sacra mensa parat.
Ipsa tamen vivos a vitae calle vagantes
  Ut redeant saltem sero iuvare potest.
Inde fit ut quotiens sacris accedimus aris,
  Particulis cedat hostia fracta tribus
Pars intincta mero pro vivis orat opusque
  Sanguinis et carnis expiat ipsa caro.
Pro bene defunctis quorum purgatior unus
  Hoc interventu non eget, alter eget,
Offerimus tibi, Christe, duas, sed propter eosdem,
  Oblatae pariter non operantur idem.
Nam pars pro sanctis, pars est pro sanctificandis;
  Illa refert gratiam, supplicat ista deo.
Hostia pro iustis, laus est pro sanctificandis,

Mentio pro reliquis causam agit alterius.
Fit cibus hic ex pane caro, deus ex elemento;
Mysterio simplex, utilitate triplex.
Fit cibus hic, cuius in ligno, leo fortis in urna,
Ales ad astra volans, rex super astra sedens.
Neve putes illi tumulumve crucemve decere,
Ipse calix tumulum denotat, ara crucem.
Utque fides crescat, horror tollatur ab aris,
Fit cibus ipsa caro, panis imago manet.

The sixth poem is given by Mig., col. 1198 and by Beau. in three versions, once in col. 1155 (from which Mig. derived it), and twice in col. 1350. Hau., pp. 96 ff., no. L, especially pp. 100–1, thinks that though in the manuscript which Beau. used it occurs between two poems by Peter the Painter, yet its presence in all manuscripts of Hildebert's works suggests its genuineness. The title in *R* stands: 'Item eiusdem cur in natale domini tres celebrantur missae,' with *celebrantur* probably corrected to *celebrentur*. Dreves gives the title from *A* as: 'Eiusdem cur in natale dei tres celebrentur missae.' In *R* there is no name in the titles of the preceding poems to serve as antecedent to *eiusdem* but in *A* the *Oratio Hildeberti*, which *R* has last, comes in fol. 1. Hence it may be assumed that the author which both scribes had in mind in their *eiusdem* was Hildebert. Dreves accepts the poem as his. It covers in *R* lines 8–11 on fol. 81^{r} and its text is so much better than those of the printed versions that it is given here in full:

In natale sacro sacrae sollempnia missae
Quid signent aut cur ter celebrentur habes.
Nocte prior, sub luce sequens, in luce suprema.
Sub Noë, sub David, sub cruce sacra nota.
Nox parit, aurora peperit, peperisse dies fit.
Nox, aurora, dies; umbra, figura, deus.

Verse 1. sacro sacrae] Beau., col. 1350b; sacrosanctae, Mig., Beau., col. 1350a.
Verse 2. quid signent] Mig., Beau., coll. 1350b.; cur tres sint, Beau., col. 1350a. ter] Beau., col. 1350a; tres, Mig., Beau., col. 1350b.
Verse 3. Beau., col. 1350a places this after verse 4 and reads here: 'Sub noë, subque David, sub templo sacra fuerunt.'
Verse 4. sub David] subque, Mig., col. 1350b. nota] notant, Mig., Beau., col. 1350b.
Verse 5. Mig. and Beau, col. 1350b read a verse as follows: 'Sub Noë, sub David, sub Christo sacra fuere.' Beau., col. 1350a omits entirely.

R clearly presents the most complete text of this poem and the other versions have repaired the loss of the fifth verse by repeating with variations the fourth.

The seventh and final poem in *R* bears the title: 'Oratio Domni Heldeberti Archiepiscopi de Sancta Trinitate.' It begins 'Alfa et ω deus meus' and ends 'pium cantem alleluya.' The importance of this ascription for the

genuineness of all the poems in *R* and *A* has already been noted. And it is further valuable as supporting Hildebert's claim to the authorship against Abelard, to whom some have sought to attribute it. It may be found in Mig., col. 1411 (Beau., cols. 1337–40), in Drev., L, 409, no. 318, and in E. duMéril, *Poésies Populaires Latines du Moyen Age*, p. 426. Hau., p. 72, no. XXXVIII, accepts it as genuine. With its title, it runs from fol. 81^{r}, line 12 through fol. 82^{r}, line 11. The number of verses of printed text in each line of the manuscripts is four, save at the two points where the poem in the printed text is divided (between the prayers to the Father and the Son and those to the Son and the Holy Ghost) and also on the last page (verses 190–203) where the scribe had plenty of room. In these cases there are two verses only to a line. The variant readings for this poem follow.

Verse 1. Magnedeus] Mig., Drev.; meus deus, *B;* deus meus, *R;* Over the correct form of omega (ω), *R* has in black ink *magno.* But a pronunciation *ō* (or *oo*) is called for by the metre. Is *magno* a gloss on *o* to show that it is *o mega* or an attempt to correct the metre? And does it account for or derive from the reading *magne deus?*

Verse 6. Opus] Mig., Drev.; sensus, *R,* with *opus* written above in the same ink. *Opus* is the better reading, as *sensus* occurs in verse 4 (in the line immediately above in *R.*)

Verses 9–12. *RAF* have the order 11, 12, 10, 9.

Verse 12. Substratus] Mig., Drev.; subtractus, *RA.*

Verses 9 & 10. Nec] Mig., *RD;* non, Drev.

Verse 14. Sustinendo] Mig., Drev.; subsistendo, *RAB.*

Verses 17–20. *R* has the order 19, 20, 18, 17. *A* has 19, 17, 18, 20. *BGD* have 17, 18, 20, 19.

Verse 17. Numquam coarctaris] Mig.,* nusquam coartaris, Drev., *R*

Verse 18. Numquam] Mig., *B;* nusquam, *RD.*

Verse 25. Vis externa] Mig., Drev.; vis alterna, Hommery (an editor of 1684); vel externa, most Mss.; vel alternum, *RA.*

Verse 26. Non alternat] Mig., *RBG;* non alternant, Drev.

Verse 32. Praefecisti] Mig.;* perfecisti, Drev., *R.*

Verses 41–42. Sempiternus temporalis, moriturus immortalis] Mig., Drev., sempiternus immortalis, moriturus temporalis, *RAD.*

Verse 47. Est] Mig., Drev.; es, *RBD.*

Verse 50. Carnis] Mig., Drev.; patris, *R.*

Verse 52. Virgo mater est sed] Mig.; virgo mater sed et, Drev.; virgo mater sedque, *RD* (possibly sed quae).

Verse 54. Utraque] Mig., Drev.; uterque, *R.*

Verse 58. Iste noster legis dator] Mig.; iste noster legislator, Drev., Hau.; noster iste legislator, *R.*

Verses 73–75. *R* has the following verses:

*Ex quo illi, ex tunc iste, quantum illi, tantum iste,
Pater alter sed gignendo, natus alter sec nascendo.

Mig. omits from the first *ex* through the second *iste.* Drev. omits from *quantum* through the second *iste* and places *natus alter* etc. before *pater alter* etc. *BG* put *quantum illi tantum iste* before *ex quo* etc.

Verse 79. Non] Mig., *R;* nos, Drev. (misprint?).

Verse 87. Constans atque fixa] Mig., Drev.; constant fixa, *R* (against the metre).
Verse 91. Sine] Mig., *RABCDFG;* sive, Drev.
Verse 93. Nec in pravam partem] Mig.; nec in partem pravam, Drev.; nex in ullam partem, *AF;* nec in ullam partem, *R.*
Verse 96. Mortis] Mig.; Drev.; mortem, *R.*
Verse 97. Morte] Mig., Drev.; mortem, *R.*
Verse 101. Fascem] Mig., Drev.; facem, *RAD.* Quo] Mig.;* qua, Drev., *RD*
Verse 104. Portam] Mig., *R;* portum, Drev.
Verse 111. Forae] Mig.;* foras, Drev., *R.*
Verse 117. Preme] Mig., *R;* pro me, Drev.
Verse 123. Si] Mig., Drev., *R;* sed, *A.* Quod] Mig., R; quae, Drev., *B.*
Verse 127. Flens hoc loquor] Mig., Drev.; flens hoc dico, *E;* flens haec dico, *R.*
Verse 143. Caritatem] Mig., Drev.; karitatem, *R.*
Verse 147. Deus, ex te totum] Mig., Drev.; totum deus ex te, *RAD.*
Verse 148. Laus] Mig., Drev.; lux, *R.*
Verse 151. Languore] Mig., Drev.; langore, *R.*
Verse 153. Lenimen] Mig., Drev.; solamen, *RAD.* (was one a gloss?).
Verse 157. Motum praestas] Mig.; metum praestas, *B;** metum praestans, *R,* Drev.
Verse 158. Rependis] Mig., Drev.; defendis, *RA.*
Verse 183. Semper festum] Mig., *BDE*; festum semper, Drev.; semper dulce, *R.*
Verse 185. Non] Mig. R; nec, Drev.
Verses 188–9. Urbs caelestis, urbs beata, Super petram collocata] Mig., Drev.; om. *R.*
Verse 194. Tui] Mig., Drev.; in te, *RA.* Gratulantur] Mig., *B;* gratulentur, Drev.; *R.*
Verse 195. Convivantur] Mig., *B,* conviventur, Drev., *R.*
Verse 197. Gemma muros] Mig., Drev.; muros gemma, *RAD.*
Verse 200. Sociatus] Mig., Drev.; sotiatus, *R.*

The following special peculiarities of spelling may be noted in *R: ti* for *ci,* as in verse 200; *e* for *ae* frequently without the cedilla; *y* for *i,* as *pyratis, syon, helya, alleluya;* insertion of *p* between *mn,* as *perhempnis, sollempnis;* spelling *iacintus* for *iacinthus.*

It is only in the case of this poem that the apparatus in Dreves affords an opportunity to collate *R* with the readings of other MSS and it can readily be seen that *R* approximates most closely to *A.* In the following important readings, they are in agreement:

Verses 9–12. The order in *RA* is the same, differing from Mig.
Verse 12. *Subtractus, RA,* against *subtratus.*
Verse 14. *Subsistendo, RA,* against *sustinendo.*
Verse 25. *Vel alternum, RA,* against various readings.
Verses 41–42. The order of words in *RA* is the same, differing from Mig.
Verse 93. *Nec in ullam partem, RA,* against *nec in pravam partem.*
Verse 101. *Facem, RA,* against *fascem.*
Verse 147. The order of words in *RA* is the same, differing from Mig.
Verse 153. *Solamen, RA,* against *lenimen.*
Verse 158. *Defendis, RA,* against *rependis.*

Verse 194. *In te, RA,* against *tui.*
Verse 195. *Muros gemma, RA,* against *gemma muros.*

In the following cases they disagree:

Verses 17–20. The order, but *A* is nearer to *R* than to Mig.
Verses 73–75. *R* presents the most complete version for, since Drev. does not cite *A*, one must assume that it has his readings.
Verse 123. *Si, R* correctly against *sed, A.*
Verses 188–189. *R* omits these and, since Drev. makes no comment, one must assume that *A* contains them.

It is likewise possible that *R* disagrees with *A* in those cases where it disagrees with Drev. and no reading from *A* is given. The above cases, however, taken with the previous poems, seem to show a common source for *R* and *A*, though probably neither was copied from the other. *BD* agree much less frequently with *R*, but *B* (*Collect Ms. Victorinum saec. xii, Cod. Parisin, 14867*) accords closely with Mig.

Clearly, therefore, as Dreves recognized, *A* is of prime importance in establishing the text and authenticity of the poems of Hildebert and for these seven pieces it receives valuable support from *R*. Not only do *RA* on the whole give better readings but more particularly, they give evidence for the attribution, before the end of the twelfth century, of these poems to Hildebert. It remains, however, to be proved that even so early an attribution is to be accepted against such critical rejections as those of Hauréau. It has been shown that of the seven pieces in *R*, Hau. rejects the first largely on the ground of the occurrence of another similar poem in the works of Hildebert. This might well be inconclusive against the evidence of the manuscripts. He has, however, better reason for rejecting the third as a conflation of two epigrams, one elegiac and one dactylic in metre. Yet it is still possible that they were separately Hildebertian. While Hau. does not notice the second poem, he affords grounds for its rejection when he asserts (p. 38 and elsewhere), on the authority of Bernard of Morlas, that Hildebert wrote only four successive lines of dactylic hexametre, on St Mary of Egypt. Here again, there is always room for doubt of the accuracy of Bernard. But Hau. accepts the remark as a valid touchstone of authenticity. An editor of Hildebert must therefore decide the problem of the strength of the early attributions of *RA*, manuscripts apparently standing in a good tradition, against the reasonable doubts brought forward by Hau. Even if their accuracy in the matter of authorship be suspect, RA are important for both the text of the printed poems and as containing other poems still unpublished.

The rest of these pages of the Riant manuscript contain unimportant items. On fol. 82^{r}, 13 (after a blank line) commences a series of astronomical notes on lunations, day, night, etc. Then come some theological notes.

These are all in a very black ink and angular hand, both of which vary as if the writing had been done at different times. Especially on 84^{r}, from line 19 through line 29, the ink has faded to a very faint brown.

On fols. 84^{v} and 85^{r} are two pieces written in a larger and more ornamental script than the rest of the manuscript. They are spaced on the alternate lines of the 29 rulings and one is fifteen, the other thirteen (with a word overrun onto the end of the fourteenth) lines long. The large and flourishing capitals are in black, the rest in a light brown, ink. Both are liturgical chants which may be found in the twentieth volume of Dreves' *Analectica Hymnica.* They are written continuously with no attempt to indicate the verse divisions as given in Dreves. The first has, however, spaced widely the terminations of some final words, as; verse 1, *omni a;* verse 6, *potent ti a;* verse 8, *pro pria,* verse 24, *deprimit tur;* verse 34, *b (e) li o.* This piece, commencing: 'Pater ingenitus a quo sunt omnia,' is on p. 74, no. 55 of the section which Dreves entitles *Cantiones Natalitiae.* He gives as the source *Trop. ms. saec. 13, Cod. Stuttgarten. HB 1 Asc. 95 R* shows the following textual variants:

Verse 3. *R, miserans* for Drev., *excluditur.*
Verse 10. *R, haec* for Drev., *est,*
Verse 15. *R, commutat* for Drev., *commutans.*
Verse 19. *R, virginem* for Drev., *virgineum.*
Verse 20. *R, totus* for Drev., *solus.*
Verse 21. *R, unitur* for Drev., *iungitur.*
Verse 22. *R, qui* for Drev., *quod.*

Dreves gives only three stanzas but *R* adds a fourth, as follows:

Line 11, second half. (verse 25)	O quam mirabilis
Line 12 (verses 26–27)	ista sit unio. O quam mirifica partus
Line 13 (verses 27–29)	condicio. Sic virgo fruitur matris officio
Line 14 (verses 30–33)	quod nulla fuerit pudoris laesio orti qui clau-
Line 15 (verses 33–34)	sus est florente b (e) li o.

The reading *orti qui* and the *e* of *belio* are uncertain.

The second piece, which begins: 'Natus est, natus est, natus est hodie,' may be found on p. 221–2, no. 10 of *Das Fest von Sens nach der Reform Pierres de Corbeil,* and no separate manuscript source is given for it. The text compares with that in Dreves as follows:

Verse 11. *R* gives *Natus est* thrice. Drev has it once but notes that it is to be said three times.
Verse 6. *R, exilium* for Drev., *exsilium.*
Verse 10. *R, nec minuit, nec minuit, nec minuit quod erat.* For Drev., *nec nec nec minuit quod erat.*
Verse 19. *R, praeduxit profhetia.* For Drev., *praedixit* (note, *praedixerat?*) *propheta*
Verse 21. *R. nascitur.* For Drev., *nacitur* (misprint ?).
Verse 22. *R,* gives *confunditur* three times.

Verse 23. *R*, gives *et moritur mors* twice, with the last *mors* on the end of a separate line. Drev. gives it once with the note to say it three times.

Fol. 85^{v} contains an extract of 25 lines on *Nomades* (spelt *Sumades*) and *Trogodites* and other savages from the second book of Jerome against Jovinian. The hand is not unlike that employed in the third section of the volume, where much of this work is found, and suggests that the writer of the third section may have made up the volume and inserted on a blank page of the preceding section a passage which he had left out. But this is very hypothetical.

Fol. 86^{r} offers a curious plan. The basis of it is a rectangle with a cross inscribed (the cross-bar being above the center of the rectangle). With the four sides of the rectangle as diameters are drawn semicircles, and connecting them, around the corners of the rectangle, four more arcs. The margins are all double lines and in those of the four semicircles are written, in black ink, the following phrases:

Top, 'iacob manibus benedixit communis filiis ioseph et renuente dixit. scio fili mi scio.'
Right, 'Super quem videretis tau. non occidetis. et a sanctuario meo incipite.'
Bottom, 'en colligo duo ligna ut ingrediar et faciam illud michi et filio mei.'
Left, 'sumes de sanguine agni et pones super utrumque postem et insuper liminaribus domorum.'

The spaces have written in them, in faint brown ink, perhaps once red, the following names much abbreviated:

Around the cross, 'Sol, Luna, Sancta Maria, Sanctus Johannes.'
Across the top, Mattheus, An illegible one, Johannes.
One either side, 'Moyses, Dominus deus.'
Across the bottom, Marcus, An illegible one, Lucas.

Professor E. K. Rand suggests that this was meant for a picture of the Crucifixion and that figures were to be drawn in the spaces where the names occur.

Finally, on fol. 86^{v}, are twenty-three lines of brown ink with red initials and marginalia. Each line comprises a quotation, some scriptural, some, apparently, not, and the marginal note gives the source. At the bottom, a seven line excerpts, partly from Gregory, appears in black ink. These items conclude the second section of *Ms. Riant 36* and the pages which these notes seek to elucidate.

Harvard University

THE RECORDS OF THE YORK PLAY OF THE *PATER NOSTER*

By KARL YOUNG

The earliest known reference to the York play of the *Pater Noster* is contained in John Wyclif's *De Officio Pastorali*. In the English version of this tract, written about the year 1378, as part of the argument for translating the Bible into the vernacular, is found this sentence:[1]

> & herfore freris han tauȝt in englond þe paternoster in engliȝsch tunge, as men seyen in þe pley of ȝork, & in many oþere cuntreys.'

Although this passage is substantial evidence of the fame of this play in the latter part of the fourteenth century, it indicates nothing as to the nature of the piece, beyond the fact that it was in English, and that, in some remote way, the friars were responsible for it.

For direct information concerning the content of the play, and concerning the auspices under which it was produced, our chief resource is the 'return' or 'certificate' sent by the York gild of the Pater Noster to the King's Council in Chancery, bearing the date January 21st, 1389. This Latin document was formulated in response to a royal writ of November 1st,1388, requiring masters and wardens of all gilds and brotherhoods in England to send to the Royal Chancery, before February 2d, 1389, descriptions of the foundations, constitutions, customs, and properties of the associations over which they presided.[2] The return made by the *custodes* of the gild of the Pater Noster at York is written on a sheet of parchment measuring 13 x 14¼ inches preserved in the Public Record Office in London, where it is identified as 'Chancery Miscellanea, Bundle XLVI, no. 454.' This document has been made known through an abbreviated English translation by Smith,[3] and through a brief analysis by Westlake;[4] but the original return itself seems never to have been published. In recognition of its fundamental importance, therefore, I offer the following text:[5]

[1] F. D. Matthew, ed., *The English Works of Wyclif* (*Early English Text Society*, Original Series, no. 74), London, 1880, p. 429. No such sentence is found in the Latin version, *Johannis de Wiclif Tractatus De Officio Pastorali*, ed. G. V. Lechler, Leipzig, no date. For general reviews of the records of the York play of the *Pater Noster* see E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, II, Oxford, 1903, pp. 403–404; Tempe E. Allison, *The Paternoster Play and the Origin of the Vices*, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXIX (1924), 789–804.

[2] In regard to the circumstances under which the 'returns of 1389' were made see T. Smith, *English Gilds* (*Early English Text Society*, Original Series, no. 40), London, 1870, pp. xxiv–xxv, 127–131; H. F. Westlake, *The Parish Gilds of Mediaeval England*, London, 1919, pp. 36–48.

[3] See Smith, *English Gilds*, pp. 137–140, where the document is cited as 'Miscellaneous Rolls, Tower Records, CCCVIII, 109.' Smith's translation is used, for example, by Chambers, II, 404; Allison, pp. 789–790.

[4] See Westlake, p. 234.

[5] London, Public Record Office, Chancery Miscellanea, Bundle XLVI, no. 454. In expanding

EBOR*ACUM*

Audita proclamacione facta ex parte domini Regis in ciuitate Eboraci, vt certificetur et notificetur illustri domino nostro Regi et venerabilissimo consilio suo de omnibus et singulis ordinacionibus, fundacionibus, et actibus fraternitatum seu gildarum infra com*itatum* Ebor*aci*, huic est quod custodes fraternitatis Oracionis Dominice in ciuitate Eboraci fundate, de omnibus et singulis fundacioni seu gubernacioni dicte fraternitatis tangentibus dicto domino nostro Regi et excellentissimo consilio suo notificant et certificant sub hac forma.

Primo quo ad causam fundacionis dicte fraternitatis, sciendum est quod postquam quidam ludus de vtilitate Oracionis Dominice compositus, in quo ludo quam plura vicia et peccata reprobantur et virtutes commendantur, in ciuitate Eboraci lusus fuit, talem ac tantum saporem habuit vt quam plures dixerunt: Vtinam iste ludus in cuitate ista gubernaretur in salutem animarum et in consolacionem ciuium et vicinorum. Vnde pro illo ludo futuris temporibus in salutem et emendacionem animarum tam gubernancium quam audiencium illius ludi gubernaturo fuit plena et integra causa fundacionis et associacionis confratrum fraternitatis eiusdem. Et ideo onus principale dicte fraternitatis est pro illo ludo gubernaturo in maiorem laudem Dei, dicte oracionis opificis, et pro peccatis et viciis reprobandi*s*.

Et q*uia* in peccatis continuantes inha*b*iles sunt vocare Deum patrem suum, ideo primo dicti confratres tenentur euitare societates et occupaciones inhonestas, ac bonis et honestis occupacionibus adherere. Item tenentur in maioribus deuocionibus suis pro confratribus et consororibus dicte fraternitatis viuis et defunctis sp*ecialiter* orare vt viui confraternitatem suam sic custodire valeant vt paternitatem diuinam lucrari mereantur; et vt mortui citius eorum precibus a cruciatibus relaxentur. Item tenentur adesse in exequiis et sepulturis defunctorum confratrum seu consororum suorum dicte fraternitatis; et si aliquis confrater nichil habuerit proprium pro expensis circa propriam sepulturam suam faciendis, quod ceteri confratres sui sumptibus suis propriis caritatiue ipsum faciant sepeliri. Et si longe a ciuitate aliquem confratrem dicte fraternitatis mori contigerit et sepeliri, quod ceteri confratres sui obitum suum infra ciuitatem Ebor*aci* faciant celebrari. Item inhibetur cuilibet confratri fraternitatis predicte ne causa confidencie in aliquo auxilio confratrum suorum sit audacior litigandi vel pugnandi vel aliquam causam iniustam aliqualiter manutenendi sub pena amissionis totius auxilii et amicicie seu releuaminis fraternitatis ante dicti. Et q*uia* vana est fidelium congregacio absque aliquo opere caritatiuo gubernaturo, ideo dicti confratres constituerunt istam clausulam: quod si forte contingat aliquem ipsorum confratrum depredari seu bona vel catalla sua casualiter cremari vel aliqua causa iniusta incarcerari seu visitacione diuina ad statum paupertatis deuenire, quod ceteri confratres sui se adiuent secundum suam egestatem caritatiue iuxta disposicionem custodum dicte fraternitatis, ne forte auxilii pereat in defectu.

Item tenentur inuenire vnam candelam de septem luminaribus in honore septem peticionum in Oracione Dominica, in ecclesia cathedrali Eboraci pendentem ad laudem et honorem omnipotentis Dei eiusdem oracionis factoris, sancti Petri gloriosi confessoris, sancti Willelmi et omnium sanctorum diebus dominicis et festiuis conburend*am*. Item tenentur gubernare et quotienscumque necesse fuerit

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abbreviations I have used Italics only where other expansions than mine might be admissible. The publishing of this document is, of course, the chief purpose of the present article. The accompanying survey of related records is somewhat more ample than any previous one known to me.

renouare quamdam tabulam de toto processu vtilitatis Orationis Dominice factam pendentem super vnam columpnam in ecclesia cathedrali predicta prope candelam predictam. Item tenentur, quotienscumque ludus dicte Oracionis Dominice in forma ludi in ciuitate Eboraci monstratur, cum lusoribus eiusdem per certas principales stratas ciuitatis Eboraci equitare, et pro meliori ornatu in sua equitacione h*a*bendo in vna secta indui; et pro dicto ludo pacifice gub*er*nando aliqui eorum tenentur equitare seu ire cum illis lusoribus quousque dictus ludus totaliter finiatur.

Et semel in anno commestioneum sunt facere, et nouos custodes pro dicta fraternitate custodienda quolibet anno de nouo eligere, et eisdem custodibus de nouo electis de toto quod fecerint temporibus elapsis ad opus dicte fraternitatis fidelem compotum reddere. Item ordinatum est quod nullus recipiatur in confratrem fraternitatis eiusdem antequam examinetur per custodes dicte fraternitatis si sit in voluntate honeste viuendi et faciendi fraternitati predicto pro gubernacione eiusdem prout poterit cum dictis custodibus concordare. Et q*uia* fundatores dicte fraternitatis cognouerunt se ipsos indiscretos pro talibus ordinacionibus disponend*is*, ideo in fine omnium dictarum ordinacionum addiderunt talem clausulam: Quandocumque et quotienscumque forte contigerit nos uel successores nostros custodes et confratres dicte fraternitatis esse sapientiores, quod nullus nostrum seu successorum nostrorum sit rebellis vel resistens contra disposiciones nostras seu ipsorum successorum nostrorum si forte constitucionem aliquam ad maiorem laudem Dei seu dicte fraternitatis releuamen de nouo fecerimus seu fecerint in futurum. Virtute cuius clausule ceteri custodes dicte fraternitatis in maiorem laudem Dei addiderunt quod quidam capellanus diuina celebraturus annuatim per dictos confratres teneatur et conducatur pro confratribus et consororibus dicte fraternitatis viuis et defunctis et omnibus benefactoribus eorundem. Solent etiam iidem confratres c*o*mmuniter ad finem singularum sex septimanarum annuatim simul congregare et pro salubri statu domini Regis et bono regimine regni Angl*ie* et pro cunctis confratribus et consororibus dicte fraternitatis presentibus et absentibus viuis et defunctis et omnibus dicte fraternitatis seu dictorum confratrum benefactoribus sp*e*cialit*er* orare, ac etiam semel in anno pro confratribus et consororibus dicte fraternitatis defunctis vnum obitum generalem facere.

Nec pertinent ad dictam fraternitatem terre redditus nec tenementa nec aliqua alia catalla excepto solummodo apparatu pro dicto ludo disposito, qui quidem apparatus ad aliquem alium vsum nisi tantum ad dictum ludum modicum vel nichil potest proficere. Et habetur vna cista lignea pertinens ad dictam fraternitatem pro dicto apparat[u i]mponendo.[1]

In quorum omnium et singulorum testinomium, q*uia* sigilla custodum dicte fraternitatis pluribus sunt incognita, sigillum in spiritualibus vicarii generalis venerabilis in Christo patris et domini Domini Thome, Eboraci Archiepiscopi, Angl*ie* primatus, et Apostolice Sedis legati, nos dicti custodes procurauimus hiis apponi. Et nos Ricardus de Thoren, canonicus residenciarius ecclesie Eboraci, ac prefati venerabilis patris in spiritualibus vicarius generalis, sigillum quo in huiusmodi nostro officio vtimur ad instanciam dicte fraternitatis presentibus apposuimus in fidem et testimonium omnium premissorum.[2]

Datum Eboraci XXI° die mensis Januarii. Anno Domini Millesimo. CCC.^mo^ LXXX.^mo^ Octauo.

<Seal>

[1] The letters within brackets in the last two words are lost through rubbing.

[2] Concerning Ricardus de Thoren (†1391) and Archbishop Thomas Arundel (1388–96) see F. Drake, *Eboracum, or the History and Antiquities of the city of York*, London, 1736, pp. 436, 501.

As to matters associated, directly or indirectly, with the dramatic performance the return before us provides the following information:

1. The primary function of the gild was to perform a play treating the Lord's Prayer, and members were required to conduct their lives in a manner appropriate to this responsibility.

2. The play presented the merits (*utilitas*)[1] of the Lord's Prayer, and in it the vices and sins (*vicia et peccata*) were denounced (*reprobantur*), and the virtues (*virtutes*) were commended (*commendantur*).

3. When the play was given, certain members of the gild, on horseback or on foot, and in uniform, were to accompany the performers through the streets, for the purpose of preserving order.[2] From the fact that the players and their guards passed 'per certas principales stratas civitatis,' one is tempted to infer that the play was performed on one or more pageant-wagons. Such an inference might be supported from later records,[3] and it is not precluded by the statement in the return concerning the property of the gild, mentioned below.

4. In honor of the seven petitions of the Lord's Prayer the gild was to provide a candle-stick with seven lights in the cathedral of York on Sundays and feast-days.

5. Upon a column near these lights the gild undertook to maintain a *tabula* on which the merits (*utilitas*) of the Lord's Prayer were set forth in writing.[4]

6. In 1389 the gild owned no property except the equipment for the play, and a wooden chest for storage.

[1] 'Profit' is the English translation sometimes used for *utilitas* in contexts similar to the present one. See London, Brit. Mus., *MS. Harley 2398*, fol. 153^{v}. Smith (*English Gilds*, p. 137) uses the word 'goodness.'

[2] For a performance of the play in 1572 the sheriffs were ordered 'to ryde with harnessed men accordyng to the ancient custome, and every alderman to fynde sex men, wherof iiij to be in white armour, and ij in coates of plate, and every of the xxiiij^{or} to fynd iiij men, whereof ij to be in white armour, and ij with calevers, towerds the said rydyng.' The passage quoted is given by R. Davies, *Extracts from the Municipal Records of the City of York*, London, 1843, pp. 269–270, from a document that he does not name.

[3] See the record of the York gild of Merchants, from the period 1462–88, quoted below, along with references to the *pagendæ* constituting the *Pater Noster* play at Beverley.

[4] This *tabula* may be added to the important series of such objects discussed by G. H. Gerould, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXII (1917), 323–337, and in SPECULUM, I (1926), 439–440. We may assume that the 'table' at York was of wood, and that it resembled the 'magna tabula' of Glastonbury in having its text 'written upon parchment affixed to the surface of the wood.' See *Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society's Proceedings*, XXXIV (1889), 117. Concerning *tabulae* see also J. C. Cox, *English Church Fittings, Furniture, and Accessories*, London, [1923] p. 169; C. Wordsworth and H. Littlehales, *The Old Service-Books of the English Church*, London, [1904] pp. 264–265; H. Villetard, ed., *Office de Pierre de Corbeil*, Paris, 1907, p. 49; D. Rock, *The Church of Our Fathers*, IV, London, 1905, pp. 147–149.

The meagerness of the property of the gild, emphasized in the return of 1389, appears to have become less notable during the next decade, for a compotus roll of the association for 1399 informs us that by this date there were more than a hundred members and their wives, and that they controlled money to the amount of 26 £ 5*s*. 11½*d*. Their dramatic performance included a play, or scene, presenting the sin of sloth (*ludus Accidie*).[1] This last bit of evidence combines with that of the return of 1389 in showing that, in important respects, the York play must have resembled the parallel play at Beverley.[1]

As to the career of the play during the fifteenth century, our information is confined to the following entry in the records of the York gild of Merchants, or Mercers:[2]

It is ordained and acorded by the assent of the hole feloship in the Trinity hall, on the election daye [of] Thomas Scawsby, being master, Willi Bluefront and William Gairy constables, that they with the assent off the felship sall chuse iiij pageant masters, on the Friday next after Midsomday, of the mercres and merchaunts of the city; and they iiij shall bring forth the paternoster play and recyve all the ornements that belang thereto, by indentor and so deliver over to thaym that shall com after, and they sall be countable to the maister, constables, and feloship of thair receyts and expences resonable. And the iiij pagant maisters being shall bring forth the pagants and have them in againe within iiij days next after Corpus Christi day; which of them that doth contrary, shall pay vj*s*. viij*d*. to the feloship without any forgiveness . . . . Pagiant masters for the first time, *tempore Johannis Shawe, magistri gilde Sancte Trinitatis* (1488). William Russell, Robert Thorn, John Thomson, William Middylton.

According to this record, the play of the *Pater Noster* had passed into the hands of the Merchant's gild, often called also 'the gild of the Holy Trinity.'[3] Since Thomas Scawsby, mentioned in the first sentence, was

[1] See Lucy T. Smith, ed., *York Plays*, Oxford, 1885, p. xxix. We learn of the play only through the *debita vetera* scored off, from which it appears that John Downom and his wife had owed 2*s*. 2*d*. for their entrance fee, 'sed dictus Johannes dicit se expendisse in diuersis expensis circa ludum *Accidie* ex parte Ric. Walker ij*s*. j*d*., ideo de predicto petit allocari.' The compotus roll used by Miss Smith, and owned by the late Canon Raine, could not be found in York in 1928.

[2] See *Historical Manuscripts Commission: Report on the Manuscripts of the Corporation of Beverley*, London, 1900 [Cd. 284], pp. 142–143; A. F. Leach, in *An English Miscellany presented to Dr. Furnivall*, Oxford, 1901, pp. 220–222; Chambers, II, 341; Allison, pp. 790–804.

[3] Maud Sellers, ed., *The York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers, 1356–1917* (*Surtees Society*, CXXIX), Durham and London, 1918, pp. 81–82. The editor seldom specifies her documentary sources (see *Preface*), but for the record before us she cites 'the Bemrose transcript.' She does not mention the following text of the same record printed from the Register of the Gild of the Holy Trinity by Charles Kerry, in *The Antiquary*, XXII (1890), 269:

Its ordaind and acorded by þe assent of þe hole ffeloship in þe Trinite Hall on þe election daye, Thomas Scansby being mister, Will. Bluefront, Willm. Gaing, Constables, y^{t} þay with þe assent off þe ffelship sall chuse iiij. pagent masters on þe Ffriday next after Wissonday of þe Mercres and Merchants of þe citte, and þay iiij. shal bring forth þe PAT^{R} NOSTER PLAY, and recyve all þe ornements thatt belang þ^{r} to (thereto) by Indento^{r}, and so deliu^{r}. over to

master of this gild in 1462,[1] the ordinance before us must have been designed for execution in that year. It appears, however, that the prescribed four pageant-masters were seldom, if ever, chosen before 1488, under which date an actual choice is recorded for the first time in the document before us.

The nature of the association of the Merchants with the *Pater Noster* play is by no means clear. Their responsibility for their own play of *Doomsday* in the dramatic cycle of Corpus Christi at York is recorded for the years 1415, 1453–54, 1467, 1472, 1502–3, 1507, and 1526;[2] and their association with the play of the *Pater Noster* is known only for the period 1462–88, in the record now under consideration. It has been inferred that during some part of the period 1462–88 the Merchants abandoned *Doomsday* in favor of the *Pater Noster* play, and presented the latter as a substitute for the usual Corpus Christi cycle.[3] It has also been surmised that the Merchants sometimes performed the *Pater Noster* in addition to *Doomsday*;[4] and any one eager to substantiate such a supposition might cite the fact that the record of 1472, listing payments of properties for *Doomsday* ('a rope to the angels,' etc.), speaks of *two* pageant-wagons ('both pagyantes'), and mentions properties that cannot be proved to belong exclusively to *Doomsday* ('ij serkes,' etc.).[5] Before yielding to the conjecture that the Merchants sometimes undertook the whole of the *Pater Noster* play along with *Doomsday*, however, one should observe that in the neighboring town of Beverley the *Pater Noster* play included eight separate *pagendæ*, and that the responsibility for each *pagenda* was assumed, not by *one* gild or association, but by *several* in coöperation. Thus in producing the *single* 'pagenda de Viciose' the Merchants were aided by the 'gentilmen, clerici, et vadletti.'[6]

þaym þat shall com after, and þay sall be countable to þe maister, constables, and ffelowship of all þair receyts and expenc[s] resonable, and þe iiij. pagant maisters being shall bring forth þe pagants, and have them in againe w[t] in iiij. days next after Corpus Cristi day. Which of them þ[t] doth contrary shall pay vi[s]. viij[d]. to þe ffeloship without any fforgivness.

THOMAS SHAWE, Master, 1488.

Edward Kyrkbe and Thomas Jonnyson, Constab[s]. Rich. Blakburne and Nich. Mayland, "Seyrchours."

Will. Russel,
Rob. Thorne,
John Thomson,
Wm. Middylton,
} Pagent maist[r] (the first record of these officials)

[1] See *id.*, p. 81.

[2] See Smith, *York Plays*, p. xxvii; Sellers, pp. 58–59, 63, 71–72, 104–105, 116, 128.

[3] See Chambers, II, 404 ('In 1488 the Paternoster play was presumably a variant for the usual Corpus Christi plays.'); Sellers, p. xxv.

[4] See Sellers, p. xxv.

[5] See Sellers, p. 72. The record from the period 1462–88, quoted above, uses the plural 'pagants.'

[6] See *Historical Manuscripts Commission: Report on . . . Beverley*, p. 143. Similar coöperation of a considerable number of gilds is recorded for the performance of the *Pater Noster* play in 1558, mentioned below.

Passing on to the sixteenth century, we find at least the general management of the *Pater Noster* play in the hands of still another organization. When this dramatic piece was substituted for the Corpus Christi craft cycle for the year 1558, the supervision of the performance was entrusted to the unsuppressed gild of St Anthony, but the city Corporation collected contributions of 'pageant sylver . . . of every occupation chargeable to the same.'[1] The banns for the performance were declaimed through the streets twice: on the preceding St George's Day and on Whitmonday.[2]

The last recorded performance is of the year 1572. In April of that year the council agreed that 'my Lord Mayor shall send for the maister of Saint Anthony's, and he to bryng with hym the booke of the play called the Pater Noster play, that the same may be perused, amended and corrected, and that my Lord Mayor shall certifie to theis presens at their next assemblee here of his pleasure to be taken therin.'[3] That the Lord Mayor gave his approval for the performance appears in the direction given by the council on May 14th, 'that the Pater Noster play shalbe played this yere on the Thursday next after Trynitie Sonday next comyng.'[4]

On July 30th, 1572, not long after the performance of the play, the Lord Mayor announced to the council that 'my Lord Archebisshop of York requested to have a copie of the bookes of the Pater Noster play, wherupon it was agreed that His Grace shall have a trewe copie of all the said bookes even as they weare played this yere.'[5] The play-books were accordingly delivered to Archbishop Edmond Grindal, but there is no evidence to show that he or his successor, Archbishop Edwin Sandys, ever returned them, or that the *Pater Noster* play was performed again.[6]

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[1] See Davies, pp. 265–266. From the Corporation Minutes of 1558 Davies quotes as follows:

'This yere Pater Noster play beyng played on Corpus Xp'i day, dyner with brekfast and supper was provyded by the chambrelaynes for my lord mayor aldermen and xxiiij^{or}, as hath ben accustomed at Corpus Xp'i play in the chambre at the comon hall yates.' — 'Armetson, peynter, shall have for peyntyng of certeyne canvas clothes for Pater Noster playe liij^{s} iiij^{d} of the money gathered of pageant sylver.' — 'Forasmoche as the money garthred of the pageant sylver will not amount to the chardge of Pater Noster play by iiij^{li}, it is aggred that my lord mayor shall goe over agayne and reasonably gather of every occupacion chadgeable to the same the sayd some behynde.'

[2] See Davies, p. 265. From an unspecified record of about April, 1558, Davies quotes as follows:

'John Branthwate, Master of Saint Anthony's, and his kepers, shall furthwith provyd for the playing of one play callyd Pater Noster play this yere, and that the furst bayn or messynger shall ryde in dyvers streetes within this citie appon Saint George day next, and the other messynger to ryde in like manner uppon Whitson Monday, to thentent that the contry may have knowelege that the head play shall be playd appon Corpus X$\bar{p}$i day next.'

[3] Davies, p. 269.

[4] *Id.*, p. 269. The record describing the procession accompanying the performance of 1572 is quoted above.

[5] Davies, p. 270.

[6] See Davies, pp. 270–272.

TWO NOTES ON DANTE'S *CONVIVIO*, IV, 23

By H. THEODORE SILVERSTEIN

I

DANTE'S REFERENCE TO ALBERTUS MAGNUS

During his discussion of the 'arch' of human life, Dante says that life is divided into four ages according to the four combinations of contrary 'qualities' which are inherent in our composition:

> Veramente questo Arco non pur per mezzo si distingue dalle scritture; ma secondo la quattro combinatori delle contrarie qualitadi che sono nella nostra composizione (alle quali pare essere appropriata, dico a ciascuna, una parte della nostra etade), in quattro parti si divide, e chiamansi quattro *etadi*. La prima è *Adolescenza*, che s'appropria al *caldo* e all'*umido;* la seconda si è *Gioventute*, che s'appropria al *caldo* e al *secco;* la terza si è *Senettute*, che s'appropria al *freddo* e al *secco;* la quarta si è *Senio*, che s'appropria al *freddo* e all *'umido*, secondochè nel quarto della *Meteora* scrive Alberto (ll. 111–126).[1]

This reference of Dante's to the fourth book of the *De Meteoris* of Albertus Magnus as his authority has puzzled the commentators. For, though Albertus in that work treats generally of the humors and their combinations, he makes no mention of that arrangement of the four ages which Dante attributes to him.[2] More recently Paget Toynbee has suggested that Dante borrowed his matter, not from the *De Meteoris*, but from another work by the same writer, the *De Juventute et Senectute*.[1] Here Albertus divides human life into four ages, giving them the same designations as Dante: '. . . quoniam prima vocata est puerilis, secunda autem iuventus sive virilis: rectius autem vocatur virilis quam juventus, quia iuventus ad pueritiam videtur pertinere. Tertia vero vocata est senectus. Et quarta et ultima senium sive aetas decrepita.'[2] Like Dante, moreover, Albertus characterizes each age according to its combination of humors:

> Primo enim cum accenditur, est calida et humida per effectum sicut prima aetas, et currit haec usquequo efficitur dimidia, et talis est prima aetas. Et deinde calido paulatim extrahente humidum efficitur calida et sicca sicut est aetas secunda. Tertio autem cum humido egrediente deficit calidum, eo quod humor erat proprium subiectum caloris: et talis est aetas tertia, scilicet frigida et sicca. Et talis luna cadens a plenitudine usque ad hoc quod efficitur dimidia secundo: et tunc frigiditate invalescente inducitur humidum extraneum non nutriens, vel augens, sed humectans extrinsecum quod est humidum phlegmaticum: et talis est aetas ultima.[3]

[1] The line references are to Moore's Oxford *Dante* (4th ed., revised by Paget Toynbee, 1924).

[2] Cf. Pietro Mazzucchelli, *Luoghi degli Autori citati da Dante nel Convito*, in *Convito di Dante Alighieri* (Milano, 1826), pp. 528–529.

[1] Paget Toynbee, *Dante Studies and Researches* (London, 1902), pp. 47–49.

[2] *De Juventute et Senectute* i, 2 (*Opera Omnia*, ed. Borgnet [Paris, 1891], IX, 307).

[3] *Ibid.*

But if these passages seem to settle the question of Dante's source, they shed no light on the new problem that arises, namely, why it is that Dante, who is generally accurate in his citation of authorities, here makes use of the *De Juventute et Senectute*, yet refers to the fourth book of the *De Meteoris*. To the solution of this problem another passage in the former work seems to offer a clue.

It is in the introductory section of the *De Juventute et Senectute* that the lines appear which Toynbee has pointed out as being Dante's source. Now the introduction, which treats generally of all the four ages and their humors, is followed by four brief chapters dealing with each age in detail.[1] And in that part which treats of the fourth age, *aetas decrepita*, Dante came across these lines:

Senium autem sive *aetas decrepita* est, quae est frigida et humida, non quidem intrinseca humiditate et naturali, sed extrinseca et accidentali.

Quod ut intelligatur, revocanda sunt ad memoriam quae in quarto *Meteororum* dicta sunt.[2]

If Dante then turned, as here directed, to the fourth book of the *De Meteoris*, he found, among the several passages to which Albertus evidently was referring, the following treatment of the *senium ætas:*

. . . haec autem est putrefactio, quia illa est via in corruptionem omnium rerum naturalium et artificialium: quia naturalia senescunt, artificialia vero veterescunt: licet enim senium proprium non sit nisi viri, nec mulier proprie senex dicatur . . . tamen hic transumitur ad omnium naturalium naturalem corruptionem, quae fit per frigus subintrans in locum caloris naturalis: quia exhalavit secum educto humido naturali.[3]

But this was not all. In the same tractate of the fourth book he found a passage which bears also upon boyhood and manhood:

Consideratio autem hominis in humido triplex est, ut dicunt Galenus et Avicenna. Primum enim est in generatione in qua per calidum seminale digeritur humidum seminale et maturatur et formatur . . . Remoto autem homine magis a prima origine seminis, quando calor multum eduxit de humido infantuli, et multum exsiccavit ipsum, incipit calor digestivus agere cum sicco in nutrimentum: et ideo his qui adulti sunt parantur cibi duriores . . . cum tamen nihil sit factum in corporibus eorum quare debeant esse calidiora secundum naturam, sed potius quare deberent esse fridigiora [*sic*]: quia quanto plus distant a primo principio generationis quod est calor, et plus ingressum est in corpora eorum de extraneo humido nutrimentali, tanto frigidiora debebant secundum naturam esse eorum corpora super corpora infantium: et ideo dicunt Galenus et Avicenna quod est aequalis calor in pueris et adultis: sed differt sicut calor in humido et calor in sicco aequalis per essentiam: hic enim in quantitate in humido maior est quam in sicco, sed in sicco maior est

[1] 'Aetas augens,' cap. 3 (*Opera*, ed. Borgnet, IX, 308 ff.); 'aetas virilis,' cap. 4 (pp. 310 ff.); senectus,' cap. 5 (p. 313); and 'aetas decrepita,' cap. 6 (pp. 314–315).

[2] Cap. 6 (p. 314).

[3] *De Meteoris*, IV, 1, 5 (*Opera*, ed. Borgnet, IV, 713).

qualitate, quia est acutior in actione: et sic calor puerorum in quantitate vincit calorem iuvenum, sed calor iuvenum acumine sui vincit calorem puerorum.[1]

Read by themselves, as commentators have read them[2] these passages seem to have only a general resemblance to what Dante attributes to Albertus. But considered in the light of the *De Juventute et Senectute*, they take on the significance of a direct amplification of the matter treated in that tract.

It is not improbable, then, that when in the *Convivio* Dante came to make use of Albertus's discourse of the four ages as he found it in the *De Juventute et Senectute*, he was led to set down what appears to be an incorrect citation of authority by the recollection of Albertus's own enlightening reference in that tract to highly pertinent matter in the fourth book of his *De Meteoris*.

II

DANTE'S REFERENCE TO THE HORSES OF THE SUN

In the lines immediately following the above-treated passage from the *Convivio*, Dante elaborates his discourse of the humors and the four ages of life with parallels in nature drawn from the seasons and from the times of the day:

E queste parti si fanno simigliantemente nell' anno, in *Primavera*, in *Estate*, in *Autunno* e in *Inverno*. E nel dì ciò è infino alla *Terza*, e poi fino alla *Nona*, lasciando la *Sesta* nel mezzo di questa parte, per la ragione che si discerne, e poi fino al *Vespro* e dal Vespro innanzi. E però li Gentili diceano che il carro del sole avea quattro cavalli: lo primo chiamavano *Eoo*, lo secondo *Piroi*, lo terzo *Eton*, lo quarto *Flegon*, secondochè scrive Ovidio nel secondo di *Metamorfoseos* (ll. 127–138).

Commentators have duly noted the fact that the reference to Ovid is to the description of the horses of the sun in the second book of the *Metamorphoses*.[3] But the sources of Dante's rationalizing interpretation of this bit of classical mythology have remained, so far as I am aware, entirely unconsidered.

The Middle Ages knew an allegorical explanation of the four horses of the sun as the seasons and the times of the day which was derived chiefly from the sixth-century commentator Fulgentius, whose influence seems to have been continuous beginning with the eighth or ninth century. In his *Mitologiarum Libri* Fulgentius writes:

Huic quoque / quadrigam scribunt illam ob causam, quod aut quadripertitis temporum uarietatibus anni circulum peragat aut quod quadrifido limite diei

[1] *Ibid.*, iv, 1, 13 (Borgnet, iv, 725–726).

[2] *Vide* Mazzucchelli, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Met.*, ii, 153–155. For typical comments cf. the editions of the *Convivio* by Giuliani (Firenze, 1875), ii, 651, n. 104, and by Valentino Piccoli (*Classici Italiani*, seconda serie, iv, Torino, 1927), p. 215, n. 4. Cf. also Mazzucchelli, p. 529.

metiatur spatium; unde et ipsis equis condigna huic nomina posuerunt, id est Erytreus, Acteon, Lampus et Filogeus. Erytreus Grece rubeus dicitur quod a matutino *ipse* limine rubicundus exurgat, Acteon splendens dicitur quod tertiae horae metis uehemens insistens lucidior fulgeat, Lampus uero *ardens* dum ad umbilicum diei centratum conscenderit circulum, Filogeus Grece terram amans dicitur quod horae nonae procliuior uergens occasibus pronus incumbat.[1]

These lines are interpolated *verbatim* into the scholia to the *Aratea* of Germanicus and appear in every century but one from the ninth to the fifteenth in manuscripts of that work.[2]

Fulgentius seems likewise to have been the source of the allegory as it appears in the three works known as the Vatican Mythographers.[3] These compilations achieved a special currency during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, partly from the fact that they were used, the First Mythographer particularly, as textbooks in the schools.[4] The Third Mythographer was known to Boccaccio and is quoted by him, under the name Albericus, in the *De Genealogia Deorum*.[5] Of the chariot of the sun the First Mythographer says:

Huic quoque quadrigam adscribunt, illam ob causam, quod quadrifido limite diei metiatur spatium; vel quod quatuor sunt tempora anni. Quatuor equorum Solis nomina: Aethon, Lampus, Erythraeus et Philogeus. Erythraeus Graece *rubeus* dicitur, eo quod sol matutino lumine rubicundus exsurgat. Aethon, *splendens;* Lampus vero *ardens*. Philogeus *terram amans* dicitur, eo quod vespere occasibus sol pronus incumbat.[6]

But it is in the Third Vatican Mythographer that this allegory receives its fullest elaboration[7] and becomes particularly pertinent to Dante's discourse — with its reference to the seasons and the parts of the day — of the four ages and the humors. Basing his rationalization upon the commentary of Remigius of Auxerre to Martianus Capella's *De Nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae*, as well as upon Fulgentius,[8] the Third Mythographer not only

[1] *Fabii Planciadis Fulgentii . . . Opera*, ed. Rudolfus Helm (Lipsiae, 1898), p. 23, ll. 11–23.

[2] *Germanici Caesaris Aratea*, ed. Breysig (Berlin, 1867), p. 195, l. 14– p. 196, l.8, and notes; and Prefatio, pp. xvii, xix–xxiii, and xxvi–xxviii.

[3] *Scriptores Rerum Mythicarum Latini Tres*, ed. G. H. Bode (Cellis, 1834), vol. I.

[4] Domenico Comparetti, *Virgilio nel Medio Evo* (Livorno, 1872), I, 155–156.

[5] Cf. Bode, I, Prooemium, p. XII.

[6] Fabula 113 (Bode, I, 36). Cf. also the Second Mythographer, fabulae 20 and 21 (Bode, I, 81). For Fulgentius as the source of the passage in both these works, *vide* R. Schulz, *De Mythographi Vaticani Primi Fontibus* (Dissertatio Inauguralis, Halis Saxonum, 1905), p. 71; and F. Keseling, *De Mythographi Vaticani Secundi Fontibus* (Dissertatio Inauguralis, Halis Saxonum, 1908), pp. 74 and 75.

[7] The present article does not, of course, take into account that other elaboration in which the horses come to signify the four evangelists. The writer has in preparation a study of Dante's use of the Phaëton legend in which this later development is of first importance.

[8] *Vide* R. Raschke, *De Alberico Mythologo* (*Breslauer Philologische Abhandlungen*, XLV (1913)), p. 75.

explains the four horses as signifying the parts of the day and the seasons of the year, but also points out the relationship between the 'qualities' of the seasons and the four elements:

Quadrigam Phoebo attribuunt seu quia quadripartitis temporum varietatibus, veris videlicet et aestatis, autumni et hiemis, anni circulum peragat, seu quod quaternaria sui diversitate diei spatium emetiatur. Unde et condigna equis eius nomina posuere. Erythraeus namque *rubens*, Aethon *splendens*, Lampos *lucens* vel *ardens*, Philogeus *amans terram* interpretatur. Vere enim singulis diebus mane rubet sol, quod sonat Erythraeus; in aestate sive quotidie hora tertia splendet, quod significat Aethon; autumno vero sive die media in centro iam positus immensa luce coruscat, quod docet Lampos; sero vero occidendo, sive tempore hiemali per signa inferiora transeundo, terrarum iam declivia petit, quod significat Philogeus. Inde est et illud Martiani:

'Quatuor alipedes dicunt te flectere habenis,
Quod solus domites quam dant elementa quadrigam;'

id est annum, ut ait Remigius, quatuor temporibus constantem; quae tempora juxta physicos elementorum habere proprietates non dubium est. Aestas enim igni, autumnus terrae, hiems aquae, ver aëri assimilatur.[1]

If Dante, in his reference to the horses of the sun, is drawing, as usual, upon Ovid for his mythology, it seems to be an Ovid here modified and made significant by an acquaintance with the allegorical tradition of the current mediaeval mythographers.

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[1] Fabula 8, 6 (Bode, I, 202–203).

AN ANALOGUE TO THE MAK STORY

By B. J. WHITING

The humorous episode of Mak and the stolen sheep in the Towneley *Secunda Pastorum* has been widely discussed and several analogues, some suggested as sources, have been brought forward.[1] The following late Latin story, related in the *Saturnalia* of Macrobius, does not seem to have been mentioned in this connection. In an amusing dialogue concerning the origins of surnames Eusebius asks Postumianus about the name of the Scropha family. Postumianus, nothing loath, tells the story:

Tremellius uero *Scropha* cognominatus est euentu tali. is Tremellius cum familia atque liberis in uilla erat. serui eius cum de uicino scropha erraret, subreptam conficiunt: uicinus aduocatis custodibus omnia circumuenit nequa ecferri possit: isque ad dominum appellat restitui sibi pecudem. Tremellius, qui ex uilico rem comperisset, scrophae cadauer sub centonibus collocat, super quos uxor cubabat, quaestionem uicino permittit. cum uentum est ad cubiculum, uerba iurationis concipit: nullam esse in uilla sua scropham 'nisi istam' inquit 'quae in centonibus iacet,' lectulum monstrat. ea facetissima iuratio Tremellio Scrophae cognomentum dedit.[2]

This differs in detail from the Shepherd's Play and there is a pastoral gentility in Mak's remarks not to be found in the words of Tremellius. In essence, however, we have the same story, and that in a work by no means unknown in the Middle Ages.[3]

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[1] These are collected and discussed by Millicent Carey, *The Wakefield Group in the Towneley Cycle* (*Hesperia*, xi, Göttingen, 1930), pp. 175–184.

[2] *Sat.*, i, vi, 30 (*Macrobius*, ed. F. Eyssenhardt [Leipzig, 1893], p. 28).

[3] The story struck Camden's fancy and he recounts it in his discussion of surnames (*Remaines Concerning Britaine* [fifth edition, London, 1637], p. 135): '*Tremellius* was called *Scropha* or Sow, because when he had hid his neighbours Sow under a padde, and commanded his wife to lie down thereon; he sware when the owner came in to seek the Sow, that he had no Sow but the great Sow that lay there, pointing to the padde, and the Sow his wife.'

A NOTE ON THE VISION OF ROMANOS

By LUCY ALLEN PATON

In an article, 'The Paper that Romanos Swallowed,' published in Speculum, vii (1932), 3–22, Miss Carpenter has suggested that the paper given to Romanos by the Virgin, which in obedience to her command he ate, and which inspired him to compose his hymn on the Nativity, was employed by the author of the saint's biography, a 'literary critic of Byzantium,' to present to his public a 'theory of the subtle and pervasive influence of past experiences and reading on a writer's inspiration.' 'Did he perhaps have in mind,' she asks, 'that . . . the form of the *kontakion* was yet so novel that Romanos must be said to extemporize—extemporize, however, only after eating a piece of paper which represents the literary background of ecclesiastical inspiration?' The paper, in short, Miss Carpenter concludes, 'represented the double heritage of the Greek-Syrian poet.'

It requires more or less temerity, in the face of so careful and learned an article as that of Miss Carpenter, to propose a different explanation for the legend, which, it should be said, in no case intimately concerns her main thesis. One wishes that her suggestion were accompanied by contemporary examples of a similar critical acumen among Byzantine hagiographers, for it should be remembered that Romanos was not the first mortal to receive a command to eat a book that served to inspire him. The prophet Ezekiel beheld in a vision 'the likeness of the glory of the Lord,' and heard a voice that bade him go to the rebellious children of Israel and speak the words of the Lord to them.

> But thou, son of man, hear what I say unto thee. Be not thou rebellious like that rebellious house: open thy mouth, and eat that I give thee. And when I looked, behold, an hand was sent unto me; and, lo, a roll of a book was therein. And he spread it before me. . . Moreover he said unto me, Son of man, eat that thou findest: eat this roll, and go speak unto the house of Israel. So I opened my mouth, and he caused me to eat that roll.[1]

St John also, on the isle of Patmos, saw a mighty angel come down from heaven.

> And he had in his hand a little book open: and he set his right foot upon the sea, and his left foot on the earth. . . And the voice which I heard from heaven spake unto me again, and said, Go and take the little book which is open in the hand of the angel which standeth upon the sea and upon the earth. And I went unto the angel, and said unto him, Give me the little book. And he said unto me, Take it, and eat it up . . . And I took the little book out of the angel's hand, and ate it up. . . . And he said unto me, Thou must prophesy again before many peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings.[2]

[1] *Ezekiel*, ii, 8–iii, 11.

[2] *Revelation*, x, 1, 2, 8–11.

The life of St Romanos is believed to have emanated from a cloister.[1] To the author it must have been a matter of familiar knowledge that both Ezekiel and St John had been inspired to prophesy after having eaten a book conveyed to them by divine means. It would be altogether natural for him to attribute the poetic gift of one of the greatest of Byzantine sacred singers to the influence of the same type of celestial food, and to convince himself that the Virgin had brought it on Christmas eve to the faithful worshipper in her temple, who was thus directly by her favor inspired to sing aloud the joyful tidings, Ἡ Παρθένος σήμερον τὸν ὑπερούσιον τίκτει.

It has been recognized that the four known sources for the biography of Romanos,[2] although they fall into two groups of two each, are all undoubtedly derived from a more detailed life of the saint, which was perhaps itself a summary of one still more elaborate. Like all biographies of the *Menaeon* and the *Menologion* those of Romanos are extremely condensed,[3] and their bald statements cannot reasonably come into comparison as narratives with the poetic accounts of the Biblical visions. The *Menologion*, however, in the sentences recounting the vision, is a shade less concise than the other sources, and also, unlike them, but like the passages from the Bible, uses direct discourse. This looks as if there were reason to infer that it is rather closer than the other versions to the original life of the saint. When we compare its text with that of *Ezekiel* and the *Revelation* we find a suggestive similarity between them, although the κεφαλὶς βιβλίου of one appears as τόμος χάρτου in the other. The *Menologion* reads: Ἐν μιᾷ δὲ τῶν νυκτῶν κοινωμένῳ αὐτῷ ἐφάνη καθ' ὕπνους ἡ ὑπεραγία θεοτόκος, καὶ ἐπέδωκε τόμον χάρτου καὶ εἶπε· Λάβε τὸν χάρτην καὶ κατάφαγε αὐτόν. Ἐνόμισεν οὖν ὁ ἅγιος ἀνοῖξαι τὸ στόμα καὶ καταπιεῖν τὸν χάρτην. The passage from *Ezekiel*[4] in the Septuagint is as follows: χάνε τὸ στόμα σου καὶ φάγε ὃ ἐγὼ δίδωμί σοι. καὶ ἴδον, καὶ ἰδοὺ χεὶρ ἐκτεταμένη πρὸς μέ, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ κεφαλὶς βιβλίου . . . καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς μέ, Υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου, κατάφαγε τὴν κεφαλίδα ταύτην, καὶ πορεύθητι καὶ λάλησον τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραήλ. καὶ διήνοιξεν τὸ στόμα μου καὶ ἐψώμισέν με τὴν κεφαλίδα. In the *Revelation* the verbal similarities are confined to the command, which agrees exactly with the *Menologion:* Λάβε καὶ κατάφαγε αὐτό. As a matter of fact, no language, even the richest, can provide a wide variety of expression for so simple a command as 'Take this book and eat it.'

[1] See Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, Munich, 1897, p. 665.

[2] Namely, the *Menaeon* for October 1, translated by Miss Carpenter, *loc. cit.*, p. 3; the *Menologion* of the Emperor Basil II, published Migne, *Pat. Gr.*, CXVII, 81; Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, pp. 663 f.; a manuscript of the tenth and eleventh centuries in the Patriarch's Library at Jerusalem (*Codex 40*), published by A. Papadopulus-Kerameus in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, II (1893), 600; and one of the eleventh century in Berlin (*Codex Phillips, 1622*), published with collations from the other texts in *Analecta Bollandiana*, XIII (1894), 440–442.

[3] See *ibid.*, p. 442; Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, p. 664; Papadopulus-Kerameus, *loc. cit.*, p. 599.

[4] II, 8 ff.

Accordingly, no great stress should be laid upon the above similarity in vocabulary. But it is sufficient to strengthen rather than weaken the possibility that the Biblical accounts were influencing the author of the detailed original life of Romanos.

This is not the place to discuss the early and widespread conception that supernatural food or drink was a source of inspiration to both poets and prophets. It is enough to note as a fair probability that the monk who first composed the biography of Romanos was actuated less by a desire to express symbolically a subtle literary criticism than by his simple faith that the saint sang because he had partaken of the wisdom and grace of the Virgin herself, even as Ezekiel and St John prophesied after they had fed upon the written words of the Lord.

Paris

AN ADDITIONAL CHAPTER ON MAGIC IN MEDIAEVAL SPANISH LITERATURE[1]

By J. HORACE NUNEMAKER

The literature of magic is vast, and it is only with considerable hesitation and temerity that one should attempt to add even an additional chapter in a special field. It is scarcely fair to say that any phase or period has been overlooked, for they have invariably been mentioned, although they may not have been studied. There have been special studies on the devil and the devil pact, incantations, the 'evil eye,' miracles, alchemy, and other phases of magic, from Zoroaster to Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. Peoples of all ages and nations have furnished the illimitable material of this fascinating subject.[2] Occultism has not been the closed province of philosophers and magicians; the Church has had its share in promulgating this very doctrine that it is always understood to oppose. The histories of all religions are abundant witness to this paradoxical practice.

Of primary interest to mediaevalists is the excellent work of Thorndike,[3] with its multilateral approach and its revelation of much hitherto unstudied material, as yet available only in manuscript form. For Spain in particular, Waxman has done a notable service in his dissertation, *Chapters on Magic in Spanish Literature*,[4] from which the title of this paper is obviously adapted. His study is not primarily of mediaeval Spanish Literature, however, and consequently less pertinent to our present study than we felt Calcott's dissertation on *The Supernatural in Early Spanish Literature*[5] would be, judging from its title. We feel obliged to take issue with Calcott for his rather misleading title, since his study is limited, first, to the works of Alfonso el Sabio, second, almost to the *Cantigas*, and third, almost to

[1] Paper read before the Spanish section of the Modern Language Association of America, Madison, Wisconsin, December 29, 1931.

[2] Some interesting general studies are: L. Staudenmaier, *Die Magie als experimentelle Naturwissenschaft* (Leipzig, 1922); E. Levi, *Histoire de la Magie* (Paris, 1928); R. Shirley, *Occultists and Mystics of all Ages* (London, 1920); Th.-W. Danzel, *Magie and Geheimwissenschaft in ihrer Bedeutung für Kultur and Kulturgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1924); and K. Aram, *Magie und Mystik in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Berlin, 1929).

[3] Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science during the first thirteen centuries of our era*, 2 vols. (New York, 1923). Other mediaeval studies: A. Maury, *La magie et l'astrologie dans l'antiquité et au moyen âge* (Paris, 1860); P. L. Jacob, *Curiosités de l'histoire des croyances populaires au moyen âge* (Paris, 1859); C. Meyer, *Der Aberglaube des Mittelalters und die nächstfolgenden Jahrhunderte* (Basel, 1884); H. B. Schindler, *Der Aberglaube des Mittelalters* (Breslau, 1858); and A. Maury, *Croyances et légendes du moyen âge*, nouv. éd. (Paris, 1896). For mediaeval Spain, see M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles* (Madrid, 1918), III, 325–387.

[4] S. M. Waxman, 'Chapters on Magic in Spanish Literature,' *Revue Hispanique*, XXXVIII (1916), 325–463.

[5] F. Calcott, *The Supernatural in Early Spanish Literature* (New York, 1923).

the one phase of magic: religious miracles. He does give some attention to the *Siete Partidas*, but he omits, except bibliographically, the *Lapidario*, a veritable mine of the supernatural in the literature of Alfonso el Sabio. Practically every one of the one hundred and nineteen folios of this manuscript contains magical formulae of one sort or another. Since I have already given the subject of alchemy in this work full treatment elsewhere,[1] it will be entirely excluded from the present discussion.

We are confronted at once with the unpleasant task of making definitions and limitations. Magic is a highly diversified and extensively subdivided subject. The Marqués de Villena, in the fifteenth century, lists *magia* at the head of his list of the forty forbidden arts. *Nigromancía* is a subdivision of *maleficio*, and is itself four times subdivided.[2] We have likewise white magic and black magic, more generally, good magic and bad magic.[3] These are also called natural magic and diabolical magic, the former implying the use of herbs, animals, and stones, and the latter, the devil and all his works. There is of course the middle ground of legerdemain. We are on this would-be higher and less objectionable ground of white magic, since we are concerned with a lapidary, a type of work which was current and popular in all mediaeval literatures. The lapidaries themselves are generally divided into various groups,[4] as Sarton has very succintly shown: 'There were three types of mediaeval lapidary: the mineralogical (or scientific), derived from Theophrastus and Dioscorides; the astrological (or magical), derived from anonymous Alexandrian productions which became known in the west mainly through the Kyranides and the "Damigeron" and finally, the symbolic interpretations of the precious stones of Aaron's breastplate and of the Apocalypse (Jewish symbolism plus Christian allegories).'[5] The Alfonsine Lapidaries really fit the first two of Sarton's divisions, and may likewise be designated as medical. In fact, the reader is admonished at the outset to be versed in medicine.[6]

In spite of such vicarious dabbling in non-esoteric alchemy[7] as may be attributed to Alfonso el Sabio, the learned King must not be consigned to

[1] 'Noticias sobre la alquimia en el 'Lapidario' de Alfonso X,' *Revista de Filología Española* XVI (1929), 161–168.

[2] Cf. Waxman, *op. cit.*, p. 390.

[3] Cf. Thorndike, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 235 and 352, and A. E. Waite, *The Occult Sciences* (New York, 1923), where red magic is also defined (p. 15).

[4] Cf. the plan of divisions and sources in P. Studer and J. Evans, *Anglo-Norman Lapidaries* (Paris, 1924), insert between pp. 12 and 13.

[5] George Sarton, review of Studer and Evans, *op. cit.*, in *Isis*, IX (1927), 123.

[6] 'La tercera cosa es que sea sabidor dela arte de fisica que iaze mucho della encerrada en la uertud delas piedras segund en este libro se muestra *e* que sepa ayudar delas cosas que fazen pro *e* se guarde delas que tienen danno.' (*MS. Escorial*, h. I. 15., fol. 1°.)

[7] Cf. the valiant efforts of José Amador de los Ríos to refute this attribution in his *Historia crítica de la literatura española* (Madrid, 1863), III, 521, and especially note 1 on this page,

the profession of a practicing magician. The mere fact of his ordering the compilation of a lapidary which contains many magical formulae does not make him a magician, or even an alchemist for that matter. His attitude toward magic was distinctly one of disapproval, as is clearly stated in the *Siete Partidas*, in the law governing the practice;[1] but it must at the same time be recognized that he admitted magic as a plausible and entirely possible art, however much he may have felt that its practice was an evil that should be punished under the law.[2] It does seem strange, however, with this in mind, that a work written under his direction should contain information and actual recipes for the practice of magic and alchemy. In this connection, the *Picatrix*, an eleventh century Arabic work of Abū-l-Qāsim Maslama ibn Aḥmad al-Majrīṭī also ordered translated by the Rey Sabio, must be included with the *Lapidario*.[3] In addition to the alchemical aspect of the *Lapidario* and the *Picatrix*, the whole subject of medicinal magic, which is a primary basis of the *Lapidario*, deserves special and separate treatment which cannot be given here. Amador de los Ríos insists that all such dubious material was not worthy of the Rey Sabio and that it does not enter his work. He states this inverted eulogy as follows:[4]

Cierto es que tampoco habían podido hacer notables adelantos (las influencias místico-cabalísticas), si bien no les faltaron celosos cultivadores; mas ni el *elixir de vida*, ni la *piedra filosofal* habían extraviado su enseñanza ni sus especulaciones, libres aun las prescripciones de la medicina del influjo de las estrellas, no envilecida la física con los fantasmas de la magia, desconocidos al par los delirios de la alquimia y exenta la astronomía de las aberraciones astrológicas.[5]

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where he rebukes various scholars for calumniating the good name of Alfonso in this manner. See also the citations in my article (cited in note 6 above), p. 163, note 1.

[1] 'Necromantia dizen en latin, a un saber estraño que es para encantar espíritus malos: e porque de los omes que se trabajan a fazer esto, viene muy grand daño a la tierra, e señaladamente a los que los creen, e les demandan alguna cosa en esta razon, acaesciendoles muchas ocasiones por el espanto que resciben, andando de noche, buscando estas cosas atales en los lugares estraños, de manera que algunos dellos mueren, o fincan locos, o desmemoriados; porende defendemos, que ninguno non sea de se trabajar, nin de vsar de tal enemiga como esta, porque es cosa que pesa a Dios, e viene ende muy grand daño a los omes. Otrosi defendemos, que ninguno non sea osado de fazer ymagines de cera, nin de metal, nin otros fechizos, para enamorar los omes con las mugeres, nin para departir el amor que algunos ouiessen entre si. E aun defendemos, que ninguno non sea osado de dar yeruas, nin breuaje, a algund ome, nin a muger, por razon de enamoramiento, porque acaesce a las vegadas, que destos breuajes vienen a muerte los omes que los toman, e han muy grandes enfermedades, de que fincan ocasionados para siempre.' [*Las Siete Partidas del Sabio Rey D. Alonso el IX* (*sic*) (Barcelona, 1843–44), Partida VII, Título XXIII, Ley 2 (pp. 336 f.)]

[2] *Ibid.*, Ley 3.

[3] See my article cited in note 6 above, pp. 164 f.; Hellmut Ritter, 'Picatrix, ein arabisches Handbuch hellenistischer Magie,' *Bibliothek Warburg*, Vorträge 1921–22, pp. 94–124; and the bibliography on the *Picatrix* by George Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science* (Baltimore, 1927), I, pp. 668 f.

[4] *Op. cit.*, III, 649 f.

That precious and semi-precious stones, minerals, and other substances possessed magical virtues of many varieties was not a preoccupation of classical times and the middle ages alone, but also of the later renaissance and of comparatively modern times. The treatises on the subject are legion,[1] and their methods of approach are almost equally numerous. The bibliography of these works is scattered through art and archaeology, science, medicine, geology, mineralogy, magic, alchemy and chemistry, astronomy and astrology, philology, and other branches of human knowledge. Our discussion and citation must be limited to the actual use of magical terminology in the descriptions of the stones of the *Lapidario* that contain such terminology, and to the descriptions of such other stones as are assigned magical properties, although such properties may not be specifically stated as being part and parcel of the art of *nigromancía*. The whole matter of the influence of stars, planets, and the signs of the zodiac must be foregone.[2] It must be remembered, however, that this is an integral part of the Alfonsine Lapidaries, each stone being potent only in connection with certain signs of the zodiac and in the ascendency of certain stars and planets.[3] The material of the Escorial manuscript of the Index (*Tabla*) of the *Lapidario* is not included here, in view of the fact that this is simply a

[5] *Id.*, 650, n. 1, he continues with: 'El *ars notoria* no penetró, ni podía en modo alguno penetrar en las escuelas cristianas, porque como la *geomancía* y *nigromancía*, era contraria al dogma católico.' On the 'aberraciones astrológicas,' see my article cited in note 6 above, p. 163, note 2.

[1] A few such treatises deserve citation here, though this list should by no means be construed as a bibliography of lapidaries, mediaeval or modern, the mediaeval and classical manuscript works being omitted entirely: G. F. Kunz, *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones* (Philadelphia, 1913); G. F. Kunz, *The Magic of Jewels and Charms* (Philadelphia, 1915); Joan Evans, *Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1922); José Ignacio Miró, *Estudio de las Piedras Preciosas* (Madrid, 1871); I. Kozminsky, *The Magic and Science of Jewels and Stones* (New York, 1922); H. Emanuel, *Diamonds and Precious Stones* (London, 1867); M. F. Blumler, *A History of Amulets* (Edinburgh, 1887); A. von Franckenberg, *Gemma Magica, oder Magisches Edelgestein* (Amsterdam, 1688); C. Fossey, *La Magie Assyrienne* (Paris, 1902), pp. 104–121; Gaspar de Morales, *Libro de las virtudes, y propriedades maravillosas de las piedras preciosas* (Valladolid, 1604); Juan Bernardino Roxo, *Thcurgia general, y especifica de las graves calidades, maravillosas virtudes, y apreciable conocimiento de las mas preciosas piedras del universo* (Madrid, 1747); François Lenormant, *La divination et la science des présages chez les chaldéens* (Paris, 1875), pp. 81 ff.; Alonso Barba, *Arte de los metales* (Madrid, 1637); and scattered bibliography in the two works of Kunz mentioned above: in *The Curious Lore etc.*, pp. 5, 7, 25, 29, 40, 41, 51, 52, 55, 65, 74, 78, 102, 114, 123, 140, 154, 158, 169, 317, 335, 339, 343, 347, 381, 382, and in *The Magic of Jewels etc.*, pp. 25, 64, 65, 67, 68, 123, 126, 133, 134, 144, 162, 175, 183, 186, 187, 192, 196, 202, 212, 230, 232, 403.

[2] A very satisfactory treatment of this matter in general will be found in Kunz, *The Curious Lore etc.*, where (pp. 338–366) a full chapter, 'Planetary and astral influences of precious stones,' is devoted to it.

[3] Cf. my article, 'The Madrid Manuscript of the Alfonsine Lapidaries,' *Modern Philology*, XXIX (1931), 103.

long list of magical remedies and uses of stones, without assignment of stone names. To include it here would only afford us a tiresome catalogue, albeit a catalogue of magic in a work of Alfonso el Sabio. That all this was not merely book learning, but even a practical nuisance at times, the Arcipreste de Talavera eloquently informs us as follows:[1]

Pero vee hombres a las vezes destos tales, que non son sinon diablos infernales, non tienen más paciencia de cuanto ninguno non les dize nada, nin les contradizen a lo que fablan e non les enojan. . . . muchos destos son odiosos, detractores, murmuradores, mentirosos e escandalizadores, excesivos burladores, muy fuertes juradores de aquellas sus juras meliosas e suaves, avarientos de aver, lisonjeros a perder, infingidos en saber, fictos, fabladores, vindicativos, subplantadores, de abominables e odiosos pecados cometedores . . . subditos más que las ovejas donde non pueden más fazer, fuertes más que leones adonde pueden mandar, temerosos en sofrir, ardidos en mal fazer, vergonçosos en plaça, deshonestos en secreto; muchos destos son nigrománticos, alquimistas, lapidarios, encantadores, fechizeros, agoreros, físicos e de yerbas conosçedores. Andan de casa en casa, de logar en logar, de regno en regno, de tierra en tierra, de çibdad en çibdad, con su hábito e vida desimulada engañando al mundo. Non ay arte, çiençia nin maestría que ellos non dizen que saben. Destos anda el mundo lleno, . . .

It will be remembered also that Celestina was dubbed 'vieja lapidaria,'[2] and that she made free use of talismanic magic.[3]

The first occurrence of necromancy by name in the *Lapidario* is in connection with a stone called *abarquid* or *albarquid*,[4] found in sulphur mines. This stone, which defies modern description and identification, is called by Aristotle *elbarchi* or *lampus*[5] and *bernic*.[6] It is recommended to induce hypothetical or deceptive pregnancy, which at nature's appointed time proves its falsity:

Et a tal uertud que quando alguna mugier la trae consigo, enciende la tanto por cobdicia de uaron que se non puede ende sofrir, si non por muy grand fuerça, *e* assi lo faze qual quier animal que la tenga que sea fembra, *e* los de India que se trabaian mucho del arte de nigromancia, obran mucho con esta piedra. Et a tal uertud que si dieren desta piedra molida a beuer a mugier, inchal el uientre poc a poco de guisa que semeia prennada, *e* quando uiene al tiempo del parir, desfaz se. Et los nigromancianos fazen creer que por su arte *e* por su saber se faze aquella prennadez *e* se tuelle.

[1] *Libro del Arcipreste de Talavera* (Alfonso Martínez de Toledo) *llamado Reprobación del Amor Mundano o Corbacho* (ed. J. Rogerio Sánchez) (Madrid, 1929), pp. 366 f.

[2] Ed. Cejador (*Clásicos Castellanos*, xx, Madrid, 1913), p. 160.

[3] *Id.*, p. 194: '¡O! ¡yo rompiera todos mis atamientos hechos e por fazer ni creyera en yeruas ni piedras ni en palabras!'

[4] Fol. 13ª.

[5] Codex Leodiensis, *apud* V. Rose, 'Aristoteles De Lapidibus und Arnoldus Saxo,' *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, xviii (1875), 373.

[6] Codex Montispessul, *ibid.*, 395. For further comment on this stone, see J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles* (Heidelberg, 1912), p. 17.

A second mention of magic by name occurs in the description of the stone with the peculiar name of *querc*,[1] which is described as being found in India on the seashore, when the strong winds blow the waves up on the shore in a straight line. It is white in color and takes a polish like ivory. It will counteract the effect of the 'evil eye,'[2] necromancy, and enchantment. This is especially noteworthy since Calcott has said:[3] 'The well-known *mal de ojo* is absent (from the work of Alfonso el Sabio), and enchantment is little heard of.' In view of its quality of absorbing ten times its weight of vinegar by natural attraction like a magnet, it resembles another stone of the *Lapidario*, called *la piedra que tira el uinagre*.[4] Its power against magic is described as follows:

Et sin todesso traen della en sortijas *e* ponen la sobre sus pannos, por que tienen que a tal uertud que el que la trae consigo, nol puede nozir oio malo, nin obra de nigromancia, nin estas cosas aque llaman encantamientos . . . .

Another mention is in connection with the stone called *militaz*,[5] a stone which is unharmed by fire and which can be worked only with the diamond. It comes from the mines of India and resembles fine gold in color. It has the magic property of making flies and reptiles flee from it and its wearer is immune from devils, necromancy, and witchcraft. Aristotle calls it *magnatim*.[6] The Alfonsine reference is as follows:

Et su uertud es atal que fuyen antella las moscas *e* toda mala reptilia, *e* aun dixieron mas los sabios, que se arriedran del que la trae consigo los diablos, *e* nol tiene dano obra de nigromancia ni fechizos ningunos quel fagan.

The above references to magic by name are in the first of the four lapidaries in the manuscript. The second and fourth lapidaries contain no such specific reference. There is, however, a single reference to the 'evil eye' in the third lapidary, in the description of the emerald (*esmeralda*):[7]

Otrossi la esmeralda a otra uertud por razon de Uenus, ca el que la traxiere consigo, quando fuere Mercurio en su exaltacion *e* en su hora *e* bien catado de Uenus, auer lan miedo los omnes *e* no terna danno oio malo.

The first mention of witchcraft as such is in the description of the snake

[1] Fol. 16[d].

[2] Cf. S. Seligmann, *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes* (Berlin, 1910); Elworthy, *The Evil Eye* (London, 1895); and Kunz, *The Curious Lore, etc.*, p. 137 f. and *The Magic of Jewels, etc.*, pp. 131 and 182.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 131.

[4] Fol. 47[a] Aristotle does not mention this stone, but it is found in Dimiški: cf. J. Ruska, *op. cit.*, p. 16, n. (III. 15. *Essigmagnet*).

[5] Fol. 51[cd]. Cf. my article, 'The Chaldean Stones in the Lapidary of Alfonso X,' *PMLA*, XLV (1930), 451, n. 37.

[6] Codex Montispessul, *apud* V. Rose, *op. cit.*, p. 396. See also J. Ruska, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[7] Fol. 109[a]. Cf. J. Ruska, *Tabula Smaragdina* (Heidelberg, 1926).

stone (*piedra dela sirpiente*),[1] probably a variety of serpentine, in spite of the fact that this one is reputed to be of a deep red color, with a white spot that increases in size and shines when the stone is subjected to fire. If it is placed near a candle that is still glowing after having been snuffed out, it will cause it to light up again. It will cure amnesia and bites of vipers. The Alfonsine Lapidaries list another stone with this name,[2] said to be called *bezaquid* in Chaldean.[3] This latter one differs in color and properties, except that it also will cure vipers' bites. The reference to witchcraft in the former is as follows: 'Et su uertud es atal que si la cuelgan al cuello del que nascio endem oniado, sana.'

An antidote for witchcraft is the swallow stone (*piedra dela golondrina*),[4] which must be taken from the stomach of the first cock, never the hen, that is born in the new year under a crescent moon. These stones come in pairs, usually one green and one white, and they must be used together. They will cure watery eyes, and they are potent against withcraft only when enclosed in deerskin or calfskin and suspended about the neck on a red silk thread:

Et su uertud es atal que si toman estas dos piedras *e* las meten en cuero de cieruo o de bezerro *e* las atan con filo de seda uermeia al cuello a omne que fuere endemoniado, sana luego, pero non faz esta uertud si non si estudieren amas las piedras en uno o *si* non fueren dun golondrino pollo.

Another antidote is a stone called *zequeth*.[5] It is black in color and, when burned, it gives off a fishy smell that makes nearby reptiles take to their heels. It will cure arthritis. Its fishy odor brings about the disenchantment: 'Et si sufumaren con ella al que es endemoniado, tomal luego.' The final reference to witchcraft is in the description of red sulphur (*sufre uermeio*),[6]

[1] Fol. 23ab.

[2] *Piedra dela sirpient*, fol. 52b. On the snake stones in general, see Kunz, *The Magic of Jewels etc.*, pp. 201 *et seq.*, chapter entitled 'Snake Stones and Bezoars.'

[3] Cf. my article, 'The Chaldean Stones etc.,' p. 447.

[4] Fols. 26d, 27a. Cf. F. de Mély, 'Les cachets d'oculistes et les lapidaires de l'antiquité et du haut moyen âge,' *Revue de Philologie de Littérature et d'Histoire Anciennes*, Nouv. Sér., XVI (1892), 84: 'De tous les Lapidaires de l'antiquité, Damigéron est le seul qui parle des propriétés ophtalmiques de la *chélidoine*. 'Si cui dolent oculi, tere chelidonium cum aqua et inunge et salvabitur.' Mais la légende qui s'est formée autour de la chélidoine me semble n'être autre que la réunion des vertus attribuées à l'hirondelle, à l'herbe chélidoine, au serpent chélidoine. La question rentre alors dans le domaine de la magie, et le collyre *chelidonium* me paraît être absolument dans le même cas que le *dialepidos* que nous allons rencontrer tout à l'heure. La *Pharmacopoeea persica* l'indique comme collyre excellent; le *Lapidaire d'Alphonse X* le recommande comme souverain.' See also V. Rose, 'Damigeron De Lapidibus,' *Hermes*, IX (1875), 471–491, and J. B. Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense* (Paris, 1855), III, 324–335.

[5] Fol. 67a. This name seems to be a corruption of *azech* (cf. fol. 42c), and the stone is probably a variety of vitriol. Cf. *elsig*, in Aristotle, Codex Leodiensis, *apud* V. Rose, 'Aristoteles de Lapidibus etc.,' p. 366, and *cysaban*, Codex Montispessul, *ibid.*, pp. 391 f.

[6] Fol. 73a.

which is found in Africa. It is recommended for use in alchemy[1] and it will cure apoplexy. Aristotle describes it with the same properties, including the antidote for witchcraft, under the name *alkibric*,[2] as does Ibn el-Beïthâr.[3] To be effective against magic it must be used in the nose: 'Et a tal uertud que si pusieren un poco della en la nariz al que es endemoniado, prestal, *e* si mucho lo husa, sana.'

The descriptions of innumerable other stones of the 492 described in the *Lapidario* might be called up to bear witness to the magical character of this work of Alfonso el Sabio. In addition to being curious, many of these descriptions now seem very humorous as well, and they are somewhat unsavory for public reading. That the work was compiled as a *bona fide* list of remedies or pharmacopoeia there is no doubt. In the opening paragraphs of the manuscript,[4] Abolays, who is credited with finding the work and translating it from Chaldean into Arabic, is definitely stated as having tried the stones and found them to be true, as follows: 'Et en su uida punno de prouar aquellas cosas que en el (libro) iazien, *e* fallo las ciertas *e* uerdaderas, ca el era sabidor dela arte de astronomia *e* dela natura de connosçer las piedras.'

A rather fanciful and highly imaginative description of the stone that flees from wine (*piedra que fuye del uino*)[5] will serve to give us a magical conclusion:

They find it on an island of the sea which is called Alcuçun, near the island called Uacuac.[6] Now it has this name because as Ptolemy says, certain fruits in the form

[1] Cf. my article, 'Noticias sobre la alquimia etc.,' p. 167.

[2] Codex Leodiensis, *apud* V. Rose, pp. 372 f.

[3] 'Traité des simples,' (ed. L. Leclerc), *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, T. 26 (Paris, 1883), Art. 1880 (*kibrīt*).

[4] Fol. 1[b].

[5] Fol. 17[bc].

[6] The sea called *Alcuçun* is the Red Sea. Cf. *The Thousand and One Nights*, trans. and notes by E. W. Lane (New York, n. d.), IV, n. 41 to Chap. 24, p. 180: '"El-Kulzum" is the ancient "Clysma," whence the Red Sea is called "the Sea of El-Kulzum,"' and J. K. Wright, *The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades* (New York, 1925), p. 279: 'A very brilliant feature of the maps of our period is the Red Sea, almost invariably colored red. The name was given to the entire Indian Ocean, and the red color was applied to the Persian Gulf as well as to the "Arabian Gulf," or Red Sea proper.' On the island called *Uacuac*, cf. the following from Lane's edition of *The Thousand and One Nights*, IV, n. 32 to *The Story of Hasan el El-Basrah*, pp. 377–8:

'*On the Islands of* Wák-Wák . . . or El Wák-Wák. By some European writers they are supposed to be the Japan Islands: by Langlès, the Sunda Islands. But I rather think that the Arab geographers applied the name of Wák-Wák to all the islands with which they were acquainted on the east and southeast of Borneo. The following particulars respecting the islands thus called by them are derived from the works of El-Kazweenec and Ibn-El-Wardee; but chiefly from the latter author.

'These islands extend (or are contiguous to) the Islands (or Island) of Er-Rāĭj or Ez-Zánij (before identified with Borneo), and the navigation to them is by the stars. They are said to

of women grow on the trees of that land, and they hang by their hair. While they are on the green trees, they are alive, and they never do anything but say 'uacuac,' and when they are ripe, they fall to the ground and die.

STATE COLLEGE OF WASHINGTON
PULLMAN, WASHINGTON

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be one thousand and seven hundred in number, and governed by a *woman* . . . . Here too is a tree that bears fruits like women, with bodies, eyes, limbs, etc., like those of women: they have beautiful faces, and are suspended by their hair. They come forth from integuments like large leathern bags: and when they feel the air and the sun, they cry out "Wák! Wák!" until their hair is cut; and when it is cut, they die; and the people of these islands understand this cry, and augur ill from it.'

Cf. also the following from *The Book of a Thousand Nights and a Night*, trans. by R. F. Burton, ed. L. C. Smithers (London, 1894), VI, note to the story, *Hasan of Bassorah*, p. 217:

'. . . Arab geographers evidently speak of two Wak Waks. Ibn al-Fakih and Al-Mas'údi (Fr. Transl., vol. iii. 6–7) locate one of them in East Africa beyond Zanzibar and Sofala. "Le territoire des Zendjes commence au canal dérivé du haut Nil (the Juln River?) et se prolonge jusque'au pays de Sofalah et des Wak-Wak." It is simply the peninsula of Guardafui (Jard Hafun) occupied by the Gallas, pagans and Christians, before these were ousted by the Moslem Somal; and the former perpetually ejaculated "Wak" (God) as Moslems cry upon Allah. This identification explains a host of other myths, such as the Amazons, who, as Marco Polo tells us, held the "Female Island," Socrota. The fruit, which resembled a woman's head (whence the puellae Wakwakienses hanging by their hair from trees), and which when ripe called out "Wak Wak" and "Allah al-Khallák" (the Creator), refers to the Calabash-tree, that grotesque growth, a vegetable elephant, whose gourds, something larger than a man's head, hang by a slender filament . . . . The other Wak has been identified in turns with the Seychelles, Madagascar, Malacca, Sunda or Java (this by Langlès), China, and Japan. The learned Professor de Goeje (*Arabische Berichten over Japan*, Amsterdam, 1880) informs us that in Canton the name of Japan is Wo-Kwok, possibly a corruption of Koku-tan, the ebony tree which Ibn Khordábah and others find together with gold in an island 4,500 parasangs from Suez and East of China . . . .'

REVIEWS

ADOLPH GOLDSCHMIDT, *Die Bronzetüren von Nowgorod und Gnesen*, Marburg: Verlag des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars, 1932. Cloth. 42 pp., 101 plates.

WHEN the history of mediaeval archaeology in the first half of the twentieth century comes to be written, a very important place will be occupied by the photographs of the Marburg Kunstgeschichtliches Seminar. Until this series was undertaken, photographs of mediaeval works of art had generally been of one of two kinds: either those by commercial photographers, often excellent technically, but made by men who lacked the point of view of the historian of art, and who generally selected subjects more or less at random here and there solely with a view to what would be likely to sell in numbers; or those made by amateurs, including the art-historians themselves, who worked often with an inadequate apparatus, who photographed what happened to interest them at the moment and whose negatives were seldom made generally available. In France and in Italy, government photography undertaken on an extensive scale has not always avoided the defects of either the commercial or the amateur system. It was perhaps only in Catalonia that more adequate work had been done by Mas. Then Professor Richard Hamann of Marburg, aided in these latter years by his son, undertook an extensive campaign of photographing monuments of his favourite Romanesque field. Combining knowledge of the history of art with expert photographic skill, he has produced a series of negatives that must henceforward be indispensible for any serious study of Romanesque art. Italy, Greece, Germany, France, England, Russia have all been the objects of his photographic investigations. The results of his labours already begin to form something like a corpus of Romanesque and later mediaeval art. He photographs with extraordinary amplitude. Where another student would be contented with one view, he takes an entire series, of all details and from every angle of vision. Nothing of significance escapes his eye. In his photographs one can often detect traits of style that escape one in the original. So complete and far-sweeping is the information that his work supplies, that I for one feel a sort of futility in trying to work with the few fields he has left untouched, realizing how inevitably conclusions will have to be revised when the monuments have been made available as for example Professor Hamann has made available St.-Gilles, or the bronze doors of Novgorod and Gnesen in the book that lies before me.

Marburg photographs form the basis of many of the more important publications on mediaeval art that have recently appeared; but they are still very far from being generally accessible in reproduction. However Marburg University, in connection with the Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissen-

schaft has begun the publication of those dealing with bronze doors. Of this series the present volume is the second. The first treating of the doors in Germany, also by Goldschmidt, appeared in 1926; the third which preceded the second in time of publication is by Albert Boeckler and on the doors of S. Zeno of Verona.

This second volume of the series deals with the doors of Novgorod and Gnesen. The hundred and one plates will be appreciated by those who know how difficult it has been to obtain adequate reproductions of these significant monuments. Better and more thorough illustration could hardly be imagined.

The monograph accompanying the photographs is by Goldschmidt. This statement is a sufficient indication of the high quality of the scholarship. There is a separate study of each of the two doors. The plan of both parts is similar — there is first an introduction, in which the history is examined; then a description of the iconography; and finally an analysis of the style.

Goldschmidt amplifies what he had already made clear in a previous publication, that the Novgorod doors are stylistically closely related to the tomb of Archbishop Friederich at Magdeburg (†1152). Since there appears on the doors the portrait of Wichmann (1152–1192), Friederich's successor, and Wichmann is represented without the pallium, the doors must date from between 1152 and 1154, for Wichmann would certainly have been given a pallium had the doors been executed after he became archbishop. Bishop Alexander (1129–1156) of Plock in Poland also appears on the doors. Goldschmidt leaves us to draw our conclusions — which indeed have been drawn before — from these facts: it is clear of course that the doors were brought from Plock. That this was indeed the case is confirmed by their close stylistic relationship with the bronzes of Magdeburg, on which Plock depended. Goldschmidt also points out that on the doors are represented the portraits of three bronze-casters — Riquinus, clearly the German who made the doors, his assistant Waismuth, and Abraham, no doubt a Russian who readapted the doors to their new position at Novgorod.

The Gnesen doors are in style quite different from those of Novgorod. Though probably a little earlier (Goldschmidt ascribes them on stylistic evidence to the first half of the XII century) their style is distinctly more accomplished. The iconography deals with the life of the local saint Adalbert, whose head was found in 1127. The question where and by what school of bronze-workers they were made is a difficult one to which Goldschmidt does not undertake to give a definitive answer. On the whole he inclines to ascribe them to Bohemia because of analogies with very interesting manuscripts of that country, illuminations from which he reproduces. He points out however other similarities with monuments of Hildesheim, Magdeburg and Belgium.

The combined labours of Goldschmidt and Hamann have resulted in a publication of the Novgorod and Gnesen doors so thorough that it is difficult to imagine any thing left to be gleaned by future students. This publication will remain the authoritative source of information on the subject.

A. Kingsley Porter,
Harvard University

Henri F. Muller and Pauline Taylor, *A Chrestomathy of Vulgar Latin.* Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1932. Cloth. Pp. xvii+315. $3.60.

This books begins with a Preface in which, along with acknowledgments and other technicalities, the authors state in brief what is fully developed in the following Introduction. They believe that Latin colloquialisms from the early times were kept under control by Classical Latin, including the tendency for a stress accent, until approximately 350 A.D. In the fourth century, the needs for practical religious instruction for the common Christian man caused many writers, such as Saint Ambrose, to adopt more simple speech, and in this way the Church legitimized colloquial Latin. This was the beginning of Vulgar Latin, but there were few major changes, save in pronunciation and accent, before the sixth century. All these popular alterations developed uniformly throughout the Empire although northern France, because of its democratic tendencies, took the lead in introducing many of the modifications. There was practically no dialectalization in the individual Romance regions — that is, no changes not common to all — before the year 800. This is substantially the same doctrine that Professor Muller developed in his *The Chronology of Vulgar Latin* (*ZfrPh*, Beiheft no. 78, 1929). Following the Introduction is a grammatical analysis by Professor Taylor of the selections in the Chrestomathy, which she discusses under the headings phonology, morphology, syntax, and vocabulary. This is followed by the main body of the work, the text. There are forty-six selections, mostly from Gaul, although a few are from Spain, Italy, Britain, Germany, and northern Africa. Next comes a glossary in which only words not in Harper's Latin Dictionary are translated. Many vulgar spellings are listed here, followed by their classical equivalents, which are not translated. The book closes with a bibliography of important works on Vulgar Latin and with a list of periodicals. The reviewer notes the absence in this list of *Studies in Philology*, a periodical which sometimes publishes material of interest in this field.

At the appearance of a new scholarly manual, as differentiated from pure research or from a popular textbook, one is tempted to exclaim with John Campbell 'On ye brave, Who rush to glory and the grave.' Unless such a manual be the work of a revered master of advanced age or of a pioneer in the subject, we are apt to be extremely critical of the decisions on moot points which the author is forced to make and, perhaps, we cast the manual

aside unjustly as useless or full of errors. Scholars cannot all see eye to eye in the matter of hypotheses. It is quite a different matter, however, to evaluate such a book from the viewpoint of the need it is expected to fill.

That this book is intended for elementary students in Romance Philology would seem clear from the hints for practical drill which the authors offer in the notes to pages 135 and 249. If this is so, the Introduction could have been better adapted to its purpose. Just what is Vulgar Latin? Instead of outlining in brief the prevailing theories and then passing to his own, Professor Muller states his own case as though it were an admitted truth, and leaves his elementary readers to be thoroughly confused if they should chance to dip into some of the literature which he lists in the Appendix. All the varying definitions of Vulgar Latin, including Muller's, go back to a difference of opinion that can be briefly told. When did the polished speech of grammatically trained speakers and writers begin to draw apart from the speech of the uneducated or provincial Roman citizen, or vice versa? Some say there was such a variation from the time of Livius Andronicus (240 B.C.), which is not always visible because, unlike to-day, the uneducated did not write; others claim there was very little difference between the two before the reign of Augustus or of Trajan; Muller says that all such vulgarisms were sporadic and unimportant before the Christian activities of the fourth century. All authorities will admit there was no *wide* divergence, requiring translation, before the fifth or sixth century.[1] Since certain vulgarisms are attested in the earliest literature, the question resolves itself into this: how many vulgarisms justify the use of the term Vulgar Latin? My own answer is, 'one.' Others believe the colloquialisms must reach the proportions of a dialect before they can be so dignified with a name. Professor Muller is convinced of two premises: a language can have little social import before it is written (p. 18), and linguistic development parallels the social and political development of the speakers. Hence his refusal to use the term Vulgar Latin for any vulgarisms occurring before the Christian literature of the fourth century. In the same way, he insists that there were no dialect variations *of any importance* in Romania before the reforms of Charlemagne. 'The differences are, for all practical purposes, unimportant although interesting and useful in ascertaining the origin of a document' (p. 21). To me this is a paradox. *Any* difference is of importance, even though it contradicts a theory. One feels as he reads Professor Muller's

[1] V. Ussani in *ALMA* (1926), pp. 107–109 and F. Lot in *ALMA* (1931), pp. 97–159 define fully the first two points of view, although both hold for the second. On the question of when and where Vulgar Latin got its stress accent the theory of Louis Havet, which Muller rejects, is best elaborated in Mathieu G. Nicolau's *L'Origine du Cursus rythmique* (Paris, 1930). Professor might have cited in support of his own contention Kent's article in *TAPA*, LIII, 63 ff. and F. F. Abbott in *Class. Phil.*, II, 444 ff.; also Debrunner in *IF*, XLIII, 311 ff.

argument that his gauge of importance for linguistic phenomena is agreement with an *a priori* social theory. Professor Muller's definition of Vulgar Latin and its development is also repeated in his grouping of the texts selected and in the inclusion of passages from Saint Ambrose, Isidore and others, which I should not call Vulgar Latin, beside the *Peregrinatio* of Silvia and the *Historia* of Gregory of Tours. For me the former are *mittellateinisch*.[1] I should question the 'definitive success of Christianity' in 312 (p. 6). Constantine was not baptized before 337, if ever, and paganism was not forbidden till 391. Muller says that Celtic did not disappear till the beginnings of the seventh century (p. 10). I have always understood that Sidonius Apollinaris (fifth century) was the last to mention Celtic in Gaul. He said that it had disappeared among the Arverni.[2] Rohlfs would not agree with Muller that 'Greek . . . was . . . generally driven out by the victorious advance of Latin Christianity' (p. 11). In conclusion, one might say that the Introduction to this manual is obviously the work of original and competent scholars, but its viewpoint is a bit too biased for the consumption of the uncritical student.

I am forced to pass quickly over the rest of the book, through limitations of space. Professor Taylor has made a careful statistical analysis of the words and forms in the selected texts, but we question the wisdom of so limiting oneself in a manual of this kind. Such a limited grammatical discussion, particularly in the phonology sections, does not give a clear picture of Vulgar Latin. We should have welcomed more generalities, and we wonder whether all misspellings are of importance. We note that Miss Taylor has modified slightly (p. 54) her earlier conclusion, expressed elsewhere, that 'final *m* was pronounced in the eighth century.'[3] Some scholars will not be convinced that the *auditus sit* in the *Peregrinatio* is not a new Romance passive. The translation which Muller and Taylor give it (note to page 131) is bothersome. Their chronology of development demands that it be explained away.

A chrestomathy of mediaeval Latin can usually presuppose in its users a considerable familiarity with the contents of Harper's Dictionary. From experience I should say this is seldom the case with those who begin Romance Philology. In view of the grammatical introduction, many such entries as *inpleta*=*impleta* and *legata*=*ligata* could have been omitted from the vocabulary, and more space should have been given to the translation

[1] I note that both Saint Ambrose and Isidore, as well as several other writers included by Muller and Taylor, are in the *Primer of Medieval Latin* of Charles H. Beeson.

[2] ". . . quod serminis Celtici squamam depositura nobilitas nunc oratorio stilo, nunc etiam Camenalibus modis imbuebatur . . ." (*M.H.G., Auct. Antiq.* VIII, 41). Muller gives this same date in his *Chronology of Vulgar Latin*, p. 28.

[3] *The Latinity of the Liber Historiae Francorum* (New York, 1924), 67.

of more unusual classical words. It is, of course, difficult to know where to draw the line.

Despite differences in opinion, for which we offer as excuse paragraph two of this review, it is evident that this book has been constructed with great care. Professors Muller and Taylor are well known scholars in the field of Vulgar Latin. The points to which we take exception are errors of omission, rather than of commission, and they will be most apparent only to those instructors who wish to use the book in a course in elementary Romance Philology. The publishers are to be congratulated for bringing out such a volume in these times of duress.

URBAN T. HOLMES,
The University of North Carolina

WILLIAM A. NITZE AND T. ATKINSON JENKINS (editors). *Le Haut Livre du Graal Perlesvaus.* Volume I. Text, Variants, and Glossary. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (1932). Cloth. Pp. xi+537. $6.00.

THIS handsomely printed volume contains a brief introduction, the text of the *Perlesvaus* from the earliest known manuscript (*Hatton 82*) with variants from the others, an index of proper names, and a glossary of unusual words. An appendix of 73 pages (the work of Elizabeth Williams Miller) gives variants, some of them rather extensive, from the Welsh text found in *MS. Peniarth 11.* Volume II, now in preparation, is to contain 'a comprehensive commentary on the romance, its literary, historical, and doctrinal significance, the language of the scribes and of the author, the relationship of the work to the Grail-Lancelot Cycle.'

Of the quality of the work on the French text I am not competent to speak; I know the care that has been taken to make it accurate, and I believe the character of the scholars who assume responsibility for it is sufficient warrant for its reliability. When I turn to the part that falls more directly within my own sphere of interest — the Welsh text — I find it difficult to speak with enthusiasm. This part is not, unfortunately, up to the standard that one expects of the University of Chicago, and since the avowed object in printing these variants is 'to make the text available for further critical study,' it seems well to give a warning to those without a knowledge of Welsh who may be disposed to make use of it.

Miss Miller's work is very uneven. Difficult passages are, on the whole, handled competently but not enough care is taken with the easy ones. 'Rot' in 4564 should be 'rob' (*yspeilyaw*); 'passion' in 5272 should be 'possession' (*uedyant*); 'was' in 6177 should be 'saw' (*weles*); 'like' in 9013 should be 'life' (*eneit*). The second 'as' in 7946 is presumably intended for 'is' (*yw*), and 'should be' occurs twice in the English of 2397 and only once in the Welsh. *Gwaew* (spear) is mistranslated 'sword' in 1897, 7882, and 7889, but correctly elsewhere. Small words like *y, yw, yn, yr, ar, am,* and *ae* are not

treated with sufficient respect, and changes in voice, tense, or number are not infrequent. Words that are in the Welsh are omitted in translation, and words not in it are occasionally added. In 730 'here' is not in the Welsh, but 'our penance,' 'until,' and 'it' are, and are not translated. Most of these changes are of little moment, but occasionally, as in 7936 where the Welsh has 'come to burn' (*dyuot y losgi*), but the English merely 'burn,' it might be worth while to be more exact. Mention may be made here too of two mistakes in the introduction: 'Gwenogorvyn Evans' for Gwenogvryn Evans (page 8), and William D. Davies for William Ll. Davies on page 9.

In regard to other passages there may be a difference of opinion, but I believe there is room for improvement. In Medieval Welsh *Mor rud* (286) commonly means the English Channel (the Red Sea was, I believe, *Mor Coch*), and *chwaith* before a noun means 'any.' (1831, 2388, 2390, 2645, 7699). *Vy mod am nawd* (6707) must mean 'my good will and protection,' and *y dreftat* (7846) can hardly mean anything but 'his inheritance.' *Ofyn* (521) is probably *ofn* (fear) rather than from *gofyn* (ask), and 8610 should be 'where he was in the kingdom of Orient.' The idiom in 7708 may perhaps be more accurately represented by 'and six of the best knights of the castle with him,' and the expression in 9134 might be translated 'any woman in the world' (see also 2397). *Enneint* (9507) does mean 'ointment' but also 'bath,' and a common meaning for *heb olud* (1209) is 'without delay.' *Gwr da* (4, 254, etc.) means literally 'good man,' but it also has a sense somewhat like that of *preudome*, which it here translates.

Miss Miller's worst offenses are due to her theory of translation. She seems to feel that Welsh is a barbarous language and must therefore be translated into barbarous English. If the result does not make sense, it must be the fault of the author, not of the translator. It is perfectly true that Welsh has its idioms which, if translated word for word into English, sound ludicrous, but so do French and German, and no one thinks of translating these languages in the way Miss Miller treats her texts. 'That it be not compelled on us to quarrel with them' (5266) is inexcusable in a scholarly work, and so is 'And salute they did each one, one another of them' (4349). Sometimes it is necessary to examine the Welsh to discover what the English really means, and, as the quotations often begin and end in the middle of a phrase, this is not always easy. 'Chapel, they did, near an old hall' (6577), is nonsense, and the Welsh is not much better, but if one takes the trouble to look up the complete sentence in Williams' *Seint Greal* he will discover *arganuot capel a orugant . . .* ('catch sight of a chapel they did . . .') No one not familiar with Welsh idiom could possibly guess that 'for that was given to his son Peredur the coming to his mind when he was a man to take a suit of steel' (461), really means 'therefore his son was named Peredur so that he would remember, when he was a man, to take a

suit of steel,' and the English is made additionally difficult by the mistranslation of *yr*. A person familiar with French, which has somewhat similar idioms, might guess at the meaning of 'For I do not know it is long since what kind I am' (2968), but the translation of the past participle by 'after' ('There is a lion after being loosed from his chains') is apt to suggest to us the Irish idiom and so lead us astray, since that is the exact opposite of the Welsh. In many passages, Miss Miller has no excuse whatever for her clumsy translations. Two examples must suffice. Even the most pedantically literal translation of *ac nyt yttoed hi yngwelet* (3296) can make of it nothing worse than 'and not was she seeing,' but Miss Miller manages to evolve from it 'and there was not to her to see.' In 41, *yr na metrwyfi* is 'because I cannot' (first person, singular, present subjunctive), but she twists it into 'of my not being able.' It is difficult to believe, in spite of things like these, that she intends a deliberate burlesque, but she is so prepared to find absurdities in the Welsh that she sees them everywhere. The result is that her work is hardly enough better than that which Robert Williams did on the text in 1876 to justify the time she has spent on it. Williams moreover gives us the complete text (and he seems to have done it accurately, although Miss Miller has been able to correct him on a few points), while the edition under review gives us only a selected list of variants, so that any scholarly work on the text must still be based upon that of Williams, although Miss Miller's work will probably be referred to also as a check on his.

John J. Parry,
University of Illinois

Kurt Rost, *Die Historia Pontificum Romanorum aus Zwettl.* (*Greifswalder Abhandlungen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters* herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. A. Hofmeister. 2) Greifswald: L. Bamberg, 1932. Paper, Pp. 180.

With almost no preliminaries, Dr Rost plunges into his task, the analysis of the sole manuscript of the *Historia Pontificum Romanorum*, written in the monastery of Zwettl (near Vienna) during the late twelfth century. He attacks his subject in three main sections: (1) the manuscript, (2) the portions compiled from earlier works, and (3) the material (1154 to 1191) for which the *Historia* is an original authority.

The brief description of the manuscript is thorough and packed with detailed information. Eleven out of the nineteen pages are taken up with a list of late twelfth and early thirteenth century additions to the original text, with such items included as the color of ink used and the sources from which emendations were made. Part two, which comprises the major section of the monograph, surveys the sources of the compiled or 'dependent' portion of the *Historia;* viz., that concerned with papal history from its beginnings to the pontificate of Hadrian IV. Dr Rost finds that the author

relied heavily for his information upon papal catalogues and registers, collections of canons and decretals, church histories (especially for the early centuries), and secular histories. Of the many chronicles in evidence, some may have been used second-hand, from compilations such as the Zwettl Chronicle, which appears in the same codex as the *Historia*. On the other hand, it is also Dr Rost's opinion that the author may have gone back of some of his compiled sources (e.g., the Chronicle of Otto of Freising) to the originals from which they were composed. Among the miscellaneous sources used for the *Historia* are documentary materials, notably a Salzburg copy of the Concordat of Worms; also epitaphs, short verses concerning various popes, and bits of local tradition, such as, for instance, the legend of Pope Ciriacus and the 'eleven thousand virgins.'

In section three, the 'independent' portion of the *Historia* is considered, with (what appears to the reviewer) unwarranted brevity. For instance, the prologue, of which a German translation is given, would seem to merit more than a mere half-page of attention. The important contemporary material (1154–1191), which constitutes the only first-hand evidence in the *Historia*, has but thirteen pages of Dr Rost's critical attention. There is, to be sure, a general survey of the differences between this and the portion dealing with earlier papal history, but only one passage receives searching analysis. In this, which is concerned with the Lateran Council of 1179, Dr Rost presents, in his usual tabulated form, detailed differences between the authentic canons of the council and the faulty versions in the *Historia*. There is little else of outstanding interest in section three, save an analysis of the relationship between the two continuators and the main author of the work. A more detailed discussion of the qualifications of these three and of the credibility of their work would have been desirable, inasmuch as it is this portion of the *Historia* that is of most vital interest to the historian.

On the whole, the *Historia Pontificum Romanorum*, as portrayed by Dr Rost, measures up fairly well to accepted standards of historical merit. So far as sources are concerned, he shows that the compiler was able, in his his own monastic library, to use many of the authoritative works known to that day. For the fourth century he had Eusebius-Rufinus and Jerome; for the fifth, Gennadius and the *Historia Tripartita* of Cassiodorus; for the the sixth and seventh, little save the Register of Gregory I; for the eighth, the *Liber Pontificalis* and Paul the Deacon; for the ninth, Regino of Prum, the Frankish royal annals, and early collections of canons; for the tenth, Liutprand of Cremona and several anonymous works; for the eleventh, Herman of Reichenau, Berthold, and Bernold; and for his own century, Otto of Freising, the Chronicle of Zwettl, and other contemporary material. It should be borne in mind, of course, that some of the contributing sources may have been quoted indirectly, from compendiums. On the other hand,

the library of Zwettl is known to have contained nine of the originals above mentioned. In general, one is inclined to agree that the *Historia* had a rather substantial background of sources and that they were handled in an intelligent and often independent spirit, albeit in some cases inaccurately. From the standpoint of manner of presentation also, Dr Rost feels that the *Historia* shows real merit; there is little or no repetition, various sources are smoothly blended into a unified whole; and in places (e.g., the prologue) there is skillful choice of words. The identity of the chief author and the two continuators is left unsolved, save for the suggestion that they were monks of Zwettl, possibly one of them an abbot, and that they were little disposed to take sides in the bitter papal-imperial strife of their day.

So much for the *Historia* and its authorship. So far as Dr Rost's own work is concerned, one is constantly impressed with his painstakingly thorough scholarship. The most minute points are carefully supported by pages of citation, quotation, and well marshaled evidences. Almost every section of the work bristles with the offensive and defensive mechanism of German scholarship. There are frequent quotations from the *Historia* in parallel with corresponding excerpts from the contributing sources. There are annotated lists of passages with the evidence of their derivation from this or that work. For instance, the heavier indebtedness of the *Historia* to *Pseudo-Isidore* rather than to Gratian or Ivo of Chartres, is set forth in five pages of minute tabulation. The parentages of popes and the durations of pontificates, as given in the *Historia* and its various sources, are likewise presented in carefully organized charts. The relationship of the *Historia* to other manuscripts is not only worked out in minute detail but is also illustrated by diagrams. And so, throughout 180 impressively tabulated pages Dr Rost presents his working method as well as his conclusions. Whatever advantages or disadvantages the reader derives from such minutiae of scholarship, he cannot fail to realize that this doctoral monograph measures up to the eminently high standard of former Greifswald dissertations on medieval history, and also does credit to the German tradition of thoroughgoing textual criticism.

Loren C. MacKinney,
University of North Carolina

E. Walberg, *La Tradition Hagiographique de Saint Thomas Becket avant la Fin du XII^e^ Siècle.* Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1929. Paper. Pp. 185.

The murder of Saint Thomas Becket in his cathedral at Canterbury on December 29, 1170, like so many significant politico-religious events, brought about a reaction swift and widespread throughout Europe. The cause of his death was clearly understood by all, and it did not fail to leave its impress upon the writers of the time. Hardly had his remains been interred before biographers were busy with eulogies composed for the edifica-

tion of pilgrims to the tomb of the martyred archbishop. This literature, one of the extraordinary heritages of the Middle Ages, offers a rich field for the medievalist. Mr Walberg has here brought together a series of his studies, published in various reviews between 1917 and 1927, for the purpose of treating consecutively the growth of the hagiographical tradition on the saint's life and death. The first chapter deals with the Life of Saint Thomas of Canterbury, written in Anglo-norman verse by Benedict, a monk of Saint Alban's about 1184. It is this life which is said to have inspired the Icelandic saga on the saint in the fourteenth century. There follows a keen examination of an anonymous poem dealing with a miracle attributed to the saint. Mr. Walberg identifies the author of this poem as Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence. A third chapter is devoted to the *Miracula* written by Benedict of Peterborough and William of Canterbury between 1173 and 1774. Probably, the next chapter on the relationship of the earliest lives of the saint with the poem of Guernes will prove of greater interest to students of Becket literature. A fifth chapter contains Mr Walberg's conclusion on the filiation of these sources as presented in the previous study. The last chapter treats of the life of Thomas Becket attributed to John of Salesbury, and the author treats this life to two earlier biographers, proving beyond doubt that no originality can be claimed for the work of the greatest of all English medieval writers. From the viewpoint of historical criticism few works in recent years present so admirably the value of the scientific method now in honor among medievalists of our day. The political history of the period has not been disregarded. It is, in fact, the framework upon which these comparative studies are hung, and upon which their author has worked out the accurate pattern of his arguments. Though the work of a scholar, written for scholars and dealing only with facts, the present volume has preserved much of the glamour which today surrounds the name of Thomas Becket.

Peter Guilday,
The Catholic University of America

ANNOUNCEMENT OF BOOKS RECEIVED

Under this heading *Speculum* will list the titles of all books and monographs on mediaeval subjects as soon as they are received from author or publisher. In many cases the titles here listed will be reviewed in a future issue.

W. O. Ault, *Europe in the Middle Ages*. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1932. Cloth. Pp. vi+633. $3.48.

R. C. Bates, *Le Conte dou Barril, Poème du XIII^e Siècle par Jouham de la Chapele de Blois*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932. Cloth. Pp. cxxvi+112. $2.50.

H. I. Hell, A. D. Nock, H. Thompson edd. and transll., *Magical Texts from a Bilingual Papyrus in the British Museum*. London: Milford, 1932. Paper. Pp. 54+viii plates. $2.50.

A. Boon, *Pachomiana Latina* (*Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*. No. 7). Louvain: Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, 1932. Paper. Pp. lix+209.

R. F. Brinkley, *Arthurian Legend in the Seventeenth Century*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1032. Cloth. Pp. ix+228. $2.00.

M. Byrne, *The Tradition of the Nun in Medieval England* Washington: Catholic University of America, 1932. Paper. Pp. xxxv+235.

A. Cartellieri, *Die Weltstellung des Deutschen Reiches 911–1047*. Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1932. Cloth. Pp. xxxviii+513. RM. 30.

G. Cecchini, ed., *Fonti di Storia Senese: Il Caleppo Vecchio del Commune di Siena*. Florénce: Olschki, 1932. Paper. Pp. xiv+425.

V. Cottas, *L'Influence du Drame Christos Paschon sur l'Art Chrétien de l'Orient*. Paris: Geuthner, 1931. Paper. Pp. vii+122+16 plates. Frs. 100.

V. Cottas, *Le Théâtre à Byzance*. Paris: Geuthner, 1932. Paper. Pp. xii+290. Frs. 100.

D. L. Douie, *The Nature and the Effect of the Heresy of the Fraticelli*. Manchester (England): Manchester University Press, 1932. Cloth. Pp. xix+292.

Etudes d'Histoire Littéraire et Doctrinaire du XIII^e Siècle, Première Série. Ottawa: Institut d'Etudes Mediévales, 1932. Paper. Pp. 199.

P. B. Fay, ed., *Guillaume de Saint Pathus: Les Miracles de Saint Louis*. Paris: Champion, 1932. Paper. Pp. xxix+311. Frs. 28.

G. H. Gerould, *The Ballad of Tradition*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932. Cloth. Pp. 311. $3.25.

L. Gougaud, *Christianity in Celtic Lands*. London: Sheed & Ward, 1932. Cloth. Pp. lxii+458. 18 Shillings.

M. Grabmann, *Eine lateinische Uebersetzung der pseudo-aristotelischen Rhetorica ad Alexandrum aus dem 13. Jahrhundert*. (*Sitz.-Ber. der Bayr. Akad. der Wiss.*, phil.-hist. Abt., 1931–32, pt. 4). Munich: Beck, 1932. Paper. Pp. 81.

L. Halphen, *L'Essor de l'Europe* (*XI^e–XIII^e siècles*). Paris: Alcan, 1932. Paper. Pp. 609. Frs. 60.

N. O. Halvorsen, *Doctrinal Terms in Aelfric's Homilies* (*University of Iowa Studies, Humanistic Series*, x, 1). Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1932. Paper. Pp. 98.

E. Greenlaw, *Studies in Spenser's Historical Allegory*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1932. Cloth. Pp. viii+220. $2.00.

J. A. MacCullough, *Medieval Faith and Fable*. Boston: Marshall Jones, 1932. Cloth. Pp. 345.

A. Mahr, ed., *Christian Art in Ancient Ireland; Selected Objects Illustrated and Described*. Vol. I. Dublin: Saorstát Eireann Publication Office, 1932. Cloth. Pp. xxvii+80 plates.

F. Mitzka, ed., *Henrici de Lubeck Quaestiones de Motu Creaturarum et de Concursu Divino.* Münster i/W: Aschendorff, 1932. Paper. Pp. 64. RM. 1.10.

H. F. Muller and P. Taylor, *A Chrestomathy of Vulgar Latin.* Boston: Heath, 1932. Cloth. Pp. xvii+315. $3.60.

F. A. Mullin, *A History of the Work of the Cistercians in Yorkshire (1131–1300).* Washington: Catholic University of America, 1932. Paper. Pp. xi+131.

Persecution and Liberty: Essays in Honor of George Lincoln Burr. New York: The Century Co., 1932. Cloth. Pp. xviii+482. $5.00.

O. E. Saunders, *A History of English Art in the Middle Ages.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1932. Cloth. Pp. xxii+272. $3.00.

R. Scholz ed., *Marsilii de Padua Defensor Pacis.* Fasc. I. Hannover: Hahn, 1932. Paper. Pp. lxx+300.

J. G. Sikes, *Peter Abailard.* Cambridge (England): University Press, 1932. Cloth. Pp. xvi+282. $4.00.

D. V. Thompson, Jr., ed., *Il Libro delle'Arte of Cennino d'Andrea Cennini da Colle di Val d'Elsa.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932. Cloth. Pp. xxiv+123. $3.00.

A. M. Tommasini, *I Santi Irlandesi in Italia.* Milan: Soc. Ed. Vita e Pensiero, 1932. Paper. Pp. 443.

J. W. Tyrer, *Historical Survey of Holy Week, its Services and Ceremonial.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1932. Cloth. Pp. xix+180. $7.00.

B. L. Ullman, *Classical Authors in Mediaeval Florilegia* (Reprint from *Classical Philology,* vols. xxv–xxvii).

A. A. Vasiliev, *Histoire de l'Empire Byzantin* (trad. du russe par P. Brodin et A. Bourguine; préface de Ch. Diehl). Paris: A. Picard, 1932. 2 vols., paper. Pp. ix+498, 3 maps; 482, 3 maps. Frs. 135.

H. Weisweiler, *Die Wirksamkeit der Sakramente nach Hugo von St Victor.* Freiburg i/Br.: Herder, 1932. Paper. Pp. viii+159. RM. 4.

G. W. Woodbine, ed., *Glanvill de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Regni Angliae.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932. Cloth. Pp. ix+306. $4.00.

D. Yebsley, ed., *Jean Lemaire de Belges: La Plainte du Désiré.* Paris: E. Droz, 1932. Paper. Pp. 108.

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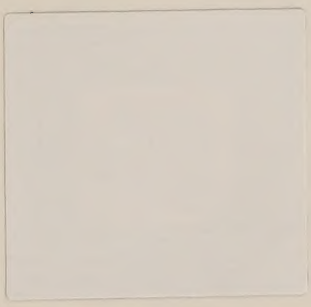

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